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S. M. KATRE, M. A., Ph. D. (London)
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P. K. GODE, M. A.

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#### CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	i-ii
ÄKIMCAÑÑA: SELF-NAUGHTING-Ananda K. Coomaraswamy	1
EXPANSION OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA AND ABROAD- Binala Churn Law	17
YASNA HÄ XIHÖM YASTErvad Maneck F. Kanga	29
NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ASVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA:	
THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION-V. M. Apte	49
JÑĀNAGHANA PŪJYAPĀDAE. P. Radhakrishnan	62
HARI KAVI'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE BHAVANI SWORD OF	
SHIVAJI THE GREAT PK. Gode	81 -
Non-Rovedic Mantras Rubricated in the Asvalayana-Grhya-Sūtra:	
THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION-V. M. Apte	101
INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD-D. B. Diskalkar	111
A-I ÖRŅĀVĀBHI- "SPINE" Albert Debrunner	129
ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND RESEARCH WORK-P. C. Divanji	132
Non-Royedic Mantras Rubricated in the Asvalayana-Ghhya-Sūtra:	
THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION-V. M. Apic	144
A Note on Two Hoards of Punch-Marked Coins Found at Taxila-D.	
D. Kosambi	156
ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND RESEARCH WORK-P. C. Divanji	161
Non-Rovedic Mantras Rubricated in the Asvalayana-Crhya-Sūtra:	
THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION V. M. Apte	171
THE LATE MR. JOSENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE-N. C. Ghose	183
INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWADD. B. Diskalkar	193
Non-Rovedic Mantras Rubricated in the Asvalayana-Griya-Sütra:	
THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION-V. M. Apte	211
SUR LES INFINITES VÉDIQUES EN -ASE - Louis Renou	225
A SANSKRIT INDEX TO THE CHÂNDOGYA UPANIŞAD—E. G. Carpani	232
Non-Rovedic Mantras Rubricated in the Asvalayana-Grhya-Sūtra:	
THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION-V. M. Apte	235
THE EPOCH OF THE SO-CALLED HARSHA ERA-Dhirendra Nath Mookerjee	244
SOME RARE PORTRAITS AND WASLIS-Hirananda Sastri	257
JUXTAPOSITION ET COMPOSITION DANS LE REVEDA—Louis Renou INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD—D. B. Diskalkar	266
	273
Post-Vyāsarāya Commentators—B. N. Krishnamurthi Sarma	289 -
CAKRAVARTIN—K. A. Nilakanta Sastri	307
Eighteenth-Century Malay $\lambda$ Lam Prose Written by Christians— $L$ . $V$ .	
Ramaswamy Aiyar	322
INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD-D. B. Diskalkar	338
PARAMĀRTHASĀRA OF ĀDIŚEŞA—S. S. Suryamarayama Sastri	355

iv Contents

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD—D. B. Diskalkar	371						
INDO-EUROPEAN GM-SKÖ OR GM-SKHÖ?—Siddheshwar Varma	ERE						
Eighteenth-Century Malayāļam Prose Written by Christians - $L$ . $V$ .							
Ramaswamy Aiyar	387						
INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD—D. B. Diskalkar	398						
THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA-K. G. Sankar	419						
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYALAM PROSE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS L. V.							
Ramaswamy Aiyat	429						
MISCELLANEA							
Pratyabhijñā and Advaita—V. Raghavan	32						
THE UTTARA KASI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF GUHA- S. Stikantha Sastri	34						
Vāmadeva Pād-ānudhyāta—Dines Chandra Sircar	36						
KOVINDĀNANDA WITH KĀDAMBANĪ OF ĀSĀDIJARA N. V. Athulev	37						
PŪRVĀCĀRYA SAMJNĀS FOR LAKĀRAS—Vasudeva S. Agarawala	39						
TOCHARIAN AND THE INVALIDITY OF THE SATEM-CENTUM HYPOTHESIS FORMING.	-						
A PARALLEL TO THE HITTITE AND THE RATHAS-PATIS HYPOTHESIS C.							
R. Sankaran	40						
DR. SALETORE AND THE AUTHENTICITY OF MUDHOL FIRMANS G. H. Khare	186						
REFERENCE TO NASIR SHAH KHALJI IN A CONTEMPORARY Ms Sadashiva L.	2444						
KÄTRE	191						
WHEN DID BERNIER ARRIVE IN INDIA-P. K. Gode	223						
THE PANIS IN THE RGVEDA-A. P. Karmarkar	224						
FEMALE EDUCATION AS EVIDENCED IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE A. S. Gopari	411						
JAGADDEVA PRATIHĀRA, A FORGOTTEN HERO-Dasharatha Sarma	413						
SIGNED ARROWS: A NOTE-A. D. Pusalkar	414						
THE HARAHA INSCRIPTION AND THE GUPTA ERA Dhirendra Nath Monketjee	437						
NOTES							
Notes of the Month	, 446						
INDOLOGY IN CURRENT LITERATURE	299						
REVIEWS							
REVIEWS 47, 76, 225, 305, 415	. 441						
SUPPLEMENT							
BHOJA'S ŚŖŃGĀRA PRAKĀŚA—V. Raghavan	1-208						
INDEX							
INDEX							
INDEA	4.19						

#### EDITORIAL

With the publication of the present issue the New Indian Antiquery commences the third year of its existence. The services rendered by it to the cause of Indology are now before the world of scholars in the form of two completed volumes, of over 800 pages each, which will speak for themselves. In addition two volumes in the New Indian Antiquary Extra Series have already appeared as Congratulatory Volumes presented respectively to Prof. F. W. THOMAS and Sir E. Denison Ross. These services as compared with those of the old Indian Antiquary of almost classic fame are but a trifle in this ocean of Indology. The financial difficulties under which the work of the New Indian Antiquary was started have considerably increased on account of the present European War now sapping the vitals of all important nations in the world. The economic repercussions of this cataclysm have now affected the whole civilized world. Our Publishers who have shouldered the entire financial burden of running this journal share in common with the rest of the world the economic effects of war and we must congratulate ourselves that instead of closing this concern altogether on account of war they have decided to continue its publication with a slight reduction of size with a view to cut down partially the heavy annual deficit which would have necessitated proportionate increase in the annual subscription. We hope, therefore, that our subscribers, contributors and sympathisers will join with us in congratulating our Publishers on this decision arrived at after mature consideration but prompted with the sole desire to render some signal service to the cause of Indology in general and Indian Scholars in particular. Will it be too much to expect that all Indian Scholars who are interested in the promotion of Indology will make it a point to subscribe to this journal and help it in all possible ways to enable it to continue its useful career in spite of the financial handicaps consequent upon the Great War now raging in different parts of Europe and Asia?

The two features of Indology in Current Literature and the Review Articles on the different phases of Indology summarising the advance made therein each year, which we had announced in the September 1938 issue of the New Indian Antiquary as forming part of the second volume of this journal, had to be withheld on account of difficulties caused by the uncertain conditions since prevailing in Europe. The international Editorial Board formed for this purpose could not begin to function in these directions. The Editors are glad to announce here, however, that arrangements are being made to incorporate the first feature in the nature of a monthly topical bibliography of India Research published in all the important journals of the world. The aid of several Research Institutes in India is being sought in this direction, and the Editors of the New Indian Antiquary will act as co-ordinating officers

and publish the joint results in its pages every month with effect from October 1940. Further announcements will be made as soon as the arrangements are complete.

It is hoped that this new feature will attract all the Indian Scholars and enable them to subscribe to this journal which will give in a nut shell all the important results of research published every month in all the journals of the world.

We regret to announce the tragic and premature death of Mr. Ganesh Ramakrishna Mallapur which took place on March 13, 1940 at Bombay, as a result of an accident at his home in Khar. Since the very commencement of the New Indian Antiquary Mr. Mallapur was in charge of all the printing work connected with this journal and but for his efficient and careful supervision the New Indian Antiquary would not have attained that fineness of form which has won for it a good name among its readers and contributors. The Editors, therefore, would not only be voicing their feelings, but also those of all the admirers of the New Indian Antiquary in placing our record their sense of irreparable loss in the sad and sudden demise of their friend Mr. G. R. Mallapur.

Born in 1901 of a respectable family he was educated for a business career after his Matriculation and passed creditably the numerous examinations connected therewith. After serving in different Business Houses in Bombay in various capacities he sought service in the Karnatak Printing Press and within a very short time won recognition for his abilities and became the head of the English Department of the Karnatak Printing Press and Publishing House. In the execution of all work entrusted to him by the Editors of the New Indian Antiquery he was prompt and painstaking, and in his tragic death our Publishers have lost a devoted worker of penetrating intelligence and genial disposition. We offer our heartfelt condolences to all the members of Mr. Mallapur's family.

S M KATRE P K Gode.

## ĀKIMCAÑÑA: SELF-NAUGHTING

## By ANANDA K COOMARASWAMY

Vivo autem jam non ego (Gal, 11.20)

Eyā diz solte du sêle scheiden von allem dem, daz iht isl (Eckhart, Pfeiffer 525).

Her umbe sol der mensch geflizzen sin, daz er sich entbilde sin

selbes unt aller crëature noch keinen vater wizze denne got alleine... Diz ist aller menschen fremde....Ich wolde, das irz befunden hetet

mit lebenne" (Eckhart, Preiffer pp. 421, 464),

"When thou standest still from the thinking of self, and the willing of self" (Jacob Bohme, Of the Supersensual Life).

An ego-mania occasioned the fall of Lucifer, who would be "like the Most High" (Is. XIII. 14), thinking "Who is like me in Heaven or Earth?" (Tabart, Ch. XXIV), and desiring to deify himself (Augustine, *De qu. vet. Test.* CXIII) not in the way discussed below by an abnegation of selfhood, but as St. Thomas Aquinas says "by the virtue of his own nature" and "of his own power (Sum. Theol. I. 63.3 c). We are all to a greater or less extent ego-maniacs, and to the same extent followers of Satan. Act V. 36 refers to a certain Theudas as "boasting himself to be somebody".

In the vernacular, when a man is presumptuous, we ask him "who do you think you are", and when we refer to someone's insignificance we call him a "nobody", or in earlier English a "nithing". In this worldly see all him a good thing to be "someone" and a misfortune to be "nobody", and from this point of view we think well of "ambition" (iti-bhauābhaua tanhā). To be "someone" is to have a name and lineage (nāma-gotta), or at least to have a place or rank in the world, some distinction that makes us recognizable and conspicuous. Our modern civilisation is essentially individualistic and self-assertive, even our educational systems being more and more designed to foster "self-expression" and "self-realisation": and if we are at all concerned about what happens after death, it is in terms of the survival of our treasured "personality" with all its attachments and memories.

On the other hand, in the words of Eckhart, "Holy scripture cries aloud for freedom from self". In this unanimous and universal teaching, which affirms an absolute liberty and autonomy, spacial and temporal, attainable as well here and now as anywhere else, this treasured "personality" of ours is at

<sup>1.</sup> Mainly based, as the title implies, on Christian and Buddhist sources.

<sup>2.</sup> We write "personality" because we are using the word here in its vulgar sense and not in the stricter and technical sense in which the veritable "person" is distinguished from the phenomenal "individual", e.g. in Attareya Aranyaka II 3.2 and Boethius. Contra Evtychen, II.

once a prison and a fallacy, from which only the Truth shall set you free ? a prison, because all definition limits that which is defined, and a fallacy because in this ever changing composite and corruptible psyche-physical "personality" it is impossible to grasp a constant, and impossible therefore to recognize any authentic or "real" substance. In so far as man is merely a "reasoning and mortal animal" tradition is in agreement with the modern determinist in affirming that "this man", so-and-so, has neither free will nor any element of immortality. How little validity attaches to this man's conviction of free-will will appear if we reflect that while we speak of "doing what we like", we never speak of "being when we like" and that to conceive of a spatial liberty that is not also a temporal liberty involves a contradiction. Tradition, however, departs from science by replying to the man who confesses himself to be only the reasoning and mortal animal that he has

<sup>3.</sup> The doctrine is one of escape and the pursuit of happiness. It will not be confused with what has been called escapism. Escapism is an essentially sellish activity, failure to "face the music" (as when one "drowns one's sorrows in drink"), and the choice of easier paths; escapism is a symptom of disappointment, and cynical rather than mature. We need hardly say that to "wish one had never been born" is the antithesis of the perfect sorrow that may be occasioned by the sense of a continued existence; we are born in order to die, but this death is not one that can be attained by suicide or suffering death at the hands of others, it is not of ourselves or others, but only of God that it can be said in the words of St. John of the Cross, "and, slaying, dost from death to life translate."

At the same time, the true way of "escape" is by far more stremions than the life that is escaped (hence the designation of the religious in India a a ' Toder', sramana), and it is the degree of a man's maturity (in Skr the extent to which he is pakea, "pukka", and no longer āma, "raw") that is the measure of the presability of his escape, and consequent heatitude.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The minds of some are set on Union (voga), the minds of others on comfort (ksema)" (TS V 2.17, ct. KU II 1-4).

<sup>4.</sup> The denial of freewill in "this man", the individual, is explicit in Sn. 350. "It does not belong to the many-folk to do what they will and kanakaro hi puthujjananam. cf. "Ye cannot do the things that ye would", (al. V. 17) and this denial is made in a very striking manner in 5, III, to 67 where for the uprial formula according to which the body and mentality are anatta, not 1, nor mine, the proof is offered that this body, sensibility, etc., cannot be "muc", cannot be "I", for if these were myself, or mine, they would never be sick, thee in this case one could say "Let my body, sensibility, etc be thus, or not thus", nothing being really ours except to the extent that we have it altogether in our power, nor may thing variable any part of an identity such as the notion of a "very person" (sathurusa) intends. A further consideration is this, that if the becoming (bhara) of the finite individual were not absolutely determined by "fate", "mediate can get", or "karma" (the terms are synonymous), the idea of an ommiscient providence (prajnā, pannā; knowledge of things not derived from the things themselve a would be unintelligible. In this connection we may remark that we are not, of contreconcerned to prove any doctrine whatever dialectically, but only to exhibit its consistency, and therewith intelligibility. The consectency of the Philosophia Perenneis indeed good ground for "faith" (i.e. confidence, as distinguished from mere belief), but as this "Philosophy" is neither a "system" nor a "philosophy", it cannot be argued for or against.

"forgotten who he is" (Boethius, De Consol, prose vi), requires of him to "Know thyself",5 and warns him "If thou knowest not thyself, begone" (si ignoras te, egredere, Cant. I. 8). Tradition, in other words, affirms the validity of our consciousness of being but distinguishes it from the so-and-so that we think we are: the validity of our consciousness of being is not established in metaphysics (as it is in philosophy) by the fact of thought or knowledge; on the contrary, our veritable being is distinguished from the operations of discursive thought and empirical knowing, which are simply the casually determined workings of the "reasoning and mortal animal", which are to be regarded vathābhūtam, not as affects but only as effects in which we (in our ventable being) are not really, but only supposedly involved. Tradition, then, differs from the "nothing-morist" (Skr. nāstika, Pali natthika) in affirming a spiritual nature that is not in any wise, but immeasurable, inconnumerable, infinite and inaccessible to observation, and of which, therefore, empirical science can neither affirm nor deny the reality. It is to this "spirit" (GK. peneuma, Skr. ātman, Pali Attā, Arabi ruh, etc.) as distinguished from body and soul, i.e. whatever is phenomenal and formal (Gk. soma and psyche, Skr. and Pali nāma-rūpa, and savijnāma-kāya, savinnāmakāya, "name and appearance", the "body with its consciousness") that tradition attributes with perfect consistency an absolute liberty, spatial and temporal. Our sense of free will is as valid in itself as our sense of being, and as invalid as our sense of being So-and-so. There is a free will, a will, that is, unconstrained by anything external to its own nature; but it is only "ours" to the extent that we have abandoned all that we mean in common sense by "ourselves" and our "own" willing; only His service is perfect freedom. "Fate lies in the created causes themselves" (St. Thomas, Sum. Theol. I. 116. 2): "Whatever departeth farthest from the First Mind is involved more deeply in the meshes of Fate (i.e., karma, the ineluctable operation of "mediate causes"); and everything is so much the freer from Fate, by how much it draweth nigh to the pivot of all things,

<sup>5.</sup> E.g., Avencebrol, Fons Vitae, I. 2, quid est ergo quod debet homo inquirere in hac vita? her est ut seint se ipsum. The reader will not confuse the "science of self" (ātmavidyā) here intended the psychologist, whether ancient or modern; as remarked by Vansteenberghe, the gnāthi seautón with which Nicholas of Cusa opens his De docta ignorantia "n'est plus le 'Connais toi-même' du psychologie Socrate, c'est le 'Sois mattre de toi ( Dh. 160 atlā hi attano mātho) des moralistes stoicens' (Autour de la Docte Ignorance, 1915, p. 42). In the same way, the only raison d'etre of "Buddhist psychology" is not "scientific", but to break down the illusion of self. Whereas the modern psychologist's only concern and cutiosity are with the all-too-human self, that very self which even in its highest and least suspected extensions is still a prison. Traditional metaphysics has nothing in common with this psychology which restricts itself to "what can be psychically experienced" (June's own definition).

<sup>6</sup> The phenomena of this "spirit" (the realisations of its possibilities of manifestation under given conditions) are all phenomena whatever (amongst which those which are called "spiritualistic" have no privileged rank,—on the contrary, "A mouse is miracle enough . .").

And if it sticketh to the constancy of the Supernal Mind, that needs not move, it is superior to the necessity of Fate" (Boethius, De Consol prose IX). This freedom of the Unmoved Mover ("That which, itself at rest, outgoeth them that run," Isā Up. 4) from any necessitas coactionis is that of the spirit that bloweth where and as it will (hópou thélei pnci, John III.8; carati yathā vaśam, RV. X.168.4); to possess it, one must have been "born again...of the Spirit" (John III.7-8), and thus "in the spirit" (St. Paul, passim), must have "found and awakened to the Spirit" (yasyamuruttah pratibuddha ātmā, BU. IV.4.13), must be in excessus ("gone out of" one-self, one's senses), in samādhi (etymologically and semantically "synthesus"), unified (eko bhūtaḥ), or in other words "dead" in the sense that "the king dom of God is for none but the thoroughly dead" (Eckhart) and the Rūmī speaks of a "dead man walking" (Mathnawī, VI. 742-755), or again that of initiatory death as the prelude to a regeneration. There is not, of course,

<sup>7.</sup> RV. X. 168. 3-4, John III. 7-8 and Gylfiginning 18 present remarkable parallels.

<sup>8. &</sup>quot;He who sees, thinks and discriminates this Spirit, whose pleasure and play are with the Spirit, whose dalliance is with the Spirit (as in BU. IV. 3, 21. "All creation is female to God") and whose joy is in the Spirit, he becomes autonomous (svarār), he becomes a Mover-at-will (kāmācārin) in every world; but his worlds whose knowledge is otherwise than this are corruptible, he does not become a Mover-at-will in any world" (CU. VII. 25.'2). The conception of Motion-at-will is developed in very many texts, from RV. IX. 113.9. "Make me undying there where motion is at will" (yatrāmukāmam caraṇam ..mām amṛlam kṛdhi) onwards. The Christian equivalent can be found in John III. 8 and X. 9 ("shall go in and out and find pasture" like Taitt. Up. III. 10.5 "he goes up and down these worlds, eating what he will and assuming what aspect he will").

Motion-at-will is a necessary consequence of filiation or defication; the Sprit moving "as it will" in virtue of its omni-and total presence, and because "He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit" (I Cor. VI.17), all possession of "powers" (7ddhi, iddhi, such as flying through the air or walking on the water) being giftof the Spirit and depending upon a more or less ablatio omnis alteritates et diversi tatis (Nicolas of Cusa) In other words, our freedom and heatitude are the less the more we are still "ourselves", un tel The "miracle" is never an "impossibility". but only so according to our way of thinking performance is always the demon stration of a possibility. It is not opposites (as "possible" and "impossible", but contraries (for example rest and motion, both of which are "possibles") that are reconciled in divinis "Primitive" languages retain the stamp of this polarity in words which may mean either of two contrary things (cf. Fitter on ABEL, "Gegensinn der Urwort" in Jahrb. für psychoanalytische und psycho pathologische Forschungen, Bd II, 1910, and Betty HEIMANN, "The Polanty of the Infinite" in Journ. Indian Society of Oriental Art, V, 1938).

It may be added that because of the identity of the immanent and transcendent Spirit (I Cor. VI 17: "That art thou" of the Upanisads, etc.) we make no real distinction in the present article between "my spirit" (the "ghost" that we "give up", at death.) and "the spirit" (the Holy Ghost.), although sometimes writing "spirit" with reference to the immanent essence (antanaman) and "Spirit" with reference to the transcendent essence (paramātman). So far as a distinction can be made, it is "logical but not real" (secondum rationem, non secundum rem.)

any necessary connection between liberation and physical death: a man can as well be liberated "now in the time of this life" (fivan mukta) as at any other time, all depending only upon his remembering "who he is", and this is the same as to forget oneself, to "hate one's own life" (psyche, "soul" or "self", Luke, XIV. 26), deficere a se tota and a semetipsa liquescere (St Bernard), to the "death of the soul" (Eckhart), "nothing else than that the spirit goeth out of itself, out of time, and entereth into a pure nothingness" (Tauler), becoming thus "free as the Godhead in its non-existence" (Eckhart); to have said "Thy will be done, not mine" or in other words, to have been perfected in "Islām"

Man has thus two selves, lives or "souls", one rational and mortal, the other spiritual and not in any way conditioned by time or space, but of which the life is a now "where every where and every when is focussed" (Paradaso, XXIX, 12), and "apart from what has been or shall be" (KU.II.14), that "now that stands still" of which we as temporal beings knowing only a past and future can have no empirical experience. Liberation is not a matter only of shaking off the physical body—oneself is not so easily evaded—but, as Indian texts express it, of shaking off all bodies, mental or psychic as well as physical. "The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even unto the dividing asunder of soul (psyche) and spirit (pneuma),11 Heb. IV.12. It is between these two that our choice

<sup>9. &</sup>quot;Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it" (Eccl. XII. 7). Our sense of being may be "in the dust" or "in the spirit", and so either "saved or lost". It is well for him "who has been of strength to awaken before the body is unstrung" (KU. VI.4).

<sup>10.</sup> For St. Bernard see GILSON, La Théologie Mystique de Saint Bernard, Paris 1934, Ch. V. How close to Indian formulation St. Bernard comes appears in his distinction of proprium from esse (mama from attā) and in ROUSSELET's summary (ib. p. 150, note 2) "Cela revient à dire quèon ne peut pleinement posséder dieu sans pleinement se posséder soi-môme", at the same time that (ib.—152, note 1) "II n'y a plus de suum, l'être s'est vidé de lui-même", as in SB. III. 8. 1. 2-3, where the initiated sacrificer is "as if emptied out of himself" (ririana ivâlmā bhavali) in order to enter into possession of his "whole self" (sarvālmānam), or as in A. I. 249 where the man who "has brought into full being-body, will and foreknowing (bhāvita-kāyo, -citto, -pañño, i.e. whole self) is not emptied out (aparitto aprarihta) but the Great Spiritual-Self of which the way is beyond all measure" (mahattā appamāna-vihāri).

<sup>11.</sup> As far as possible this clear distinction of "soul" (psyche, anima, nafs, vedanā, etc.) from "spirit" (pneuma, spiritus, rūh, ātman, etc.) is maintained in the present article; cf. Origen, cited by Eckhart, Pfeiffer p. 351 din geist ist dir niht genomen: die krefte diner sele sint dir genomen ("It is not thy spirit, but the powers of thy soul that art taken from thee"). It must also be recognized, however, that in the European tradition the word "soul" is used in many senses (for example, "animal" is literally "ensouled", anima here as spiraculum vitae, cf. Skr prāna-bht1) and that in one of these senses (which is strictly that of Philo's "soul of the soul", Heres. 55, cf. Augustine, De duabis animabis contra Manicheos "soul" means "spirit". In what sense "soul" is or is not to be taken to mean "spirit" is discussed by William of Thierry in the Golden Episte, 50 (p. 87 in Shewring's English version, London, 1930). In the same way ātman may refer to

lies; between ourselves as we are in ourselves and to others, and ourselves as we are in God—not forgetting that, as Eckhart says, "Any flea as it is in God is higher than the highest of the angels as he is in himself". Of these two "selves", the psycho-physical and spiritual, one is the "life" (psyche) to be rejected, the other the "life" that is thereby saved of Luke XVII 33 and Math. XVI. 25: and of these again the former is that "life" (psyche) which "he who hateth in this world shall keep it unto life eternal" (John XII. 25) and which a man must "hate, if he would be my disciple" (Luke XIV. 26). It is assuredly all that is meant by psyche in our world "psychology" that is in this way "le moi haissable"; all of us, in fact, that is subject to affects or affections or wants of any sort, or entertains opinions "of its own".<sup>12</sup>

The unknown author of the Cloud of Unknowing is therefore altogether in order when he says (Ch. 44) so poignantly that "All men have matter of sorrow: but most specially he feeleth matter of sorrow, that wotteth and feeleth that he is ... And whose never felt this sorrow, he may make sorrow for why, he never yet felt perfect sorrow.\(^{13}\) This sorrow, when it is had ... maketh a soul able to receive that joy, the which recent from a man all witting and feeling of his being". And so also BLAKL, when he says "I would go down unto annihilation and Eternal Death.\(^{14}\) lest the last Judg ment come and find me Unannihilate, and I be seiz'd and giv'n into the hands of my own Selfhood". In the same way St. Paul, Vivo, outem jam

the psycho-physical "self" or to the spiritual self; from the latter point of view, the psycho-physical self is anattā, "not spiritual"! It is because both "out" and "spirit" are selves, although of very different orders, that an equivocation is in evitable—the use of the words in their context has always to be very carefully considered; the proper sense can always be made out

<sup>12</sup> Cf the citation from Jacob Bohme at the head of this article. It is comparatively easy for us to admit that a "self-willing" is egotistical; it is far more difficult, but equally indispensable to realise that a "self-thinking", i.e. "thinking for oneself" or "having opinions of one's own" is as much an error, or "sin," defined as "any departure from the order to the end" as any willing. can be. A good case of "thinking for oneself" is what is called the "free examination of scripture; and here, as was lately remarked by Mr. David Maclyer, "the number of possible objections to a point of doctrine is equal to the number of ways of mix understanding it, and therefore indefinite"

<sup>13.</sup> Varrāgya, "dis-gust", as distinguished from āša bhanga, "dis-appointment" nekkhamana-sita as distinguished from geha-sita in D. II. 279, or kata them lupe as distinguished from tou kosmou lupe in II Coi. VII. 10

<sup>14.</sup> As remarked by St Thomas Aquinas (Sum Theol I. 63.3), "no treature can attain a higher grade of nature without ceasing to exist", which self dental is a thing "against the natural desire". It is not of its "own" will that the creature can desire its own "annihilation" or "death". But our consciousnes, of being (as distinguished from any conceit of being So-and-so or such and such) is precisely not the "creature"; it is another will in me than "mine", the lover of another (S IV. 158) self than "mine" that "longs intensely for the Great Self" implantam abhikhankatā, M II. 21) i.e. for Itself; this does not pertain to our self love, but God's, who is in all things self-intent and loves no one but himself.

non ego: vivit in me Christus (Gal. 11. 20).

We are sometimes shocked by the Buddhist disparagement of natural affections and family ties. But it is not the Christian who can thus recoil, for no man can be Christ's disciple "who hateth not father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren, and sisters", as well as himself (Luke XIV. 26). These uncompromising words, from one who endorsed the command to honour father and mother and who equated contempt with murder, show clearly enough that it is not an ethical doctrine of unselfishness or altruism that we are dealing with, but a purely metaphysical doctrine of the transcending of individuation. It is in the same sense that he exclaims "Who are my mother and my brethren?" (Mark III. 34 etc.), and accordingly that Eckhart warns "As long as thou still knowest who thy father and thy mother have been in time, thou art not dead with the real death" (PFEIFFER, p. 462).

There can be no return of the produgal, no "turning in" (nivṛtti) except of same to same. "Whoever serves a God, of whom he thinks that 'He is one and I another', is an ignoramus" (BU I.4 10): "If then you do not make yourself equal to God, you cannot apprehend God: for like is known by like" (Hermes, Līb. XI. 11. 20 b). The question is asked of the home-comer, "Who art thou?" and 1f he answers by his own or a family name, he is dragged away by the factors of time on the threshold of success (JUB. III. 14. 1-2): "that ill-fated soul is dragged back again, reverses its course, and having failed to know itself, lives in bondage to uncouth and miserable bodies. The fault of this soul is its ignorance" (Hermes, Lib. X. 8 a). He should answer "Who I am is the light Thou art. What heavenly light Thou art, as such I come to Thee", and answering thus is welcomed accordingly, "Who thou art, that am I; and who I am, art thou. Come in" (JUB. III. 14. 3-4): to the question "Who is at the door?" he answers "Thou art at the door" and

<sup>15.</sup> The traveller, at the end of life's journey, knocks at the Sundoor (as in JUB. etc.); which is the door of the house of Death (as in KU.), and that of Yama's paradise (as in RV.), and would be received as a guest; or as expressed in Pali, amala-dvāram āhacca titthati. Admission, however, depends upon anonymity, with all its implications of "being in the spirit" (ālmany etya mukha ādatte, "going in the spirit, the gate receives him", JUB. III. 33. 8). There can be no doubt that the same mythical and profound eschatology underlies the Homeric legend of Ulysses and Polyphemus. The latter is assuredly Death (his one eye corresponds to Siva's third; that is blinded and thus "closed" means that the world illumined by sun and moon, the two eyes of the Gods, is to persist for Ulysses and his companions; it must be an initiatory, not in final death that is overcome, as is also suggested by the "cave"); his land which yields crops untilled is a Paradise, like Yama's or Varuna's, Ulysses would be his guest. The story as told by Homer (and Euripides) has become an adventure rather than a myth, but it remains that the hero who overcomes Death is the one man who when he is asked "who art thou" answers "No one"; and it is noteworthy that in the Euripides version when the blinded Cyclops cries out "Where is Nobody", the Chorus answers "Nowhere, O Cyclops". It would be hard to say whether or not Homer still "understood his material": it may be taken for granted that Euripides did not.

<sup>16.</sup> Cf. Dh. 243 where after a list of "faults", we have "the supreme fault is ignorance" (avijjā paramam malam).

is welcomed with the words "Come in, O myself" (Rümī, Mathnawi, I. 3062-3); it is not as un tel that he can be received,—"Whoever enters, saying 'I am So-and-so', I smite him in the face" (Shams-i-Tabrīz); as in Cant. I. 7 si ignoras te, egredere.

"He that is joined unto the Lord, is one spirit" (I Cor. VI. 27). But this Spirit (ālman), Brahman, God, the "What?" of JUB. III.14, "hath not come anywhence nor become anyone" (KU. II.18); the Imperishable has neither personal nor family name (BU. III. 8.8, Mādhyarhdina text), nor any caste (Mund. Up. I. 1.6); "God himself does not know what he is, because he is not any what" (Erivgena); the Buddha is "neither priest nor prince nor husbandman nor any one at all (uda koci no'mhi)....I wander in the world a veritable naught (akiricana)....Useless to ask my kin (gottam Sn. 455-6).18

The outlines of the universal doctrine of self-naughting and of self-sacrifice or devotion in the most literal sense of the words having been drawn above, we propose to devote the remainder of our demonstration to its specifically Buddhist formulation in terms of ākimcannāyatana, "the station of no-what-ness", or more freely "the Cell of Self-naughting". "When it is realised that 'There is no aught' (n'atthi kimci), that is 'Emancipation of the

<sup>17.</sup> The deiformed soul in which an ablatio omnis alteritatis et diversitatis has been effected (Nicolas of Cusa) is therefore beyond our specchways (vådapatha, Sn. 1076), "unknown to herself or any creature, she knows well that she is, but does not know what she is" (Eckhart, PFEIFFER, p. 537).

<sup>18.</sup> In the same way the famous Ode of Shams-1-Tabriz (XXXI in Nicholson). ".. .I know not myself . I am not of Adam nor of Eve. . My place is the Placeless, my trace is the Traceless; nor body nor life, since I am of the life of the Beloved" (na tan nāsad na jān nāsad, ki man az jān jānān-am). Nicholson comments. "'I am nought' means 'God is all'". From the Indian point of view, the "Beloved" is, of course, "the Spirit which is also one's own spiritual essence", "For one who has attained, there is none dearer than the Spirit", or "than the Self" (ma payataram attanā, S.I. 75, cf. BU. 148 tad etat prevah putrāt ayam ātmā... ālmānam eva priyam upāsīta; II.4; IV. 5, CU. VII. 25 etc.). With "traceless" compare Dh. 179 tam buddham anantagocaram apadam, kina padina nessatha, "That Buddha, whose pasture is without end, the footless (or trackless), by what track you find him out?" (complementary to the usual doctrine of the vestigium pedis, according to which the intelligible Buddha (or Agin) can be tracked by his spoor, pādā or padām). "A Tathāgata, I say, is actually (dhamme) beyond our ken (ananuvejjo, M J 140), and in the same way of Athats "there is no demonstration" (tesam natthi paññapanāya, ib ) "Him neither gods nor men can see" (tam ce hi mādakkhum, S.I. 23). The last is spoken in the Buddha's physical presence, and corresponds to the well known text of the Vajracehedika Sutra, "Those who see me in the body (rupena) or think of me in words, their way of thinking is mistaken, they do not see me at all, the Blessed Ones are to be seen only in the Body of the Law, the Buddha can only be rightly understood as the Principle of the Law, assuredly not by any means"; cf St Thomas "Therefore if anyone in seeing God conceives something in his mind, this is not God, but one of God's effects" (Summa Theologica, III. 92 1 ad 4) "We have no means for considering what God is, but rather how He is not" (ib I.3.1).

will'<sup>19</sup> (ceto-vimuttı) in the 'Station of No what-ness'" (S. IV. 296, cf. D. II. 112). The exact meaning of "There is naught", i.e. "naught of mine"<sup>20</sup> is brought out in A. II.177 "The Brāhman<sup>21</sup> speaks the truth and no lie when he says 'I am naught of an anyone anywhere, and therein there is naught of mine anywhere soever'" (nāham kvacam kassaci kuncanam, tasmin na ca mama kavacani katthaci kimcanam n'atthi, also in A.I 206),<sup>22</sup> the text con-

<sup>19.</sup> Ceto-vimutti (often rendered "Heart's release") is contrasted with paññavimutti, "Intellectual emancipation" (ceto- and pañña- denoting both the means or way of liberation and the respect in which liberation is obtained); the texts often speak of a "being free in both departments" ubhato-bhaga-vimutti, as well as of other types of liberation, and it is evident that the two ways, which are those of the will and the intellect converge and ultimately coincide. A.II.36 cetovisippato hoti vitahka-pathesu, "He is a past master of the will in matters of choice" or "matters of counsel", brings out very clearly the conative connotations of ceto, which are evident also for cetas in AV. VI. 116. 3. S. III 60 defines sankhārā as sancetana, rendered by Mrs. Rhys Davids "seats of will". It is clear, then that the connection of ceto-vimutti with akimcanna is intrinsic; since it is just to the extent that one ceases to feel that one is anyone and to the extent that one loses all sense of proprium (mama) that self-willing and self-thinking must cease. It is just because ceto implies both willing and thinking that it is difficult to represent it by a single English word; however, it is in just the same way that English "to have a mind to" is the same as "to wish to" or "to want to", and so too that Skr. \* man to "think" and kam to "wish" or "want" are virtually synonymous in many contexts Paññā is not, of course, "thought" in this sense, but much rather "speculation" in the strict sense of this word (āditye mahat. .ādarše pratīrūpah Kaus Up. IV. 2, with very many Christian and other parallels, e.g. St. Thomas Aquinas, Sum. Theol. I, 12, 9 c "All things are seen in God as in an intelligible mirror", i.e. the speculum aeternum). It is asked in M. I. 437, How is it that some are liberated in one way and some in the other, the Buddha replying that it depends upon "a difference in faculties" (indriva-vemattatam). The difference is, in fact, typically that of the royal from the sacerdotal, Ksatriya from Brahman character; because of which difference it is that a bhakti-marga and karma-marga are stressed in the Bhagavad Gita and a jñāna-mārga in the Upanişads. The two ways, of cetovimutti (in thoulbaka 19 identified with mettä, "charity") and pañña-vimutti correspond to and are essentially the same as the bhakti-marga and jñāna-mārga of Brahmanical texts.

<sup>20.</sup> It will be seen that the Arhat or Brahman who has attained to self-naughting and confesses accordingly "n'atthi" or "n'atthi kimci" might have been called a "natthika", or natthikavāda ("Denier"). If he is never in fact so called (but rather, sūnyavādī), it is because these were designations current in a very different sense, with reference viz to the "materialist" or "sceptic" who denies that there is another world or hereafter (as in M. I. 402-3) or takes the extreme view (natthitā) that there is absolutely nothing in common between the individual that acts and the individual that experiences the results of the act (SII.17). We propose to discuss this other "Denier" upon another occasion.

<sup>21.</sup> Pali Buddhism not only equates brahma-bhūta with buddha, brahma-cakka with dhamma-cakka, etc., but (where there is no polemic involved) maintains the old and familiar distinction of the Brāhman by birth (brahma-bandhu) from the Brāhman as Comprehensor (brahma-vit), in the latter sense equating Brāhman with Arhat, passim.

<sup>22.</sup> Netti 62 (cited in Gradual Sayings, p. 184) explains kimcana here by rāga-moha-dosa, i.e. ethically, and this is true in the sense that when self is let go,

tinuing "Therewith he has no conceit of being 'a Toiler (samana) or 'a Brahman', nor conceit that 'I am better than', or 'I am equal to', or 'inferior to' (anyone). Moreover, by a full-comprehension of this truth, he reaches the goal of veritable 'naughting'" (akimcaññam yeva patipadam). What is neither "I" nor "mine" is above all body, sensibility, volitional conformations, and empirical consciousness (i.e. the psycho-physical self), and to have rejected these is "for your best good and beatitude" (S III, 33, chapter entitled Natumhāka, "What is not 'Yours'"). Accordingly, "Behold the Arhats' beatitude! No wanting can be found in them: excised the thought 'I am' (asm); 23 delusion's net is rent.... Unmoving, unoriginated Brahma-become....true 'Persons' (sappurisā), natural sons of the Wake ... That heart-wood of the Brahma-life is their eternal-reason; unshaken in whatever plight, release from 'still-becoming' (punabbhava), on ground of 'dompted (-self)' they stand, they in the world have won their battle They roar the 'Lion's Roar'. Incomparable are the Wake" (Buddha, S. III. 83-84). No question of a post-mortem "annihilation" here, then, but of "Persons" triumphant here and now; their unconditionality will not be changed by death, which is not an event for those who have "died before they die" (Rūmī), not an event for the fivan-mukta, the veritable dīksita for whom the funeral rites have already been performed and for whom his relatives have already mourned (JUB III. 7-9): of these it is only the mani-

there remains no ground for any "selfish" passion: kimewia is the "somewhat" of the man who still feels that he is "somebody", and accordingly the ground in which interest, delusion and ill-will can flourish.

In all respects equivalent to n'atthi (Skr. nästi) is Persian nëst in Shams-i-Tabrizi (T. 139.12 a, cited by Nicholson, p. 233), "Be thou naught (nëst shū), naughted of self, for there is no crime more heinous than thine existence".

<sup>23.</sup> This does not imply that the Arhat "is not", but excludes from an ineffable essence the process of thought. From this point of view, Cogita erga sum is altogether without validity; what I call "my" thinking is by no means my Self The Arhat does not wonder whether he is, or what he is, or how he is, or has been, or will be (S. II. 26, Sn. 774). "He does not worry about what is unreal" (asat) na paritassati, M 1.135) he is self-synthesised (ajjhatam susamähita, p.185111), and in this state of synthesis (samādhī) though he is unaware of anything, yet there i awareness in him" (S. V. 7, cf BU, IV, 3, 28-30). The Buddha neither teaches that nibbana is a "nothingness" nor that the Athat "comes to naught" "there is (atthi) an unborn, unbecome, uncreated, uncompounded, and were there not, there would be no way out of this here born, become, created and compound existence" (Udāna, 80), a Tathāgata, whose "I am has been cast off" (asmimano palima) is not "destroyed",-" It is in the very presence of such a Tathigata that I call him 'past finding out' (ananuvejjo) and yet there are some who maightily, vamly, falsely and contrary to what is the fact (asatā tucchā musa abhutena) charge that the Tathagata is a misleader (venayika, (f. dunnaya, heresy) who propounds the cutting off, destruction and ceasing to be of essences. That is just what I am not, and what I do not propound. The stoppage (mulha) that I have preached, both of old and now, is nothing but the stoppage of Grief" (dukkhassa, 1e of that which is analta, not I nor mine), M. I. 139 140 (the coincidence of anattā with dukkha correspond exactly to the eşa ta ātmā sarvāntarah ata'nyad artam of BU. III. 4.2).

festation in terms of "name and appearance" (nāma-rūpa) that comes to an end (as all things must that have had a beginning), so that after death they will be sought for in vain by Devas or men in this world or any other (S. I 23, D. I. 46 etc.), just as one might seek in vain for God anywhere, of whom it is asked "Whence did he come to be?" (kuta ā babhūva, RV, X, 1683), "In what quarter is He or in what?" (TS. V. 4.3.4), and "Who knows where He is?" (KU. II. 25),-" Thou canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth. so is everyone that is born of the Spirit" (John III. 8): in spite of all which it must be remarked that the attainment of infinite is not a destruction of finite possibility, for the deceased Comprehensor, being a Mover-atwill (kāmācārin), can always therefore reappear if, when, where and as he will; of which "resurrection" examples may be cited in JUB. III 29-30 (where the noli me tangere offers a notable parallel to the Christian resurrection), and in the Parosahassa Jātaka (No. 99) where a Bodhisattva is asked on his deathbed "What good he has gotten?" and answers "There is naught" (n'atthi kimci) and this is misunderstood by his disciples to mean that he has gotten "no good" by his holy life. But when the conversation is reported to his chief disciple, who had not been present, he says "You have not understood the meaning of the Master's words. What the Master said was that he had attained to the 'Station of No-what-ness' (ākimcaññāyatana).24 And thereupon the deceased Master reappears from the Brahmaworld to confirm the chief disciple's explanation.25

The man self-naughted is a happy man, not so those still conscious of their human ties. "Look you, how they are blest, these 'Nobodies', yea these Comprehensors who are 'men of naught': and see how hindered he for whom there is an 'aught', the man whose mind tied up with 'other men'" (Udāna 14).26 For "to have known the forthcoming of not being 'any-

<sup>24.</sup> It may be noted here that Alāra Kalāma's doctrine and realisation extended to the ākimcaññāyatana (m. 165).

<sup>25.</sup> Again a sufficient proof that even in "late" Hinayana Buddhism, to have become "no one" was by no means the same as to have been "annihilated". The Buddhist position is in no way inconsistent with the "Never have I not been and never hast thou not been nor ever shall not be" of BG. II. 12. It should be observed that the resurrections of JUB. III. 29-30 and J. as cited above are wholly "in order", and have nothing in common with the phenomena of spiritualism. An almost identical situation is described in J. I. 143. It is as much a Buddhist as is a Brahmanical commonplace that "the dead are not seen again amongst the living as asked in J.

<sup>26.</sup> The context is with reference to a man who steals for his wife. The contrasted terms are akimcana, "man of naught" and sakimcana, "man of aught" the man, that is, who "has" what he calls "his" individuality, which individuality in this case "expresses itself" in an act of partiality. This "man of aught" is hindered by the notions of "him-self" and of "his" wide, the "tie" being as between these two selves, subjective and objective; in so far as he does not "hate" both himself and his wife, he is not the Buddha's disciple, but is troubled and gets into trouble. In all these contexts it must be remembered that it is a question of the summum bonum and man's last end, and not of the "good of society", which is not a final end. The man's first duty is to work out his own salvation. Aban-

one' (ākimcaññā-sambhavam ñātvā)...that is 'gnosis'' (etan, ñānam Sn. 1115): this is Way, "Perceiving that there is 'No-what-ness' (ākimcaññam)...convinced that 'There is not' (n'atthi, i.e. 'naught mine', as above), so cross the flood'' (Sn. 1070). And this is not an easy matter: "Hard to perceive what's false (anattam, here probably = anytam), or is it easy to perceive the truth (saccam = satyam); he knows, whose wanting has been smitten through, who sees that 'There is naught''' (n'atthi kimcanam, I'dāna 80), "who hath overpast becoming or not becoming in any way" (iti-bhavā bhavam, all relativity, Udāna 20).28

It will be seen that anonymity is an essential aspect of dkincallid. All initiations  $(d\overline{i}ks\overline{a})$ , and likewise Buddhist ordination (pabbajana), which as in monasticism elsewhere is a kind of initiation, we involve at the outset

donment of self and of all ties is not only literally "un-self-ish," but it is also both better and kinder to point out the way to happiness by following it than to be "sympathetic", i.e. to "suffer with" those who will not "seek peace, and ensue it."

<sup>27.</sup> The PTS. editor ( Paul STEINTHAL ) reads anattam, but what is admittedly the best Ms. (A) has anatom, which is the form that would be assumed by antiam in Pali (cf amttom, amatam). A commentary has anatam, but apparently in the sense of the "not-bent", hence nibbana, and it must be with this in view that WOODWARD translates by "infinite". But it is almost impossible to doubt that what we have is the familiar antithesis of anytam to salyam. The uncertainty of the reading nevertheless expresses a sort of double entendre; that which is anattā, "not what I really am" (na me so attā, passim) but "devoid of any spiritual-essence" (S. IV. 54), and "naught-y" (asat, M. I. 135) is equally from the Brahmanical point of view at the same time "false" and "human" as dis tinguished from what is "true" and "non-human", i.e. divine, as is explicit in VS I 5 and SB I. 9 3. 23. (Cf. AB. VII. 24), where the sacrificer (always in the last analysis the sacrificer of himself) when initiated and during the performance of the rife "has entered from the untruth (antiam) into the truth " (satyam), and when at the close of the operation he formally desecrates himself, but does not like to say plainly the converse of this, says instead "Now I am he that I actually time pirically) am", So-and-so.

<sup>28 &</sup>quot;It is the Spirit in thee, O man, that knows which is the true and which the false (attā te purisa jānāti saccam vā yadi vā musā) the 'faii self' (kalvanam ... attānam) ... or the 'foul'" (pāpam attānam) (A I. 149), in other words the "great self" (mahattā) or the "petty" (appātumo) of A. I. 249, the "Self that is Lord of self" or the "self whose Lord is the Self" of Dh. 380. The false view is to see "self in not-self" (anattani ... atta, A. II. 52 etc.) i.e. in the empirical subject or its percepts (S. III. 130 etc.). It is "well for him that knows, himself" (atta-sañāato, S. I. 106, attañãu D. III. 552.), "whose light is the Spirit" (atta-dīpa, D. II. 100.), the "Self-lover" (attakāmo, S. I. 75, etc.), "inwardly self-intent" (ajjhatam susamāhito, A. II. 31 etc.), "in whom the Spirit has been brought to birth" (bhāvitattā, passim), and so "Go seek your Self" attanam gaveseyyātha, Mahāvagga I. 23.), "Quicken thy Self" (coday' attanam, I)h. 379, for "Self is the Lord of self" (ib. 380.)

<sup>29.</sup> The initiate is "nameless" in KB. VII. 2-3 and speaks of none by name; he is not himself, but Agni. In SB III. 8. 1 2 he is "emptied of self". Buddhist ordination (pabbajana from the point of view of the ordaned, publiajana from that of the ordaner, who during the Buddha's lifetime is the Buddha himself) has many of the characteristics of, and is sometimes called an initiation (SI. 226)

a self-denial; so as is explicit in *Udāna* 55, where "Just as rivers lose their former name and lineage (purimām nāma-gottām) when they reach the sea, and are accounted just as 'the great sea,', so men of the four castes (khattiyā brāhmaņo vessā suddā), when they as-wanderers-are-ordained' (pabbajitvā), discard their former names and lineage, and are reckoned only to be 'Toilers', 'Sons of the Sakyan'". It is thus that the "exile" (pabbajaka) sets to work to "deform himself of himself" as Eckhart expresses it (daz er sin entbilde sin selbes), or in other words to "transform" himself.

The anonymity which we have described above as a doctrinally inculcated principle is by no means only a monastic ideal but has far-reaching repercussions in traditional societies, where our distinctions of sacred from profane ( distinctions that are, in the last analysis the signature of an internal conflict too rarely resolved) can hardly be found. It reappears, for example, in the sphere of art. We have discussed elsewhere "The Traditional Conception of Ideal Portraiture "81 (citing, for example, the Pratimānāţaka, III. 5. where Bharata, though he exclaims at the artists' skill, is unable to recognize the effigies of his own parents): and may point out here that there is a corresponding anonymity of the artist himself, not only in the field of the socalled "folk arts" but equally in a more sophisticated environment. Thus, as H. SWAZENSKI has recently remarked, "It is in the very nature of Mediæval Art that extremely few names of artists have been transmitted to us... the entire mania for connecting the few names preserved by tradition<sup>82</sup> with wellknown masterpieces,—all this is characteristic of the nineteenth century's cult of individualism, based upon ideals of the Renaissance"38. Dh. 74 exclaims,

Comm. explains cira-dikkhita, "long since initiated" by cira-pabbājīta, "long since ordained"; in Jātakamālā X. 32 a Bodhisattva is dikṣita).

The primary senses of pabbājati are to "wander", "travel" and "be in exile"; and so to become a fellow in the "Companionship" (sangha) of Mendicant Travellers (bhikkhu, padbājaka), a true Wayfarer; cf. my "Pilgrim's way in JBORS. XXIII and XXIV, 1938,—the Traveller is bound for a World's End that is within himself.

- 30. The ethical aspect of this self-denial is a dispositive means to the end of self-naughting and Self-realisation, not an end in itself. *Tapas*, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist, is never a "penance", but in its disciplinary aspect a part of that training by means of which the petty self is subjected to the Great Self, or in a familiar symbolism, by which the steeds are brought under the driver's control, apart from which the man is "at war with himself" (S. I. 71-72, like BG. VI. 5-6); and in its intrinsic character, a radiance, reflecting his "Who glows (tapati) yonder".
  - 31. To appear in the third issue of "Twice a Year" (New York), 1939.
  - 32. "History", rather than "tradition" in our stricter sense.
- 33. Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, I, 1938, p. 55. Cf. Strzygowski, "the artist in Viking times is not to be thought of as an individual, as would be the case today . . . It is a creative art" (Early Church Art in Northern Europe, 1928, pp. 159-160: and with respect to this distinction of "individual" from "creative" art, "I do nothing of myself" (John VIII. 28) and "I take note, and even as He dictates within me, I set it forth" (Dante, Purgatorio, XXIV. 52). Better to be an amenuensis of the Spirit than to "think for oneself"!

"May it to religious and profane that 'This was my work's ... that is an infantile thought." DhA I. 270 relates the story of thirty three youths who are building a 'Rest Hall' at four cross roads, and it is explicit that "The names of the thirty-three comrades did not appear." but only that of Sudhamma, the donor of the roof plate (the keystone of the done) " One is irresistibly reminded of the "Millennial Law" of the Shakers, that "No one should write or print his name on any article of manufacture, that others may hereafter know the work of his hands."an And all this has not only to do with the body of the work and its æsthetic surfaces, it has just as much to do with its "weight" (gravitas) or essence (ātman); the notion of a pressible property in ideas is altogether alien to the Philosophia Perennis of which we are speaking. It is of ideas and the inventive power that we can properly say, if we are thinking in terms of the psycho physical ego, that this is not " mine," or if self has been naughted so that, to use the Brahmana phrase, we have "come into our own," that these gifts of the Spirit are truly "none"; since it is the Synteresis, the Divine Eros, inwit, in genium immarcut spirit. daimon, and not the natural individual that is the ground of the inventive

<sup>34.</sup> The words of the original could mean either my "work" or my "doing." kamma covering both things made and done. The same ambiguity, or rather ainful valence, is present in the corresponding text of BG. III. 27, "One whose self is confounded by the concept of an 'I' imagines that 'I am the doer,", and V. 8, where the Comprehensor does not think of "himself as the doer of anything." the word for "doer," karty, meaning equally "maker" or "creator"; cf. JUB. 1. 5. 2. "Thou (God) art the doer," and IV. 12. 2 "I (God) am the doer," or "maker." Like BG. as cited above is Udāna 70 "Those who give ear to the notion 'I am the doer' (ahamkāra), or are captivated by the notion 'Another is the doer' (paramkāra), do not understand this matter, they have not seen the point."

We need hardly remind the reader that this is a metaphysical position, and must not be confused with the akiriyavāda heresy, that viz. of the man in Udana to is represented as saying, even while acting, 'It is not I that am agent' two dapa katvā na karomī 'ti c'āha' "I," "this man," un tel, have no right to evade "my" responsibility in this way, by maintaining that it does not matter what I do, he cause it is not really I that am doing it. It is only when the non-entity of this "I" has been verified (sacchiktvā) that in the sense of I John III to being "horn of God, cannot sin," or that of Gal V. 18 "am not under the law."

<sup>35.</sup> In early Indian art, the names of donors are constantly met with, those of artists almost never. The donor's name is recorded, because he wishes to "acquire ment" for what has been done; the artist is not, as such, in this specifically moral sense, acquiring ment, but on the one hand earning his wages, and on the other working for the good of the work to be done, neither of these points of view implying any wish for fame.

<sup>36</sup> E.D. and F Andrews, Shaker Furniture, 1937, p. 44 In all these connections, however, it is the spirit rather than the letter that matters. In the same community, for example, furniture could not be owned "as private property, or individual interests," and yet might be marked with a person's initials "for purposes of distinction", and it was in just the same way in order for a Buddhist monk to say "I" or "mine" when convenient. In the same way an artist's signature need not be an advertisement, but can be, like a hall mark, a simple guarantee of quality and acceptance of responsibility.

power, and it is precisely of this inwit, this intellectual light, and not our own "mentality" of which it is said that "That art thou."

In conclusion, the student must not be misled by such terms as selfnaughting, non-being, or any other of the phrases of the negative theology. Non-being, for example, in such an expression as Eckhart's "non-existence of the Godhead" is that transcendant aspect of the Supreme Identity which is not, indeed, being but that to which all being, even God's, can be reduced. as to its principle; it is that of God's which is not susceptible of manifestation, of which therefore we cannot speak in terms that are applicable only to states of manifestation, yet without which God would be only a "pantheon," a "pantheistic" deity, rather than "all this" and "more than this", "within" and "without." In the same way it must be realised that of one assimilated to God by self-naughting, and therefore no longer anyone, we have no longer any human means or speechway (vādapatha) to say what he is, but only to say that he is not such or such; it would be even more untrue to say that he is not, than that he is; he is simply inaccessible to analysis. Even a theoretical grasp of metaphysics is impossible until we have learnt that there are "things which our intellect cannot behold .. we cannot understand what they are except by denying things of them" (Dante, Convito, III. 15), and that these very things are the greater part of man's last end. If, for example, the Arhat no longer desires, it is not because he is in human language "apathetic," but because all desires are possesst, and pursuit has no longer any meaning; if the Arhat no longer moves, it is not as a stone lies still, but because he no longer needs any means of locomotion in order to be anywhere; if he is not curious about empirical truths, whether "this is so" or "not so," it is not because he does not know, but because he does not know as we know in these terms; for example he does not think in terms of past or future, but only is now. If he is "idle," from our point of view who still have "things to do," it is because he is "all in act" (krtakrtyah, katakarniyo), with an activity independent of time.

But if we cannot know him, it does not follow that he cannot know or manifest himself to us. Just as in this life whilst in samādhi he is inaccessible and for all practical purposes dead, but on emerging from this synthesis and "returning to his senses" can conveniently make use of such expressions as "I" or "mine" for practical and contingent purposes without attainder of his freedom (S. I. 14), so after death, by which he is not changed, a resurrection is always possible in any guise ("he shall go in and out, and find pasture," John X. 9, with many Indian parallels, e.g., Taitt. Up. III. 5 "he goes up and down these worlds, eating what he desires and assuming what aspect he will), this possibility by no means excluding that of reappearance in that very (dis-)guise by which he had been known in the world as so-and-so. Examples of such resurrection can be cited not only in the case of Jesus, but in that of Uccaiśsravas Kaupayeya (JUB. III. 29-30), in that of the Bodhisattva of the Parosahassa Jātaka, and in that of the former Buddha Prabhūtaratna. Such a resurrection, indeed, is only one of innumerable "powers" (iddhi),

such as those of walking in the water, flying through the air, or disappearing from sight, which are possesst by one who is no longer "in himself" but "in the spirit," and inevitably possesst precisely because they are the powers of the Spirit with which he is "one" (I Cor. VI. 27):" which powers (as listed for example in S. II. 212 f., A. I. 254 f., and S. V. 254 f.) are precisely the "greater works" of John XIV. 12, "the works that I do shall he do also: and greater works shall he do". There can, indeed, be no question for those who know the "facts," that in so far as the Yogin is what the designation implies, "joined unto the Lord," these "powers" are at his command: he is only too well aware, however, that to make of these powers an end in themselves would be to fail of the real end.

It will be seen that in speaking of those who have done what was to be done, we have been describing those who have become "perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." There will be many to say that even if all this hold good for the all-abandoner, it can have no meaning for "me: and it is true that it cannot have its full meaning for "me who, en elant un tel am insusceptible of deification and therefore incapable of reaching God. Few or none of "us" are yet qualified to abandon ourselves. But so far as there is a Way, it can be trodden step by step. There is an intellectual preparation, which not merely prepares the way to a verification (sacchakiriva) but is indispensible to it. So long as we love "our" selves, and conceive of a "self-denial" only in terms of "altruism," or cling to the idea of a "personal" immortality for our or other selves, we are standing still. But a long stride has been taken if at least we have learned to accept the idea of the naughting of self as a good, however contrary it may be to our "natural" desire, however aller menschen fremde. For if the spirit be thus willing, the time will come when the flesh, whether in this or in any other ensemble of possibilities forming a "world," will be no longer weak. The doctrine of self-naughting is therefore addressed to all, in the measure of their capacity, and by no means only to those who have already formally abandoned name and lineage. It is not the saint, but the sinner, that is called to repent of his existence.

<sup>37.</sup> This unification is to be understood in the same way that the "eternal reasons" are one with the intellect that entertains them, and yet distinguishable amongst themselves, so as to be in posse to project their images upon the walls of our cave. Filiation or theosis by an ablatio amnis alteritatis et diversitatis can be expressed in terms of "glorification" as a becoming consciously a ray of the Light of lights, the relation of a ray, although of light throughout its course, is that of identity with its source at one end, and separate recognizability at the other, where its effect is observed as colour. In no better way than by this adequate symbol, made use of in all traditions, can we express or suggest the meaning of Eckhart's "fused but not confused," or Indian bhedābhedha, "distinction without difference."

## EXPANSION OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA AND ABROAD\*

## By

## BIMALA CHURN LAW

## VII. Korea<sup>20</sup>

Korea has its importance in the history of Buddhist expansion from the fact that it was from Korea that Buddhism first entered Japan and the earliest extant edition of the Chinese Tripitaka known only by a single copy was preserved in Korea and thence taken to Japan. Buddhism entered Korea as early as the last half of the 4th century A.D. In the middle of the 6th century Korea fell out with Japan, and anxious to have an alliance with the Emperor of Japan, sent him presents which included Buddhist texts and images. Korea maintained friendly intercourse with the Tang Dynasty in China and became largely imbued with Chinese Buddhist culture. In the 7th century the capital of Silla came to be a centre of Buddhist culture and trade. Merchants and missionaries from India and Tibet visited Korea and Korean pilgrims made journeys to India. From the 10th to the 14th century under the patronage of the Wang and Yuan dynasties Buddhism had a flourishing existence but in the domain of scholarship and learning it was more or less sterile. Magnificent monasteries were founded and the religion received state patronage in many ways. Towards the end of the 14th century, however, the reigning dynasty was overthrown by a revolution which was mainly the work of a section of the nobility that came to be attached to confucianism. In the 15th century restrictive measures, sometimes amounting to persecution, were imposed against Buddhism. Buddhist statues were broken or melted down and Buddhist learning was forbidden. Towards the end of the 16th century, Korea successfully withstood a Japanese attack, but Buddhism does not seem to have enjoyed any very serious consideration in the succeeding centuries. Since the annexation by Japan in 1910, conditions have changed and the religion is being encouraged.

## VIII. Japan<sup>27</sup>

Japan received the doctrine of the Buddha from China through Korea in about the middle of the 6th century A.D. but there are many elements of

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p. 709 of Vol. II.

<sup>26.</sup> For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Korea, See ELIOT—Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III.

<sup>27.</sup> For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Japan, See ELIOT—Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III; E. STEINLHER OBERLIN, Buddhist Sects of Japan: Their History, philosophical Doctrines and Sanctuaries.

difference between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Buddhism in Japan had always an intimate connection with social, political and even military matters of the country and from the 7th century until the Meiji era all Shinto shrines with a few exceptions were according to an agreement handed over to the custody of the Buddhist priests.

Among the undernoted twelve sects of Japanese Buddhists the first eight called by the Japanese Hasshū are all imported from China and represent the Buddhism of the Nara and Hei-an periods. The rest are later than 1170 A.D. and were "all remodelled, if not created, in Japan."

The twelve sects are as follows:

1,	Kusha	7.	Tendas
2.	Jo-jitsu	ħ.	Shangon
3.	Ritsu-Shu or Risshu	9,	Júdo
4.	Sanron	10.	Zen
5.	Hossö	11.	Shur
6.	Kegon	12	Nuhiren

All Japanese sects of importance are Mahayanists. The Himyana is represented only by the Kusha, Jo-jitsu and Risshu. The two former are both extinct: the third still numbers a few adherents but is not anti-Mahayanist. It merely insists on the importance of discipline

Of the above twelve sects, the Tendai and Shingon, onwards for 700 years from the 9th century, played a very great pair in the history of Japanese art and literature as well as in political and literary matters. The culture of the Fujiwara period was almost entirely their contribution. Of the four remodelled sects, the Jödo and Shin Shii are Amidets, i.e., those who have absolute faith in the mercy of Amida. The Nichmen sect is purely Japanese and is a protest against Amidesia and an attempt to restore the historical Buddha to his proper position. Zen is the Japanea equivalent of Chinese Ch'an and is the name given to the sect founded in China by Bodhidharma. It is said to have been introduced into Japan in the 7th century, but died out till it was later revived under the patronage of the Höjö-Regents and specially during the Ashikaga period. Zen monks profoundly influenced the art and literature of Japan.

## IX. Ccylon\*\*

Ceylon along with Burma and Stam is one of the three countries which still adheres to Theravada Buddhism. According to tradition, Ceylon was colonised from India from a region known as Lala by a Kshatriya prince named Vijayasingha but the introduction of Buddhism did not take place

<sup>28.</sup> For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Ceylon, See Diparamsa, ed. by Geiger; Mahāvamsa ed. by Geiger, Mahavamsa Commentary, 2 Vols (ITS) ed by Malalasekera; De Silva-"History of Buddhism in Ceylon" (in Buddhistic Studies ed. by B. C. Law), Eliot Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol III, Geiger-"A Short History of Ceylon" (in Buddhistic Studies ed. by B. C. Law).

earlier than the reign of Asoka, when the king of Ceylon sought the friendship of the great emperor and sent an embassy to him with presents, King Asoka sent two representatives of his own family, Thera Mahinda and Theri Sanghamittä to Ceylon to propagate the religion there. The reigning king of Ceylon, Devānampiya Tissa accorded them a cordial reception and became a patron of the religion and thus the religion gained a foothold in the island-country, according to tradition. Even within the life-time of the two vanguards, hundreds of men and women sought refuge in the religion and the religion was well-established. Monasteries, Stūpas and other Buddhist establishments came to be founded, hundreds became Bhikshus and Bhikshunis receiving support from the larty, and studies in the three pitakas commenced in full earnest. After the death of Mahinda and Sanghamitta the hierarchy of the disciples was continued in pupilary succession. In the 2nd century BC. King Dutthagaman gave a good fillip to the religion and during the two centuries that followed Buddhism became almost the sole channel through which the social and cultural development of the island followed. The religion of the Ceylonese people during this period came to be purely and entirely Buddhist and traditions as recorded in the chronicles of the island indicate much practical activity in religious affairs, both in endowment and maintenance of religious institutions and the practice of religious principles. Towards the beginning of the 1st century B.C., during the reign of King Vattagāmani, two important events that concerned the Buddhist religion took place; the first was the committing of the Buddhist teachings into writing and secondly the introduction for the first time of a schism in the Buddhist church of the island. The order of monks at Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura held a convocation and under the patronage of the king appointed scribes to commit into writing the teachings of the religion.

The schism that occurred in the church of Ceylon in about the 1st century A.D. was due to the infringement of certain rules of monastic discipline. Outside the precincts of the established church there was another Vihāra known as Abhayagiri where the dissentient Bhikshus had taken up their abode. They were later on joined by disciples of Dhammaruci Achāryya. They adopted the Vaitulya piţaka and pioclaimed it to be the teaching of the Buddha. For centuries the Mahāvihāra monks carried on successfully under the patronage of the reigning kings a long struggle against the Vaitulya fraternities of the Abhayagiri vihāra. But intercourse with India during all these centuries was so frequent that from time to time non-orthodox doctrines and their followers occasionally found their way to Ceylon and were favoured by certain classes of monks. But these had no marked effect on the general progress or the stability of the orthodox church.

In about the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. an ascetic of the Vajraparvata Nikāya clad in the robes of a Buddhist monk came to Ceylon obviously from the mainland of India and converted the reigning king into his secret doctrine. To-day it is difficult to find any books of either the Vaitulya piţaka or any other heterodox teachings. But the ruins of Anu-

rādhapura and archæological explorations on other sites in Ceylon have yielded not only inscriptions but also images that are definitely not only Mahāyānistic but also frankly tantric.

To resume the story of the orthodox church one must refer to the activities of the great Thera Buddhaghosa in about the first half of the 5th century A.D. Buddhaghosa came from South India to Ceylon where under the patronage of the reigning king, Mahänäma, he engaged himself in the work of compilation of the celebrated althakathās or commentaries of the Buddhist pitakas. His well-known works, the Visuddhimagga, the Samanta-pāsādikā, the Sumangalavilāsinā, the Papañcasudanā, the Manorathapuranā, the Sāratthapakāsinā and a host of other works were all written down in Ceylon. Buddhaghosa thus raised the position and prestige of the Theravāda Church of Ceylon to a great extent.

Towards the end of the 8th century Ceylon suffered severe political unrest and the Ceylonese Church felt the consequences for more than two centuries, so much so that towards the middle of the 11th century, it was once found difficult to get a chapter of ordained monks to continue valid ordinations. This was, however, restored by the help of a number of learned Theras who were brought out from Arakan by king Vijayavahu middle of the 12th century, under the patronage of the king Parakramavahu. the religion received infusion of new life. Parakramavahu restored viharas and monasteries, built new religious edifices and brought about the unification of the three contending sects, namely, the Mahawhara Nskaya, the Abhayagiri Nikaya, and the Vaitulya Nikaya, and also brought about the restoration of the power and influence of the orthodox church, the Mainvihlara Nikaya. He also brought into existence, probably for the first time, a code of regulations for the guidance of the Bhikshus. From the time of Buddhaghosa upto the time of king Parakramavahu, numerous Buddhist works by celebrated scholars were composed in Pah and Sinhalese the reign of Parakramavahu the Great, a systematic compilation of sub-commentaries took place under the guidance of Kassapa Thera. After his death unfortunately there were again political unrests in the island. Within a hundred years, the Bhikshus were again disorganised, but the sasana was again restored (1266 A.D.) with the help of monks brought from the Cola country in South India. Monasteries were again established and there was again activity in the cause of religion.

The reputation of the Sangha in Ceylon became so well established that towards the middle of the 15th century when Burma was faced with a crisis of the cessation of valid ordination, the reigning king of the country sought the help of the *Mahāvihāra* in Ceylon for restoration of the *Sāsana*. From Burma at a later period the ordination of this Nikāya was carried to Siam. "The connection of Burma at this period has an important bearing on the fortunes of the Sangha fraternity and of Buddhism in Ceylon. For through these embassies the books that existed in Ceylon were taken to Burma, Siam and Cambodia and the Mahānikāya was established in these countries, which

helped Ceylon to get back the books and the ordination at a subsequent period when ordination had disappeared in the island and books were lost."29

In about this time the Portuguese arrived at the island and established a fort in Colombo, besides introducing Christianity into the island. The then reigning king Bhuvanekavāhu III (1552 A.D.) allied himself with the Portuguese and brought ruin not only upon himself but also upon the religion. But a still more severe blow came from king Rajasingha I. He did havoc with the monks and monastic establishments. The king of Kotte with whom the Potuguese gained influence also pursued more or less the same policy. The king of other provinces also turned against Buddhism. But with the arrival of the Dutch in the 17th century conditions took a better turn. Their attitude was more conciliatory towards the religion and the subsequent kings were able to devote their times and energy to restore the status of Buddhism During this time a great man arose in Saranakara who was a Sāmaņera as ordination had disappeared in the land. He made known to king \$17 Vijaya Rājasingha (1734 A.D.) that the religion of the Buddha had deceased in the island because the order of the Bhikshus had become extinct. He prevailed upon the king to bring out a mission of Bhikshus from Siam for the restoration of the order. The Stamese mission started for Ceylon but the voyage was eventually abandoned. Saranankara persisted in his attempt and finally prevailed upon the succeeding king Kittisiri Rājasīha to send another mission to Siam. This mission was cordially received by King Dhammika of Siam who sent Upāli Thera with a chapter of Ten Bhikshus and the order was eventually restored in Ceylon and Saranankara was appointed Sangharaja, the head of the Sangha. In 1815 the island came into the possession of the English who pledged for the protection and maintenance of the Buddhist religion.

### X. Siam30

The Buddhism of Siam belongs to the Theravada school. The Siamese belonged to That family of a South Chinese people. The history of That rule in Siam may roughly be described as a succession of three kingdoms with capitals at Sukhothai, Ayuthia and Bangkok respectively.

The Southern regions of Siam came into contact with Buddhism at a considerably early period. The eastern coasts in India had intercourse not only with Burma but also with the Malaya Peninsula. Epigraphic evidence proves that the reign of Ligor came into contact with Buddhism as early at least as the 4th and 5th centuries A.D and it is only probable that Siam was also touched by this wave of Indian religious expansion. In fact, some of the ancient sites of Siam, e.g. Dvārāvatī have yielded sculptures and other antiquities that are either frankly Buddhist or are affiliated to Buddhism. An

<sup>29.</sup> De Silva, History of Buddhism in Ceylon in Buddhistic Studies, ed. B. C. Law, p. 502

<sup>30</sup> For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Siam see Elion—Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III.

inscription of about the 4th century found in Kekah and another of the 7th or 8th century from Pra Pratom, both contained the well known Buddhist formula of causation. The latter inscription and also one from Margui seem to be in mixed Sanskrit and Pali.

In an important inscription found at Sukhothai and now preserved at Bangkok and probably datable in about 1300 Ap. it is stated that the Siamese kingdom of the time extended on the South to the sea as far as Lagor and on the west to Pegu. From the same inscription we derive the knowledge that the court and the inhabitants of Sukhothai were devout Buddhists regularly observing the Vassa and the festival of Kathina and also that there were several arch monasteries, many Buddha statues and Buddhist relics. The form of Buddhism described seems to have differed little from the Hinayanism found in Siam to-day. In any case, it seems that at least during this period the Samese were acquainted with Pali Buddhism. Whatever may have been the earlier form of Buddhism and wherever we may trace the source of the religion of earlier times, there seems to be very little doubt that when the Than panered into Siam the religion was a certain kind of Hinayanism which in all likelihood was imported from Burma. We all know that towards the middle of the 11th century Buddhism in Burma received a new infusion of life and spread over very quickly to the Shan estates and it is not altogether impressible that it found its way to the not very distant kingdom of Siam. In a subsequent period "the Siamese recognised the seniority and authority of the Sinhalese Church by inviting an instructor to come from Ceylon, but in earlier times they can hardly have had direct relation with the island. A Khmer inscription composed in 1361 or a little later shows that the reigning king learned both in Buddhist and Brahmanical lore was a cosmopolitan in religious practices. In 1361 he had a Sangharaja learned in the Pitakas brought from He was received with great honour and became eventually the head of the Buddhist Church. Two other inscriptions apparently datable in this period refer to the importation of a branch of the Bodhi tree from Ceylon and certain Buddhist relics, probably from India, which were all installed with great solemnity. To this date may also be referred series or engravings on stone illustrating about one hundred Jātakas,

Towards the middle of the 14th century the seat of power in Siam was transferred to Ayuthia where we have several gigantic images of the Buddha and the ruins of numerous Buddhist establishments. A curious inscription engraved on an image of Siva found at Sukhothai and dated 1510 A.D. asserts, however, the identity of Buddhism and Brahmanism. At Lophburi we have some ancient buildings which were originally constructed for the Brahmanic cult were later on adapted to Buddhist uses. Ayuthia continued to be the capital of Siam until 1767 when it was sacked and ruined by the Burmese who, though Buddhists, did not scruple to destroy and deface Buddhist temples, establishments and statues. Phāya Tāk Sin, a Chinese in origin, repulsed the Burmese attack, made Bangkok the seat of Government but was soon deposed in 1782 by Chao Phāya Chakkri who established a new

dynasty. This king convoked a council and had the whole Tripitaka revised by monk scholars and built a hall in which the texts were preserved. During the reign of one of his successors, Mongkut who spent 26 years as a monk and then became King, Buddhism in Siam received a new lease of life. During the reign of his successor, Chulalongkorn, an edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka was published and printed in Siamese type.

#### XI. Burma 11

Tradition ascribes the introduction of Buddhism into Burma to Asoka. Four centuries later, in the 3rd century A.D., Chinese evidence points to the existence of Buddhism in a place called Lin-Yang which may be tentatively identified with a place in Burma. With the 5th and subsequent centuries we are on surer grounds. Epigraphic records provide us henceforward with definite evidences of a flourishing state of Pali Buddhism in the metropolis of the kingdom of the Pyus, Hwawan and old Prome, indicating at the same time a very intimate intercourse of Lower Burma with the Kadamba-Cola countries of South India. Buddhist records, in Sanskrit have been found in old Prome pointing to a very close relation with the Magadhan countries of Eastern India. Epigraphic records are supplemented by quite a good number of Buddhist monuments and sculptures and terracotta tablets which have been unearthed in old Prome and are datable from the 6th to the 10th and 11th centuries. All these evidences point to a resurgence of the religion in the old kingdom of Prome in about the beginning of the 5th century.

In 1057 A.D. took place the fateful invasion of Thaton by Anawrata. The story of this invasion really indicates a very flourishing state of the religion in Lower Burma The story of the religion now centres round Pagan where the royal dynasty and gradually the people found in the Theravada imported from Thaton, a purer and simpler faith, a religion with a more, direct appeal and a fresh message of deliverance. The religion slowly but steadily secured a solid ground and spread far and near on all sides. Hundreds of Buddhist monuments and monastic establishments came to be erected and embellished with Buddhist sculptures and painting. Even during the reign of Ambadatta the fame of Pagan as a centre of the Theravada faith was so well established that she exchanged religious gifts with Ceylon, with which she came gradually to be linked up in all matters concerning the religion. The clergyman of Burma looked up to the brotherhood of Ceylon as the source of all inspiration. This attitude of the Burmese brotherhood was in reality responsible for the introduction of the Sīhala Sangha in 1181-82 A.D.

The Sihala Sangha gradually established itself also in Lower Burma. The splitting up of these two sanghas into various factions naturally led to

<sup>31.</sup> For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Burma, see ELIOT—Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III; RAY—"Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma" in Journal of the Greater India Society; Sāsanavamsa ed. by Bode (Introduction); Bode—Pali Literature in Burma.

the degeneration of the religious order. A movement for reform was successfully initiated by king Dhammacett of Pegu in 1472. The Ceylonese brother-hood again came to the aid of the Burmese church and Dhammacett's reformation practically led to the final triumph of the Sihala Sangha.

But Theravada was not the only form of Buddhism in the country. Probably Sarvastivada, on the evidence of Sanskrit Buddhist epigraphs as well as on that of I-Tsing, was another form prevalent in about the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Some sort of Mahayanism and Mahayanist Tantricism had also penetrated into upper Burma. Towards the end of the 17th century the church in Burma began to show signs of slackness of discipline and of transgression of rules by individuals and groups within the order. The order divided itself into two factions which came to engage themselves in a long struggle. The story of the religion in the 18th century is the story of this struggle but eventually the orthodox school won and again the word and spirit of the original teachings of the Buddha were strictly adhered to

The dawn of the 19th century saw the introduction of the Amarapura school or Burma Sangha (Burmese order) in Ceylon. This event may be interpreted as the first return gift of Burma to Ceylon. About 60 years later two deputations from Ceylon came to Burma to receive valid ordination from the Burmese fraternity, and Burma was thus able to return the gift Ceylon had made in the 15th century. The last figure in the history of Buddhism in Burma is that of Mindon-Min who brought another triumph for the orthodox Buddhist church in Burma. Mindon-Min observed with regret that laxity in monastic discipline was much in evidence. He wanted to enforce the disciplinary code of the monks and thought it well to impose a vow enjoining strict conformity to Vinaya discipline and eventually acted up to his thought.

In 1885 the English occupied Mandalay and thus came in procession of the whole of Burma. It signalised the termination of the old order of things and the beginning of the new.

## XII Indo-China :-

## (Champa and Kamboj)

The earliest trace of Buddhism in Indo-China is indicated in a Sanskrit inscription palæographically datable in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era and found not far from modern Nhatrang. One cannot say definitely that it is a Buddhistic inscription but from some phrases and ideas used in the inscription it can more or less definitely be ascribed to Buddhistic inspiration. But more definite information about Buddhism in Champa is traceable not earlier than the 9th century. In the second quarter of that century,

<sup>32</sup> For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Indo-China, See CHATTERJI—Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia; MAJUMDAR—Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Vol I, Champa, Elion—Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III; Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China by Louis Finor (Buddhistic Studies ed. by B. C. LAW, p. 749 ff).

a Buddhist of Pāṇḍurānga, Samanta by name, dedicated the monasteries and temples to the Jina and Siva This indicates a very close association of Buddhism with Saivism which remained up to the end as one of the salient features of Indian religious life in Champa, as in other places of Indo-China as well as in Java and Sumatra. The growing importance of Buddhısm is affirmed by the foundation of the great monastery of Lokeśvara, a pious work of King Indravarman II. In 902 A.D., a Mahāyānist sthavīra set up another Lokesvara monastery and in the foundation charter one finds a clear resumé of the Mahāyānist theogony. All these inscriptions prove definitely that Mahāyānısm was the prevailing form of Buddhism in Champa. At the end of the 12th century a King of Panduranga boasted of practising the Mahāyāna Dharma and erected in the district of Buddhaloka an image of Buddha Lokesyara. Even as late as the 2nd half of the 13th century a fragment of inscription begins with the invocation "Om Namo Buddhaya" proving that Buddhism was not extinct even at that time. The ruins of Champa have yielded a large number of bronze and stone statues of Buddha Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. A number of clay medallions bearing images of the Buddha and Lokesvara were picked up in the caves of Northern Annam.

But it is only likely that Mahāyānism in Champa was preceded by Hīnayāna period. According to him, the Buddhists of Champa in the 7th century A.D. belonged to the Ārya Sammiti School and there were also a few followers of the Sarvāstivāda School. But the evidence of I-Tsing is open to doubt, for the pilgrim never visited Champa and there has not been found any archæological evidence to support his contention. Towards the end of the 15th century Champa was seized by the Anæmites who burnt down the capital and took possession of the whole kingdom where they introduced a debased mixture of Mahāyānism.

Funan, a great empire that had its centre of power in the modern territory of Cambodia, is known to us only through Chinese historians. The hey-day of its glory occupies the first five centuries of the Christian era. As in Champa so also in Funan Saivism and Buddhism peacefully existed side by side. I-Tsing testifies that the people of the country were mostly worshippers of Devas but later on Buddhism came to flourish there. By the time the pilgrim wrote his account a wicked king had expelled and exterminated all Buddhists and there were no members, of the Buddhist brotherhood at all. Sākya Nāgasena, who went to the court of China as an ambassador in 484 Ap saw a Buddhist monk. The Bhikshus of Funan went to China for the translation of the holy books of Buddhism, among them were Sanghapāla and Mandrasena.

In the south of Funan the Malay Peninsula was essentially a Buddhist country. The inscriptions found in Ligor and in the province of the Welles-ley prove that in the 4th century A.D., there were some important Buddhistic centres on the coast. Inscriptions discovered on the south of the Isthmus of Kra dating from the 8th and 9th centuries prove that the religion was con-

tinued in those countries. One of these inscriptions commemorates the construction of three Cartyas in honour of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvar., Vajrapāni, and Buddha in 775 A.D.

Towards the middle of the 6th century the Kambojas came into prominence and overthrew the kingdom of Funan An inscription of that AD. praises two eminent Bhikshus of the realm. Another inscription of the same period refers to the worship of Martreya Avalokitesvara and the Buddha. Lokesvara who is often associated with Vajrapiun and Praphagentamita was a very popular Buddhist divinity in the Mahayanist pantheon of Cambodia. Tantrism seems to have exercised very little influence upon the Khiner cults although several images of Hevajra have been found in the turn of Vinkor; cult of Bodhidruma was also a popular one. Surjavarman I who probably belonged to the Buddhist religion as is shown by his posthumous name l'aramanirvanapada was probably indirectly responsible for the first Khmer macriptions found at Lophburi in Siam. One of these inscriptions makes a distinction between the Sthaviras and Mahayana Bhikshus. It is, however, probable that the regions round Lophburi were the meeting ground of Mahayānism of Cambodia. The Khmer kings had to abundon their capital in the course of the 15th century and their disappearance marked also the disappearance of Hinduism and Mahāyānism.

## XIII. Java-Sumatra-Bali

The trace of Buddhism in Java is available in the accounts of La Hien who visited the island in about 413 A.D. The Chance palgram states that in that country there were many Brähmanas but that the Buddhet religion was not of sufficient importance. Prince Gunavarman of Kashim who turned the Buddhist missionary, visited the island in 423 A.D., but we do not know how far he succeeded in preaching religion in the i-hand loward the end of the 6th century Central Java rose into importance which be ted for about two centuries. Towards the middle of the 8th century Java, especially Central and Western Java, passed from the hands of the Sarva rulers into the control of a Mahāyānist dynasty from Sumatra, known to historians as the Sar lendras of Srivijaya, who had a mighty empne extending over the Malay Peninsula and Central Java besides Sumatra. These Sadendass were tervent Buddhists professing the Mahäyūna faith. The temple of Kala an in Central Java was elected by one of their kings in honour of the Mahayama divinity Taia in 1778 A.D. The magnificent monument of Barabudus in Central Java also was the the work of the Sailendras. Towards the end of the 7th century I-Tsing had visited Sumatra and described it as a great centre of Hinayana learning, but evidently after 1-Tsing it had become a great stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism under the patronage of the

<sup>33</sup> For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Java-Sumatra Bali see Chakravarty & Chatterjee India & Java, 2nd Ed. G. I. S. Bulktin, Majt Midah — Svarnadīpa, 2 Vols N. J. Krom—The Life of Buddha 1926 The Life of Buddha on Barabudur.

Sailendras who had extended their supremacy over Central Java as well. In the 10th century a Buddhist temple was constructed at Negapatam near Madras at the expense of a king of the Sailendras with the permission of a Cola Prince Nalanda. A copper plate of Devapāla records the grant of some villages by the Pāla sovereign of Bengal for the upkcep of a monastery at Nālandā which was built at the instance of Balaputradeva of the Sailendra dynasty out of devotion to Buddhism. Dharmapāla the famous Guru of Nālandā passed his last days in Sumatrā. Under the Pala kings the Mahāyāna doctrine flourished in Bengal and Magadha as they did nowhere else in India and it was Mahāyāna tinged with Tantrayāna. We find exactly the same blend of Buddhistic and Tantiic doctrines in Sumatrā, Java, and to some extent in Cambodia. The earliest Mahāyāna inscriptions of the Śrī Vijaya kings in Java are also written in South Indian Grantha characters but in a Central Indian script almost exactly like that of the 9th century inscriptions discovered at Nālandā.

All sorts and varieties of Mahäyāna, Vajrayāna, Bodhisattvas and Saktis, Ādi-Buddhas, Dhyānī-Buddhas, etc., have come to our view and iconographically they follow the Eastern School of Indian art. The study of Buddhistic literature in Java is proved not only by the discovery of important Buddhist texts but also by the sculptures of Barabudur and other religious monuments which presuppose a wide range of knowledge in its various branches. The later phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India are also met with in Java especially in Eastern Java. We may note in particular the adoption of Hindu gods in Buddhist Pantheon, the introduction of minor and miscellaneous divinities, of Tantric mode of worship etc.

Towards the middle of the 10th century the Saiva princes who had been ousted from Central Java and had settled in Eastern Java, won back their lost territories from the Sailendras and there was a Saivite revival in Central Java which, however, was soon abandoned. The scene now shifts to modern Java where it took some time for Buddhism to establish itself. The famous image of Prajñaparamita now in the Leiden Museum is ascribed to the second quarter of the 13th century to the reign of Ken To the middle of the 14th century belong the curious inscriptions of Adityayarman, a prince of Sumatra, who was a relation of a vassal to the Queen of Madjapahit, the centre of royalty in eastern Java. The language of these inscriptions clearly shows the prevalence of Tantric doctrine After his death Adityavarman was supposed to be in Sumatrā and Java identified with Avalokitesvara. In this connection may also be mentioned the Tantric practices ascribed to Kretanagara by Prapancha. The Nagarkretagama also refers to the Tantric chakra rites diligently carried out by Kıetanāgara.

In the reign of Hyam Wuruk, there was a set of royal officials called Bhūjangas or learned priests. They were Brahmanical as well as Buddhistic. The Nāgarkretāgama gives a detailed account of the capital city, namely, Madjapahit. In the southern part of the city lived the Buddhists, the head

of the Sangha was Sthavira Rengkarnedi. Contemporary sources seem to point out that Buddhism flourished mostly in aristocratic circles; this explains the large number of fine Buddhist shrines which arose during this period but the religion does not seem to have entered much into the life of the people. Javanese literature is Brahmanical. Buddhism could not make much headway in Bali, and though the religion still survives in the island, Hinduism is in the ascendant.

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# YASNA HĀ XI.—HŌM YAST\*

By

#### ERVAD MANECK F. KANGA

- (1) The three righteous (creatures), the ox, the horse and the haoma, openly utter imprecations.<sup>2</sup> The ox curses the Zaotar:<sup>2</sup> 'mayest thou be childless and followed by disrepute, who dost not distribute me when cooked,<sup>3</sup> but thou makest me fatten for the belly<sup>4</sup> of the wife, or of the son or of thy own.'
- (2) The horse curses the rider: 'mayest thou not bridle race-horses, mayest thou not mount race-horses, mayest thou not drive race-horses, who dost not demand (any feat of) strength from me in the much-attended festival<sup>5</sup> meeting of the country<sup>6</sup> thronged-with-men.'

<sup>\*</sup> Chapters IX-XI of Yasna Literature, which comprise the Hōm Yast are specially recited in preparing the Haoma as part of the sacrifice. The term Haoma which is the same as the Vedic word Soma, is used in a double sense in the Avesta. In the first place it is the name of a yazata occupying a definite place in the Avestan Pantheon. In the second place it is the name of a Plant of magical and healing properties used in the Yasna Ceremony. Now-a-days only a few dry twigs of the Plant, are used by the Parsi priests for the purpose.

I Afrivacah-adj lit. 'speaking benedictions'; here used cuphemistically in the sense of "pronouncing curses, maledictions" (BARTHOLOMÆ ALTIRANISHES Worterbüch, 331). The Pahlavi rendering āfrīn-gobishnīh and Skr. version āśirvacasā are both used here euphemistically and this is quite obvious from Pahlavi and Skr. glosses: "they pronounce curses". Cf. Pahl. "ku nafrīn kunand" and Skr. "kila śapam kurvanti" respy For Av. word āfrī meaning 'curse' see Sitzungsberichte der philosphilol. und historischen klasse der k. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München. 1868. 2. 536

<sup>2</sup> The chief priest entrusted with the recitation of the Gathas; he conducts the religious ceremonies usually with seven subordinate priests called 'ratav's'. This name is a relic of an Aryan Age, for it is also found in the Veda, where it appears as Hotar. (Air Wb. 1653) IIe is the representative of the priestly class.

<sup>3</sup> Adj meaning 'cooked'. The Pahlavi version curiously translates it by X\*-āstak, Ir. hēr meaning "wealth, riches." This passage indicates that the custom of offering animal sacrifice to Hōm was prevalent in the period of the Later Avesta.

<sup>4</sup> gen. sg. instead of dat. sg.

<sup>5.</sup> Av. pourumaiti. loc. sg. from pourumant 'having or containing many'; hence 'much-visited, attended' (BARTH. Arr Wb 901). The Pahlavi version curiously translates it by "vas mat ëstënd" as though av. suffix maiti. is derived from  $\sqrt{\text{gam—to come.}}$ 

<sup>6</sup> Av Karshū-subs. fem. 'cultivated land, agricultural borough from \karsh—to cultivate, to till (Air. Wb. 458). Pahlavi version incorrectly translates it by "kartār" meaning "doer, performer" as though the word is derived from \kar—to perform. Spiecel reads karshyo and translates "family-circle." Ervad Kanga translates "a meeting, a thick crowd" (Dictionary p. 129).

- (3) Haoma curses the partaker: 'mayest thou be childless and accompanied by infamy, who dost keep me, when I have been pressed, in custody, like a thief sentenced-to-death. I who (am) Haoma, the righteous, warding off death, am not one-sentenced-to-death.'
- (4) The Holy Father Ahura Mazdā has assigned to me, the Haoma, as a portion the cheek with the tongue and the left eye
- (5-6) Whoso deprives me of that portion viz. the cheek with the tongue and the left eye, or steals it or takes it away, which the Holy Ahura Mazda gave me, never in this house will be born a priest, neither the warnor nor even the prosperity-bringing agriculturist; but in this house will be born the Dahaka, mūraka as well as the varshna\* of various sorts
- (7) Quickly cut off the portion of the ox for the most powerful Haoma. May Haoma not bind thee just as he bound the wicked Turanum Frangarasyan who was surrounded by iron in the middle third part of this carth."
- (8) Thereupon Zarathushtra spoke: 'Obersance the' unto Haoma, created by Mazda! Good is Haoma created by Mazda! Homage (be) unto Haoma!'
- (9) When from us comes one, those which have come to us from you are two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten.
- (10) I dedicate to thee, O Righteous. Asha increasing, Haoma! this body which appears to me beautiful, for Haoma's energetic intoxication, for good life and for the possession of the highest claim. Mayest thou grant me, O righteous Haoma, warding off-death! the heaven of the holy, bright and all-comfortable.
- (11)' At will and desire, Thou, O Ahura Mazda, rulest over Thine own creations: at will, the waters, at will the trees and at will all the good

<sup>7.</sup> frerenaot Imperfect 3rd pers sg. from V at with fra prefix he as signed, he bestowed. (Air Wb. 185). The Pahlavi rendering is franally from causa inf. franaftan, "to go forth, to take a course". Av. word at has various meanings: (1) to move (n) to grant, to allot & (iii) to stick. Here the Pahlavi translator has derived the av. word from the stem in to move.

<sup>8</sup> The names of Dævaic Creatures, they are the antitheses of the Ahaman priests, warriors and agriculturists. The Pahlavi translator translates the av word dahakāca by "dakhshak-kāhēnītār" meaning "the diminisher of sign" and explains in the gloss "ke dakhshak i Ohrmazd bē kāhenet" i.e. "who diminishes the sign of Ohrmazd". I compare dahaka, subs mas with av dahāka and translate "min of the type of azi-dahāka". The Pahlavi iendering of av word murakacha i, mūtakkartār, meaning "making weak, destructive". This is further explained by the gloss thus. Chīch tapāh bē kunēt i.e. he destroys everything. Of av. maodhano hata m yas IX 32, where the Pahlavi translator translates "mutak-kartār". Av maodhano-kara (Air. Wb. 1109) means voluptuous, lascivious, preparing liist. The word mūtak is the Pahl rendering of av mrūrō "destructive" in Vend II, 22. Av word varshna—is curiously translated into Pahlavi by varzītār. See Bartii. Air. Wb. 704, 1189 and 1380,

<sup>9</sup> Reference to the subterranean iron fortress of Afrāsyāb, where he took shelter after being defeated by Kay Husrav. It is known in the Shāhnāmeh as Hang-i Afrāsiāb. Cf Ābān Yaşt. 41.

- (creation), the seed of Asha. Make you (O Ahura Mazdā!) the righteous one powerful (but) the wicked without power.
- (12) May the righteous (man) be ruling-at-will, but may the wicked be without-free-power, defeated, suppressed<sup>11</sup> and thrown-out from the creations of the Holy Spirit. (May he who) turned away<sup>12</sup> (from the Religion be) without-free-power.
- (13) Even I who am Zarathushtra, shall incite the leaders of the houses, villages, countries and provinces to think in confirmity with, to speak in conformity with and to act in conformity with this Religion, which is of Ahura, revealed by Zarathushtia 13
- (14) I pray for affluence and case to the world of the righteous, and distress and difficulty to that of the wicked
- (15) I praise good thoughts, good works, and good deeds through thought, through word and through deed. I hold fast all good thoughts, good words and good deeds. I renounce all evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds. I dedicate unto you, O Holy Immortals, worship and praise, with thought, with word, with deed, with the impulse of the soul, with the very life of my body. I praise righteousness.<sup>14</sup>
- 10. Av. havanghva, sub. n. "good life, blessedness" which is translated into Pahlavi by hu-okh vih. This is further explained by the commentator in yas. Hā LXII. 6. 17. as nēvak dilīh pa t-chyān vitarg. Vendidād Fargard XVIII. 6 adds a gloss to this word thus tak-dilīh pa t-chyān vitarg, meaning "courage on the Chinvat Bridge." Dr. DHALLA reads vindagarīh "acquisition" which is wrong. From a comparison of these glosses it follows that the word nēvak-dilīh and tag-dilīh are one and the same
- 11. Hamistö, Bartii. (Air. Wb. 1778) takes it as perf. part pass, of ham + 
  √ maēd and translates "thrown down" "defeated". In Pahlavi version of Höshbām it is translated by "hamistātīh" antagonism, opposition. (Dhabhar khurtak
  Avistāk p 13)
- 12 Vare to (var varato) nom. sg. of vare ta, adj "captive, captured, taken, driven away as booty. Bartholomæ translates "surrounded, i.e. deprived of free movement", deriving it from the stem var to surround. Pahlavi. pa vartakih.
- 13 Sections 11-13 occur in the hymn Höshbäm-prayer which is addressed to the Dawn, in Yasna Hā VIII 5-7, Hā LII. 5-7, LXVIII. 16-18. and LXXI. 26-28.
- 14 This section is known as "Frastuyë-prayer", which is written in the Gäthic style and dialect. Spiegel remarks that this section has nothing in common with this Hā, but that it forms a sort of prelude to the yasna Hā XII, which deals with the Confession of Faith of a Zoroastrian. Note that this Hā XII is also one of the pieces written in the Gāthic Dialect. We have the Pāzand version of this section with some additional glosses, which forms part of the first karda of the Patēt Pashēmāni.

- (3) Haoma curses the partaker 'mayest thou be childless and accompanied by infamy, who dost keep me, when I have been pressed, in custody, like a thief sentenced-to-death. I who (am) Haoma, the righteous, warding off death, am not one-sentenced-to-death.'
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- (7) Quickly cut off the portion of the ox for the most powerful Haoma. May Haoma not bind thee just as he bound the wicked Turanian Frangaras-yan who was surrounded by iron in the middle third part of this earth.
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- (10) I dedicate to thee, O Righteous. Asha-increasing, Haoma! this body which appears to me beautiful, for Haoma's energetic intoxication, for good life and for the possession of the highest claim. Mayest thou grant me, O righteous Haoma, warding off-death! the heaven of the holy, bright and all-comfortable.
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<sup>7</sup> frērēnaot—Imperfect 3rd pers. sg. from  $\vee$  ar—with fra-prefix = he assigned, he bestowed (Air Wb 185) The Pahlavi rendering is franāft. from caus. inf. franāftan, "to go forth, to take a course" Av world ar—has various meanings. (1) to move (ii) to grant, to allot & (iii) to stick. Here the Pahlavi translator has derived the av. word from the stem ar—to move

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<sup>9.</sup> Reference to the subterranean iron fortress of Afrāsyāb, where he took shelter after being defeated by Kay Husrav. It is known in the Shāhnāmeh as Hang-i Afrāsiāb. Cf Ābān Yaşt. 41.

(creation), the seed of Asha. Make you (O Ahura Mazdā!) the lighteous one powerful (but) the wicked without power.

- (12) May the righteous (man) be ruling-at-will, but may the wicked be without-free-power, defeated, suppressed<sup>11</sup> and thrown-out from the creations of the Holy Spirit. (May he who) turned away<sup>12</sup> (from the Religion be) without-free-power.
- (13) Even I who am Zarathushtra, shall incite the leaders of the houses, villages, countries and provinces to think in confirmity with, to speak in conformity with and to act in conformity with this Religion, which is of Ahura, revealed by Zarathushtra.<sup>13</sup>
- (14) I pray for affluence and case to the world of the righteous, and distress and difficulty to that of the wicked
- (15) I praise good thoughts, good works, and good deeds through thought, through word and through deed I hold fast all good thoughts, good words and good deeds I renounce all evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds I dedicate unto you. O Holy Immortals, worship and praise, with thought, with word, with deed, with the impulse of the soul, with the very life of my body I praise rightcoursess.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Av havanghva, sub. n. "good life, blessedness" which is translated into Pahlavi by hit-okh vih. This is further explained by the commentator in yas. Hā LXII 6. 17 as nōvak-dilīh pa+chyān vitarg. Vendidād Fargard XVIII. 6 adds a gloss to this word thus: tak-dilīh pa+chyān vitarg, meaning "courage on the Chinvat Bridge." Dr. Dhalla reads vindagarīh "acquisition" which is wrong From a comparison of these glosses it follows that the word nōvak-dilīh and tag-dilīh are one and the same

<sup>11.</sup> Hamistō. Barth (Air. Wb. 1778) takes it as perf. part. pass. of ham + 
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#### MISCELLANEA

#### PRATYABHIJNA AND ADVAITA

# ABHINAVA'S MAHOPADESA-VIMSATIKA AND SANKARA'S NIRGUNA-MĀNASA-PŪJĀ

After a critical examination of the Paramārtha-sāra-saṅgraha of Abhinava-gupta in its relation to the Āryās of Sesa in NIA, 1 i. pp. 37-72, Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana SASTRI observes: "The conclusion reached here has a significance not confined to the Paramārtha-sāra. It is possible that more than one Pratyabhijñā work has derived from Advaita sources." One more Pratyabhijñā work of this nature, deriving, though in part, from an Advaitic minor work, is the minor poem of Abhinava called the Mahopadeśa Vinisatika edited by Dr. K. C. PANDEY at the end of his book on Abhinava, (pp 407-408, Chowk. Series, Studies I). Of these twenty verses of Abhinava, the verses 13 to 18 forming the latter part of the poem are more or less completely taken from a minor poem ascribed to Saṅkara called variously Nirguna-mānasa-pūjā, Ātma-pūjā, Parā-pūjā and so on.

This minor work of Sankara is printed as Nirguna-mānasa-pūjā in volume 18 of the Complete Works of Sankara of the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, but in this text there are a few omissions. The two Stotra Collections of the Gujarati News Press of Bombay give this work as Nirguna-mānasa-pūjā and the texts here are full. (Brhat-stotra-natna-hāra, part 2, pp. 801-3 and Brhat-stotra-muktāhāra, part 2, pp. 424-427). The text comprises two parts, the first being the pupil's questions as to how one could do the ritual of worship in the case of the one, attributeless and all-comprehending Ātman, and the second part being the teacher's answers setting forth a scheme of 'ideal' worship Abhinava takes the former question-part and incorporates it in his work with an introduction, a few elaborations and a brief finish, of his own. When we examine the mss of this work of Sankara we find that it is available in a shorter version also containing the former question-part only, but with a verse or two at the end containing a brief reply or explanation. We also see that the name of the work varies with each ms almost.

In the Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue, No. 7400 is the same work, but called Svātma-pūjā and containing only the answer portion. This is the BURNELL Ms noted by AUFRECHT on p. 75lb of his CC, I. In the Descriptive Catalogues of the Madras Government Oriental Library, No. 8610 gives, like the Tanjore ms. only the latter answer-part but calls the work Atma-mānasika-pūjā, No 8611 in the same Catalogue represents a ms of the whole work with both the questionpart and the answer-part, but the work is here named Atma-lingarcana; the next number, 8612, in the same Catalogue, contains only the former part of question and is described in the colophon as Daksināmūrti-mānasa-pūja (vidhi), and this last is the same ms as noted by Aufrecht in CC, III p 52b, Sg I. 112. In the Triennial Catalogues of the same Madras Library there are two more mss. Nos. R. 1419 (n) and 1419 (o) These two texts contain only the answer-part with a few lines at the end by way of answer. The former of these two mss is called Ātma-pūjā and the latter Nurgunāsṭaka-pūjā. The readings of these two mss agree with those known to Abhinava, and the concluding verse of the latter, R 1419 (o), seems to be the germ out of which the first 12 verses of Abhinava's Mahopadeśa-vimśatika have grown. We have the same work of Sankara in the Ātma-linga-pūjā-paddhati in HALL, p. 132

The 7th verse in the text in ms R. 1419 (n) describes this worship as 'Parā

pūjā', and this expression is retained by Abhinava in the last verse. In the  $B_7hat$ -stotra-ratnākara of the N. S. Press and in the first part of one of the Stotra Collections of the Gujarati Press, this shorter version is printed with the title Parā-pūjā. AUFRECHT notes also a ms. of this work with the name  $Par\bar{a}$ - $p\bar{u}_J\bar{a}$ . (B. iv. 68 C. C. I. 327a).

I give below the correspondences between the latter part of Abhinava's Mahopadeśa-vimśatika and the former part of the Nirguna-mānasa-pūjā of Sankara, showing also the differences which are only slight.

Mahopadeśa-vińśatika	Nirguņa-mānasa-pūjā
अरूपस्य कुतो ध्यानं 12c. ) निर्गुणस्य च नाम किम् 12d. )	Additions of Abhinava.
पुर्णस्यावाहनं कुत्र 13a.	same 2a.
पुणस्थावाह्य ज्ञन म्हन्म सर्वाधारस्य चासनम् <sup>13b</sup>	same 2b.
स्वच्छस्य पाद्यमध्यै च 13c.	same 2c.
शुद्धस्याचमनं कृतः 13d.	same 2d.
शुद्धस्थाचमन कुतः 1500ः निर्मेलस्य कुतस्स्नानम् 14a.	same 3a.
वस्रं विश्वोदरस्य च 14b.	वासो विश्वोदरस्य 3b.
निर्लेपस्य कृतो गन्धः 14c	same 4a.
रम्यस्याभरणं कुतः 14d.	same 4b in Madras ms. R. 1419(o); same in R. 1419(n) but 3d here. In the printed texts we read as 4c-d: निविंशोषस्य का भूषा कोऽलंकारो निराकृते:।
निरालम्बस्योपवीतम् <sup>15</sup> a.	same 4c in R. 1419 (o) and same 3c in R. 1419 (n). but in the printed text we have 3c-d: अगोत्रस्य त्ववर्णस्य कुतस्तस्योपवीतकम् ।
पुष्पं निर्वासनस्य च 15b	same 4d in R. 1419 (o); 4b in R. 1419 (n). 4b in printed texts:
अप्राणस्य कुतो धूप: 15c.	अघ्राणस्य कुतो धूपः 5a in R. 1419 (o).
	निर्गन्धस्य कुतो धूपः 4c in R. 1419 (n).
	निरञ्जनस्य किं धूपैः 5a in printed texts.
चक्षुईांनस्य दीपकः 15d.	चक्षहींनस्य दीपकम् 5b in R. 1419 (o).
	स्वप्रकाशस्य दीपकम् 4d in R. 1419 (n).
	दीपैनी सर्वसाक्षिण: 5b in printed texts.
नित्यतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यम् 🕽 🔭	same 5c-d in R. 1419 (o).
ताम्बुलं च कुतो विभोः	नित्यतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यं निष्कामस्य फलं कुतः।
	ताबूलं च विभो: कुत्र 5a-b-c in R. 1419(n).
	निजानन्दैकतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यं किं भवेदिह ।
	विश्वानन्द्यितुस्तस्य किं ताम्बूलं प्रकल्पते ॥
16-	5c-d and 6a-b in printed texts. same 7a in R. 1419 (o).
प्रदक्षिणमनन्तस्य 16c.	same 7a in R. 1419 (o). same 6c in R. 1419 (n).

अद्वितीयस्य कुतो नतिः 16d.

स्वयं प्रकाशमानस्य } 17a-b

वेदवाचामवेदस्य कुतस्स्तोत्रं विधीयते । 17c d. अन्तर्वेहिश्च पूर्णस्य कथमुद्वासनं भवेत् । 18a-b

भेदहीनस्य विश्वत्र कथं च हवनं भवेत् । 18c-d पूर्णस्य दक्षिणा कुत्र 19a.

नित्यतृप्तस्य तर्पणम्
नित्यर्जन व्यापकस्य
भग्नरमक्षस्य क्षमापणम्

same 7c in printed texts. same 7b in R. 1419 (o).

अद्वितीयस्य का नितः 6d in R. 1419 (n).

same 7d in D. 8612.

प्रमाणोऽद्वयवस्तुनः 7d in printed texts.

same 6c-d in R. 1419 (o) but with भनेत्

for विभोः

same 6a-b in R. 1419 (n) but with नीराज-नविधि: at the end.

स्वयप्रकाशनिद्रूपः योऽसावकादिभासकः । गीयते श्रुतिभिस्तस्य गीराजनविधिः कुतः ॥

6c-d. 7a-b in printed texts. same in printed texts; 8a-b.

same in R 1419n; 7a-b.

same except for विभो in place of भवेत् in D. 8612.

अन्तर्बेहिः संस्थितस्य चोद्रासनविधिः कुतः । 8c-d in printed texts.

an addition of Abhinava.

लक्ष्मीनाथस्य दक्षिणा 6b m R. 1419 (o) नित्यानन्दस्य दक्षिणा 5d in R. 1419 (n)

additions of Abhinava.

Madras

V. RAGHAVAN.

# THE UTTARA KĀŚĪ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF GUHA.

This inscription was discovered at Uttara Kāśī in Tehri-Gharwal, by Pandit Chiddure Matha Vīrabhadra Sarma of Secunderabad (Deccan), who took an impression of it and has published some preliminary notices. The inscription is engraved on the dhvaja stambha before the temple of Siva at the Uttara Kāśī. The pillar is called a Sahti stambha in the inscription and was erected to commemorate the victories of the ruler Guha. The pillar is now called a triśūla and current legends assert that Siva's triśūla after the destruction of Tripurāsura, was established in this place.

The inscription is engraved in late Gupta characters of about the sixth century, but earlier than the Banskhera grants of Harsa. The language of the inscription is Sanskit and the florid Kāvya style of the record is reminiscent of the Allahabad inscription of Harisēna and the Mehrauli inscription of Candra. The metres used

<sup>1</sup> Vibhūti, 1939, Journal of the Telugu Academy, 1939.

are Sandula-vikridita and  $Snagdhar\bar{a}$ . The text begins with the symbol for Om and ends with the letter tha (0).

#### Text.

Om Āsīd yah kiştipo Ganeśvara iti prakhyāta kīrttirnaraih
Cakre yena Bhavasya veśma himavacchimgōchhītam diptimat |
Kītvānun Vanajādhipaḥ svakīpanaih sāmāya bhūgya śriyam |
Smītvā śakra suhīttvam utsukamanā yātaḥ Sumērvālayam |
Pratyastasya mahābhijo vipuladīk pīnonnatōrasthaļah |
rūpa tyāga nayair anamga dhanada Vyāsāntītōdgatah |
nāmnā Sīī Guha ityudāra caritah saddharma dhuryas satām |
śaktim śatrumanoratha pramathanīm Sambhoś cakārāgratah ||
Prātah prātar mayūkhair urubhir aviralam śārvaram dhm ā(dhva) ntamōghnam
nāluncan ścāru tārāmkara parikarōdāra śārodaratvam |
svambimbam cittra bimbāmbara tala tilakam yāvadarkko vidhattē
tāvat kīrtis sukīrtiś ciramarimathanasyāstu rūjāah sthireyam.

#### Summary.

There was a ruler named Gaṇēśvara whose praises were sung by men and who erected the resplendant temple of Bhava, high as the peak of Himavat. This forestruler (vanajādhipa) considering all his wealth (including amātya etc.) as less than an atom and remembering the friendship of Indra, went to Sumeru with a cheerful mind. After him, his son, Guha by name, strong-armed, wide-eyed, broadchested, who had surpassed Manmatha, Kubera and Vyāsa in good looks, charity and naya respectively, leading a gracious life and engaged in righteous activities, made this śakti (pillar) in front of Sambhu, to frustrate the ambition of the enemies. As long as the sun exists destroying darkness, like an ornament in the heavens, so long will remain the good fame of this king, who was the destroyer of his enemies.

This Gaṇēśvara, who was the ruler of the forests (unless vanajādhipa is a mistake for manujādhipa) may have been an āṭavika rāja as indicated in the inscription of Samudra Gupta.¹ As is well known Samudra Gupta is said to have uprooted the kings of Āryāvarta and to have been served by all the rulers of the forests.

Rudradēva Matila Nāgadatta Candravarma Gaņapatināga Nāgasēna-Acyutanandi Balavarmaādyanēka Āryāvarta rāja prasabhōddharaṇōdvṛtta prabhāva mahatah; paricārikikṛta sarvāṭavika rājasya . .

Gaṇapatināga however cannot be identified with Gaṇēśvara of the present inscription, though the names appear to be similar. The Allahabad inscription is far earlier and moreover Gaṇapati-nāga is a ruler of Āryāvarta and is distinguished from the āṭavīka rājās. The present inscription does not mention the servitude of either Gaṇēśvara or Guha to any other paramount ruler. Gaṇapatināga's coins have been found at Narwar and Besnagar. K. P. Jayaswal assigns him to c. 315-340 a.d and says he is the author of the Bhāva Satāka." But Winternitz has rejected the reading Gajāvaktra Śrī and says that Jayaswal's conjecture is baseless.4

The āṭavɪka rājas of the Allahabad inscription are usually taken to mean the forest-chiefs of the south. Dr Roy Chaudhuri points out that Aṭavika may be the equivalent of Alavaka (Ghazipur?) and the forest territory near Dabhāla. Sandhyākara Nandin in his Rāma Carita mentions Köṭāṭavi. Rao Bahadur K. N.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. I. III Allahabad Inscription l. 19 ff.

<sup>3</sup> History of India 150 to 300 A.D. 4. I.H.Q. March 1936.

DIKSHIT, with reference to Kōta Kulaja of the Allahabad inscription mentions the find of Kōta coins in north-east Rajputana and Delhi, while RAPSON<sup>6</sup> mentions coms with the legend "Kota" near the Śrāvasti region. The connection with Kōtas of Nīlagins in the south seems to be far fetched. But in the Allahabad inscription the āṭavika rājas are mentioned soon after the rulers of Uttarāpatha and before the southern rulers, implying that they belonged to the Himālayan regions. Therefore it may be conjectured that the ancestors of Gaṇēśvara may have paid tribute to the Guptas, but in the sixth century Gaṇēśvara seems to have thrown off the allegiance after the decline of the Gupta power.

Gaņēśvara is said to have been the friend of Sakra. Yuwan-Chwang mentions one Buddha Gupta (Fo-to-kio-to) who was the son of Sakrāditya. Sakrāditya is identified by some scholars with Mahēndrāditya i.e. Kumāra Gupta I (413-456 A.C.). But the palæography of the present inscription seems to prove the impossibility of the contemporaneity of the Gaņēśvara and Kumāra Gupta I. Therefore the natural meaning of Sakra as Indra should be accepted.

Another point of interest is in the mention of Kubera and Vylasa as well known for renunciation (tyāga) and Naya Kubera as far as is known is a hoarder and not a dispenser of wealth. Vylasa's proficiency in naya may refer to Vylasa Smṛti, quoted by Aparārka and the Smṛti Candrikā But it is doubtful whether the Vylasa Smṛti is so old and it is more probably a reference to the Rajanītī portions of the Mahābhārata.

Mysore.

S. SRIKANTHA SÄSTRI.

# VĀMADEVA-PĀD-ĀNUDHYĀTA

Verse 66 of the Malkapuram inscription of Saka 1183 (A.D. 1262) runs :--

अथ नृपशेखरमालाललितपादोत्र वामशंभुरभूत् । अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यचरणाराधकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ॥

The predecessor's predecessor of this Saiva pontiff Vāmasambhu was Sadbhāva-sambhu who founded the Golakī-matha in Dāhala at the time of Kalacuri Yuva-rāja (I or II). Vāmasambhu was therefore very probably a contemporary of Karņa. Some early Çālukya grants, moreover, prove that a king was sometimes mentioned as pādāmudhyāta of (or, by) his religious teacher. Considering all these facts, we thought that the identification of Vāmasambhu with Vāmadeva of the passage Vāmadeva-pādāmudhyāta found in the inscriptions of Kalacuri Karna and his successors is now proved beyond doubt, in spite of the royal titles attributed to Vāmadeva I tried to explain the significance of these titles in my paper in IHQ, IV, p. 96 ff, in which a few suggestions of Prof. H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI were also incorporated.

In A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F W Thomas, p. 152 ff, Prof V V Mirashi has offered a new suggestion regarding the problem. He refers to an inscription at Saugor, which is placed about the middle of the eighth century on grounds of palæography According to Prof. Mirashi's reading, this epigraph refers to King Sankaragana who was pādānudhyāta of (or, by) Vāmarājadeva (previously read by Hiralal as Vāgharājadeva). This Vāmarājadeva has been identified by the Professor with Vāmadeva mentioned in the Benares grant (1042 A.D.) of Karna and several later Kalacuri inscriptions. It is however difficult

 <sup>5</sup> Proc First Oriental Conference; Indian Museum Cat. I. p. 258
 6 JRAS 1898.

<sup>7</sup> KANE, History of Dharma Sastra, Vol I.

to believe that Vāmarājadeva of the Saugor record was remembered after full three centuries by Karna and his successors who called themselves Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta in their records. We know of no such thing from the epigraphical literature of ancient India. This difficulty therefore has got to be explained. I am afraid, Prof. Mirashi's suggestion cannot be accepted without further evidence.

Calcutta.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

# KOVIDĀNANDA WITH KĀDAMBINĪ OF ĀŚĀDHARA

Day by day the Ujjain Oriental Mss Library is becoming a store-house of precious jems Starting as an infant institution with only 676 MSS, in 1931, it has secured over 600 MSS of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and other modern Indian languages. Recently it purchased a collection of MSS. from a local Pandit in which there are several unpublished works on literature and other sections of the Sastras. The Kovidānanda is one of them Notices of this work of Aśadhara are found in Catalogus Catalogorum of Theodore AUFRECHT and the published edition of the Sāhityadarbana by Kane but no reference to the existence of this work is found in any of the Oriental Libraries in India From the information given in the works noted above, it appears that there were two authors of the same name. The first was a Jain author, his father and grandfather being Sallaksna and Cahada respectively. He belonged to Vyāghreravāla vamsa and compiled अष्टांगहृदयोद्योत, काञ्यालंकारटीका, प्रह-नित् etc. and his supposed time was about 1200 A.C. The author of the present work prepared कुवलयानन्दकारिका टीका, त्रिवेणिका and अद्वैतविवेक besides कोविदानन्द, and therefore appears to have flourished in the 17th century; for, Appaya Diksita's supposed time was between 1520 to 1592 AD. (History of Dharmasastra, Vol. I, by KANE, p. 680).

The MS. 18 dated Saka 1733, Kārtika, bright fortnight, Tuesday the 5th i.e. 1811 A.D., the 22nd, of October and is legibly written on Straw-paper in fine black ink by one Rama Kṛṣṇa Kadamba- the ancestor of the present holder Hari Sāstri KALAMAKA of Ujjain for his own use and is therefore 128 years old. It is only in 16 leaves and is of the size in 10"×4\frac{1}{4}". Half an inch space is left for margin. The text is written in the middle space of the page while the commentary is given on either sides of the text. Red pigment is used for marking the number of slokas, colophons, etc. There are no mistakes committed by the scribe. The Commentary mentions the following works and authors: ब्रिल्वार्तिक, निरुक्त, विश्वकोश, अमरकोश, शिशुपालनघ, प्रातिशाख्य, कुमार संभव, कुबलयानन्द, वाक्यपदीय, महाभाष्य, चिवतत्वविवेक, कालिकापुराण, अभिधानचिन्तामणि, छांदोग्योपनिषत्, स्कोटवाद्, व्यास, वामन. Quotations from unknown Smrtis are also recorded. The language of the author's Kādambinī is easy to understand and is a good production of the text which only defines three powers of a word, viz. अभिधा, लक्षणा and व्यज्जना, 'गंगायां घोषः' used generally as an example for indicating and suggesting the different meanings of powers by other authors, is altogether absent in this work and its place is taken up by a new similar example रेवायां ॐकारलिंग. The following is a table showing the number of Slokas of chapters:-

Iअभिधा परिच्छेदnumber of ślokās51II.लक्षणा,,number of ślokās32III.व्यञ्जना,,number of ślokās42

In this way there are altogether 125 verses. The Kārikās are easier than those appearing in other works such as काव्यप्रकाश or साहित्यद्पेण and the idea is expressed by the author commenting on the मंगलावरण verse. The MS. begins thus:—

Com .--

श्रीमत्रणेशरामचंद्र गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीः ॥ प्रणम्य शंकरं सांबं कोविदानंदनामकं । यंथं व्याख्यामि संक्षेपात्स्वकृतं बोधसिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

अथात्र शब्दव्यापारसंशयविश्वत्तिकामैः शिष्यैः प्रेरित आशाधरभष्टनामा कविः संक्षिप्तं युक्तियुक्तं कोविदानंदाख्यप्रंथं कुर्वन् शिवोत्कर्षेरूपवस्तुनिर्देशात्मकं मंगलमाचरति ॥ त्रिनयनेति ।

Text:-

त्रिनयनलसत्पंचास्यश्रीः षडानननन्दनः सततमहिमा सप्तर्घांद्यैः कृतस्तुतितोषितः। जयति जगतां व्याकुर्वाणो जयाकृति नामनी पुनरपि दधत्कंठेकालः सकालकलोक्झितः।। १॥ प्राचां वाचां विचारेण शब्दव्यापारनिर्णयं। करोमि कोविदानदं लक्ष्यलक्षणलक्षितं॥ २॥

End of the text :-

शब्दब्रह्मविचारेण परंब्रह्मावगम्यते । शब्दब्रत्तिविचारोयं कृतस्तस्माच्छिषप्रदः ॥ ४९ ॥ शिवस्य भक्त्या समवाप्तसिद्धि-धीनीरधी रामजिमद्द आसीत् । तत्सूनुनाशाधरभद्दनाम्ना प्रथः कृतोयं सुधियां मुदेस्तु ॥ ४२ ॥ इति तृतीयपरिच्छेदः ॥

End of the Com :-

शब्दब्रह्मोति । श्रिवप्रदः कल्याणदायकः यथाह भगवान्भाष्यकारः । एक. शब्दः सम्यक्ष्रयुक्त. स्वर्गे मर्त्ये च कामधुग्भवति ॥ ४९ ॥ अते शिवशब्दो मगलार्थः ॥ ४२ ॥

Colophon -

इति श्रीपदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञ रामजी भद्दात्मजाशाधर भद्द विरचितायां काद्विनी रागाच्यायां स्वकृतकोविदानद व्याख्यायां व्यजनापरिच्छेदस्तृतीयः ॥ ३ ॥ इद पुस्तक कदंब राभकृरणेन शके १७३३ कार्ती [र्ति] क शुद्ध पचम्यां भौमे जबूसरिस लिखित ॥ श्रीरामाय नमः ॥

There is a slight difference in the colophon for the word 'पारावारीण' is found added in the colophon given at the end of the MS कुवल्यानन्द कारिकाल्या by the same author (B O R I, Poona, Cat of Alamkāra, p 176). The MS is in a fine condition and deserves publication. The author gives no clue as regards his residence but the following verses in the text attributed in describing the present river Narmadā and its adjacent sacred temple of Srī Omkāréśvara clearly tell us that he

was a resident of that place which was somewhere near to it, i.e in Nimar. These verses are given below .—

ॐकारिलंग रेवायां शोणैरच्यं दिने दिने। यतः प्रफुद्धाः पिद्मिन्यः तन्नेत्यादौ यथाकम ॥ प्रासादा संति रेवायां यष्ट्रव्यः प्रविशंति यत्। प्रदोषे जनसंबाधे शंभावंभः क्षिपंति च॥ रेवा वारीशालिंगानि पुष्पिता यत्र पाद्पाः। धन्यः स देश इत्यत्र पूजौतसुक्य प्रतीयते॥

In the 15th verse of the last chapter the author definitely describes his inability of proceeding to Benares as a lone person and says that his last wishes can be fulfilled here at Omkāréśvara The verse reads thus:—

एकाकिना मया काशी गंतु शक्या कथ द्विजाः।
तदीयसहकारेच्छा सन्निधे रत्र गम्यते॥

It can clearly be seen from the verse and others in Chapters I & II that he was a staunch devotee and lover of Sri Siva and Goddess Bhavānī.

 $U_{JJ}ann.$ 

N. V. ATHALEY

# PURVĀCĀRYA SAMJÑĀS FOR LAKĀRAS

The ten Paninean Lakaras are.

- (1) द series—लद, लिद, लुद, लुद, लेद, लोद।
- (iı) ङ series—लङ, लिङ्, लुङ, लुङ।

These names appear to be pāniny-upajāa, but they were preceded by sanijāās which perhaps had a better claim to express the tenses and moods they indicated. The earlier terms belonged to the category of anvartha-sanijāās. It is not a little significant that some of these should have been employed by Kātyāyana himself though the Pāṇinean terms were well-known to him. They were as follows:—

## 1. लद्र=भवन्ती

Kätyäyana, III. 2. 123. 1, III. 2. 102. 4; III. 3. 133. 5. Kätyäyana, II 3. 1. 11

Kaiyata explaining III. 2. 123 says—भवन्तीति लट: पूर्वाचार्यसंज्ञा, and the same is repeated on III 3. 133. 5 and II. 3. 1. 11

## 2. लिद्र=परोक्षा

Patañjalı on I. 2. 18 quotes a śloka-vāritika in which the older samjñā is used.

## 3. छुद=श्वस्तनी

Kātyāyana on III. 3 15, has a vārttika in which the older term is employed.

परिदेवने श्रस्तनी भविष्यन्त्यर्थे। Kielhorn, Vol II. p. 140.

#### ॡद=भविष्यन्ती

The vārttika quoted above uses this samijnā also.

- 5. 🗟 I am unable to trace its earlier equivalent in the writings of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The Atharva Prātiśākhya edited by Pt. Visva Bandhu Sastri, uses the term Naigami (II. 3. 2) which is in all probability the name of Let.
- 6 लोद=प्रेषणी

This is also found in the Atharva Prātišākhya in sūtra II. I. 11 and II. 3. 21.

## 7. लङ्≔ह्यस्तनी

This samiña is used in the Atharva Pratisakhya in III. 2. 5 The distinction between Svastani and Hyastani is brought out in the Paninean system by a single word anadyatana as applied to bhavisya and bhūta kālas Patanjah in one place (ibid, Vol. II. p 57) distinguishing the three tenses (kāla-višeṣān) uses the terms adyatana, hyastana and śvastana.

- 8 लिङ् -I have not yet traced the older samijfiās for the āśiş and vidhi lins.
- 9 छुड्=प्रद्यतनी

This samjñā is used both in Kātyāyana, II. 4. 3. 2, III. 2. 102. 6, VI. 4 114 3 and in the Atharva Prātiśākhya, II. 2. 6. Adyatanī is equivalent to sāmānya-bhūta. The Udyota remarks on II. 4. 3, 'प्रयातनीति छुड: संज्ञा ', and this is supported in clearer terms by Nyāsa, 'छुड: पूर्वाचार्यप्रणीता एषा संज्ञा।'

10. নুভ\_\_The pūrvacārya term for this mood is not yet available.

The prevalence of these terms in Kātyāyana shows his adherence to a tradition other than that of Pāṇini and perhaps older than the great grammarian. The lengthy discussions by Kātyāyana on the pivot of Pāṇini's sūtras frequently show that the Vārtikakāra did not confine himself strictly to the legitimate scope of the system with which he was primarily dealing

Lucknow

Vāsudeva S. Agrawala

# TOCHARIAN AND THE INVALIDITY OF THE SATEM-CENTUM HYPOTHESIS FORMING A PARALLEL TO THE HITTITE AND THE RATHAS-PATIS HYPOTHESIS

In my paper, "Postulation of two probable degrees of abstraction in the primitive Indo-European tongue in the light of compound accentuation", I have shown how unexpected and decisive confirmation for the theory of Holger Pedersen to explain the identity of the nominative and genitive singular forms of -a-stems of Hittite is furnished by my Ráthas-pátis -hypothesis I have also drawn attention to the fact that what seems to be an actual demonstration of this has been given by H Pedersen in his recent work which is in large part an argument against the Indo-Hittite hypothesis.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Commemoration Vol Bombay March, 1939, pp. 227-8
2 H Pedersen, Hittitisch und die anderen Indo-Europaischen Sprachen, 1938, Copenhagen, p. 26.
3 Cf. E. H STURTEVANT, Language, Vol XIV, 1938, p. 290.

One interesting feature about my hypothesis is, whether we accept the Indo-Hittite hypothesis or not,4 the proposal to interpret Ráthas-páti-, as containing the stem rátha- to which the genitive singular termination -s was added in prehistoric times most satisfactorily explains the curious phenomenon of-a- stems in the Hittite being identical both in the nominative and genitive singular.5 The -o-declension in the primitive Indo-European has been hitherto supposed by all scholars to have the genitive singular in -s(1)0 or (In Italic, Lingunian, and Celtic) in -76. Nevertheless Holger PEDERSEN, always distinguished for his original and challenging ideas, has made an attractive suggestion7 that the identity of the nominative and the genitive singular of the -a-stems may be an archaism in Hittite.3 Until quite recently, E H. STURTEVANTO was wavering between the theory of W PETERSEN (already referred to) and that of H. PEDERSEN The value of my hypothesis lies in the fact that it gives an external proof from the old Indian to H PEDERSEN'S theory.

Here is a parallel to the question of Tocharian and satem -centum hypothesis. It was shown by Meiller10 that Tocharian cannot be assigned to the western group

1937, p. 211. E. H. STURIEVANT, Language, vol. AIV, p. 10, 1556. Walter references. Lang, IX, 1933, p. 24.
6. See Louis H. Gray, on Indo European Noun-Declension especially of -o-and -ā-stems. Language, Vol. 8, 1932, p. 182. Cf. H. Pedersen, Op. Cit. p. 26.
7. See H. Pedersen, Etudes Lituaniennes, Copenhagen, 1933, p. 23.
8. For instance, Hittie atas at-at-as. In this connection, it is interesting to note that there is a Hindustani word attah whose spelling is ata but whose pronunciation is at the Confernation of the Con

8. For instance, Hittite alas at-at-as. In this connection, it is interesting to note that there is a Hindustani word attah whose spelling is ata but whose pronunciation is ah-tah. Cf. Amarnath Jha, some Indian words in the Oxford English Dictionary The Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume, p. 65.

9 E H Sturtevant, Language, Vol XIV, p. 75.

10 Meieut, Indo-Germanische Jahrbuck, Vol. I, pp. 14-17, 1914. Ostitir joins to Thraco-phrygian the language of the ancestors of Scythians (Prescythian), which Herodotus mentions in book IV, chapter XI The "Crimean" of "Crimea" preserves still perhaps the remnants [see Ostir, Illyro-Thrakisches Archiv za arbanasku starinu, jeziki etnologiju, I, (Beogard, 1923), p. 133] Vasmer. Die Itanier in Sudiussland (Veröff des balt und slav, Instit, III, Leipzig), p. 4. Feist, Kulturder Indo-Germanen, p. 404 This hypothesis appears necessary because of Tokharian and Hittite Sometimes Phrygothracian is assigned to the satem group and sometimes to the centum group according to the exigency of materials. See Ostir, Voridg, zahlw, p 294, 290; E. Hermann K. Z., 50, p. 307, 1922. J. Pokorny, Die stellung des Tocharischen im kreise der idg Sprachen in the Ber d Forschunginst. J. Ost und Oi m Wien, III, p 24 ff. But in Tocharian and Hittite the change of  $K_1 > k$  is certain, and the preservation of  $k_2$  uncertain. In Tocharian, the change of  $k_3 > k$  in all cases is convincing, for example idg. G zei: A Kakmu "come, arrived" and A Kum, can easily be considered as a weak form,—idg. pek,: A pakku "cooked, done dished" "B pak "to cook" etc.; cf also Schrader-Nehring, Reallexion. "On ne se trompera sanadoute pas beaucoup en attribuant au tokharien une place intermédiaire entre l' italo-celtique d' une part, le slave et l' arménien d' autre" [Meillet,

This I have already hinted in my paper Op. Cit p. 221, Footnote 2. BEN-This I have already finited in my paper Up. Cu. p. 221, Footnote 2. Benyeniste [Origines de la formation des Noms en Indo-Européen I. Paris 1935, pp. 100-8] establishes certain Hittite archaisms [cf also E. H. Sturtevant, A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language, 1933, p. 131 Language, Vol. 13, 1937, pp. 285-91, and also Language Vol. 9, 1933, pp. 1-11] which go to prove the Indo-Hittite hypothesis In this connection it must be noted that Tocharian ytar 'way' the Lat. iter gen itineris 'way, road shows the original heteroclitic n-stem Walter Petersen, Lan. 15-1939, p 75. [Contra Bonfante, Indo-Germanische Forschungen, Vol. LII, p. 221. Benveniste himself does not seem to accept the Indo-Hittite hypothesis! See E. H.

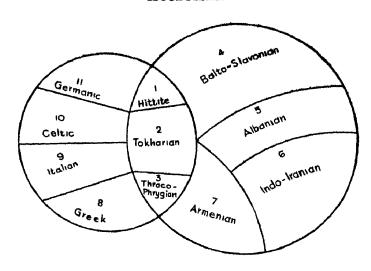
Benveniste himself does not seem to accept the Indo-Hittite hypothesis]. See E. H. Sturrevant, American Journal of Philology, 1938, LIX, pp. 96-7.

5. For several theories regarding this question, see my paper op. cit. p. 228. footnote 1. In addition to them, it is interesting to note that E. H. Sturrevant formerly advanced the theory that in the a-stems (originally o-stems) the ending might have represented original eso with loss of a final vowel, cf. Language pp 30, 31, Vol. II, 1926 Couvreur did not accept W. Petersen's theory of analogy with the genitive of \(\bar{a}\)- stems in I. E. -\(\bar{a}\)s, cf. Couvreur, De heititische h een bijdrage tot de studie van het Indo-Europeesche vacalisme Bibliotheque du Muséon 5, Leuven, 1937, p 211. E. H. Sturtevant, Language, Vol. XIV, p. 75, 1938. Walter Peterson Vol. 1937, p 212, 1938.

of languages. Tocharian does not seem to differentiate between the primitive Indo-European palatals and labio-velars. We find I. E. -k (c) as -k in kante ('hundred'), okt ('eight').11 In Miço ('urme') besides Gätha-Avestan maëzaiti, ('he urinates')

Indio Germanisches Jahrbuch, 1, 1914, p. 17]. OSTIR's view nearly comes to this. Likewise in Hittite, the preservation of the labiovelar is at least uncertain and not ensured by the form Kuw— "who, which" which is ambiguous. See Idg. Zahlw, p. 195.

#### ISOGLOSSES.



 $1+2+3\cdot$  Central Indo-European (mere velars).  $4+5+6+7\cdot$  Satem languages  $(K_2>K)$ . 8+9+10+11: Centum language  $(K_1>K)$ . 1+2+3+9+10: languages with ending r.

9+10+11 languages with mixed preterite.

6+7+8 languages with augment.

Cf. J. Schrijnen, MSL, Vol. 23, p. 62.

11 For the theory postulating the existing of the quartel system in the primitive I.E. from the word for eight, cf. J. McKenzie, The quartel system in I.E. pp. 1-4 Leeds studies in English and Kindred languages. No. 6, 1937. J. McKenzie concludes 'the large number of elements both lexicocological and morphological, common to IE and Uralian '(1, e, Finno-Ugrian Plus Samoyede) forces us to conclude one of two things either IE and Uralian are related or primitive Indo-European and primitive Uralian were in contact at an exceedingly early period. It is therefore highly significant that Samoyede presents an expression of '8' as It is therefore highly significant that Samoyede presents an expression of '8' as '2×4' (thus identical with our postulated formation of I.E. oktōu) [on account of analogy with this, even the original \*\*séptm has changed into \*septm. Cf Hirt, Handbuch oles urgermanischen II. Feil 1932, p 107, which is quite anomalous from the Uralian point of view" See J Mackenze, Ibid p 4 Cf B Collindder, Indo-Uralisches sprachgut A S C Ross, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Vol. VIII, pp 227-34 With regard to the theory of the Dravidic origin of the octaval system, cf Mark Collins, Dravidic Studies No 4, 1926, Univ. of Madras Depus longtempes on est convaincu que l' une des causes principales de l' altération de l' indo-européen primitif est le substrat, notamment en Europe qu'il s' est opéré fatalement un mélange de langue et de cultures. D' autre part, sans vouloir même parler de "oeuvre sans doute géniale, mais renfermant trop de conclusions prématurêes de M. Trombetti, des Savants, opérant d' après les méthodes les plus sévères voire même scrupuleuses, ont cru pouvoir rattacher à l' indo-européen les langues finno-ougriennes (avec le Samoyède) [Wiklund, Paasonen, Jokl], de même que le chamito-sémitique, peut-Samoyède) [Wiklund, Paasonen, Jokl], de même que le chamito-sémitique, peutêtre avec plus de probabilité encore (Herm Moller, Semitisch und Indo-Germanisch Konsonanten Teil I. Copenhagen, 1907. Die gemein-indo-germanisch-semitischen

palçalñe ('a burning') besides Avestan brāzaiti ('it shines') and Greek phlégō ('I burn'), there is secondly assibilation before original front vowels c. wise in pinkte ('fifth') and in derivative of the relative-interrogative pronoun such as kupre ('if') and kwri ('when'), the k is from the primitive Indo-European q\*

In kaknu is to be traced the perfect reduplication g" em (g" em) of the primitive Indo-European root go (go) There is secondary assibilation of I.E. go (kw) in pic pis ('five'), cem ('he has come') etc. The I. E. labiovelar and the original palatal came to be respectively represented by a sibilant and a stop sound in pçāka ('fifty') besides Sanskrit pañcāsat and Greek penttekon Tocharian being neither satem- nor the centum-language, Meillet's suggestion is that it probably lies between the two.12 "Like a very deep furrow there runs through the Indogermanic Linguistic stock a dividing line, broken into capriciously by secondary shiftings, between the centum and satem languages. These shiftings have brought it about that we can no longer separate centum and satem from each other by a single line, as even centuries ago there were already centum languages in the satem area, and even further afield. However much stress we lay upon the division into centum and satem languages, there are still other considerations which open for us still deeper perspectives, still wider vistas. Through the whole of the Indo-Germanic mother language, cutting across both centum and satem there runs another, older, much more sharply defined line of division, which proves that the Indo-Germanic mother language itself was already a mixed language."18

Worttypen der zwei-und drei konosonantigen Wurzel und die indogermanischsemitischen, Vokalischen Entsprechungen Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vol. XLII, 1909, pp.
174-91. Indoeuropeisk-semitiske Sammenlignende Glossarium: Holger Pedersen
Die idg-semitische Hypothese und die idg, Lautlehre. Indogermanische Foschungen,
Vol 22, 1908, pp. 341-65 A Cuny, Etudes Prégrammaticales sur le Domaine des
Indo-Européennes et Chamito-Sémitiques, Paris, 1924; Contribution a la Phonétique
comparée de l' Indo-Européen et du Chamito-Semitique, BSL, 32, 1931, pp. 29-53]"
J Schrijnen, L' Alarodien et l' accent D' intensité initial dans le langues IndoEuropéennes. Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, Vol. 24, p. 53. For
the existence of Vigésmal system in Albanian, Etruscan, Basque and then in Sumerian
[especially in Etruscan, see Ostir. Vorindogermanische (=-alarodische) Zähilworter the existence of Vigésmal system in Albanian, Etruscan, Basque and then in Sumerian [especially in Etruscan, see Ostir, Vorindogermanische (:=alarodische) Zähilworter auf dem Balkan II [Archiv III, Beograd, 1926, p. 144]. On the Vigesimal system in India, see Przyluski, Rooznik Orventalisticzny IV, 230g Also O. Stein, The Numeral 18 The Poona Orientalist, Volume I. 1936, p. 36 and f n. 4. The predelictions for the number 18 in the Indian literature may be due to compromise between the decimal and the octaval system. See Collins, ibid. p. 20. See also P. B. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 13-14. Cf. "counting by twenties is still current amongst some lower castes of Bengal." ibid. p. 16, f.n. "Some philologists, including Isaac Taylor and Kossinna, in fact believe that the Indo-European and Ugro-Finnish linguistic families are spring from a common agglutinating stock. It is in any way certain that the Winno-Vgrians borrowed many words from many Indo-European languages, beginning possibly (but not probably) with primitive stock It is in any way certain that the Winno-Vgrians borrowed many words from many Indo-European languages, beginning possibly (but not probably) with primitive Aryan and then assimilating Indo-Iranian, Slavonic and Teutonic vocables." Childe, The Aryans, p 68 In Tocharian we have okat 'eight' beside okta—, spat 'seven' beside sapta—. The dropping of the unstable vowel à is clearly seen in —māt—of 1 pl pres sīka—mt—ar which with the pret Kalpā-māt gives good evidence of the detachability of r-endings in Tocharian, the endings with r being used in the present while those without r being used in the preterite or imperfect. Cf. Walter Petersen, Hittite and Tocharian Language, Vol IX, 1933, p 14 American Journal of Philology, Vol 53, p. 209, fn 33, 1932 See also Sieg, Siegling and Schulze, Toch. Gram, pp 325, ff and Walter Petersen, The Personal endings of the middle voice. Language, Vol 12, 1936, p 158.

12 E. H Sturtevant, Position of Hittite among Indo-European languages. Language Vol 2, 1926 p. 28

13 C C Uhlenbeck, The Indogermanic Mother language and mother tribes complex, American Anthropologist Vol 39, 1937, pp 385-386. C. C. Uhlenbeck thinks that the Indo-European Mother language was composed of two complexes of elements A and B. It is still an open question whether the correlation between

of elements A and B. It is still an open question whether the correlation between

SOMMER14 has demonstrated that the intractable language Venitic retained the palatals as stop sounds and that in it there was no trace of a labialization of the velars. The Indo-European enclintic qwe appears as Venetic ke.15 Sommer suggests that it might have lost the labialization on account of its lack of accent (see SOMMER, Ibid, p. 122) But E. H. STURTEVANT has shown that it is probable that Venetic Ke represents the regular treatment of the Velars in that language. His arguments are as follows:-Both Messapian and Albanian are without trace of the labialization of the Velars. Messapian of southern Italy is an off-shoot of Illyrian, and Albanian possibly descended from Illyrian. Herodotus, 1, 196, included the Venetic among the Illyri, and their personal names correspond closely with those of Illyrii.16 How the Veneto-Illyrian and Hittite and Tocharian invalidate the Centum-satem hypothesis has been demonstrated conclusively by E. H. STURTEVANT.17

the A complex and Centum languages can be definitely established. But "The the A complex and Centum languages can be definitely established. But I five Urahan character of the A-complex and mesocephally of the centum speakers stands unchallenged." Cf. C. C. UHIENBECK, Ibid. p. 393, Cf. also C. C. UHIENBECK, der-Indogermaneschen der Indogermanen in Mededeelungen der Koninklijke Akadunie van Wetenscabpen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Amsterdam, 1935, Vol. 77, Series A No. 4. "As a matter of fact, it is possible to demonstrate that between A and centum there exists a matter of fact, it is possible to demonstrate that between A and centum there exists. a matter of fact, it is possible to demonstrate that between A and centum there exists an anthropological affinity, which is lacking between A and satem or between B and centum" C. C. UHLENBECK, *ibid*, p. 389. In this connection, it may be necessary if only in passing, to call attention to yet another problem. According to MEILLET [Essai De chronologie des Langues Indo-Européennes. La Théorie du féminin, pp 1-28 (exp. p. 11). Bulletin de la Sociétit de Linguistique de Paris, Vol. 32, 1931 "En Intitite, au l opposition de la nimé et du neutre (inanimé) est nettement marquée, par les monyens qu' emploie l' Indo-Européen commun, on n' a pass, jusqu' ici trouge du me casténeme du fémin. Étant donné le competition marquee, par les monyens qu'empiore i indo-Europeen commant, bit il a pass, jusqu'ei, trouvé trace d'une caactérisque du féminn. Etant donné la conservation généralé des anciennes former nominales, il est difficile de croirei que le hittite représente ici un état de langue où les caractéristiques du fémin auraient été déjà pleinement développées"], feminine gender is a relatively late development in the Indo-European UHLENBECK does not subscribe to this view. late development in the Indo-European UHLENBECK does not subscribe to this view. As he says, NIEUWENHUIS' attempt to explain the origin of grammatical differentiation of the sexes on the basis of primeval sexual-totemistic conceptions deserves serious considerations, if only in view of the possibilities which it opens up. UHLENBECK further thinks that the classification of nouns in the PIE should have been derived from the B language [C. C. UHLENBECK, ibid, pp. 388-9.] Holger Pribers [Hittisch und die anderen Indo-Europäischen Sprachen, Copenhagen, 1938, pp. 13-18, 35 f. See E. H. STURTEVANT, Language, Vol 14, 1938, p. 290] also does not subscribe to MEILLET's theory that the lack of the feminine gender is an archaistic feature of Hittite. Sur tis certain that in the PIE if nor in the Proto-Indoof this gender in Hittite. So it is certain that in the PIE if not in the Proto-Indo-Hittite, the feminine gender should have existed.

14. Indogermanische Forchungen, Vol 42, pp. 90-182, 1934.

<sup>14.</sup> Hawgermansche Forthungen, vol. 42, pp. 20-103, 10-11.
15 See SOMMER, bird, p. 122.
16 See KRETSCHMER, Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache
270 f. 1896 Idg. Sprachwissenschaft, 10-22, 54, 1925.
17 See Language, 1926, Vol. II, p. 128. There is a considerable dispute over the question whether Messapic is a centum-language or a satem-language. Usually it is assumed that Albanian (a satem-language) is a modern representative of an ancient Illyrian dialect and very often Messapic is compared with Albanian. But there is no doubt that the IE palatal stops were not represented by sibilants in Illyrian. [See H. Hirr, Indo-Germanen, Vol II, 1907, p. 609, and 'Stellung des Illyrischen' in Festschrift für Kiepert, 181 ff. 1894 Here Hirt criticises Kreteschmer's view In view of the fact that in Messapic, there is nothing corresponding to the labovelars of the centum-languages, [Latin quinque, Greek pemptos, Albanian pesee, representing the IB velar stops (penkue)] it is possible to surmise that the palatals in Messapic might have been accorded the same treatment as in the satem-languages Suggestion has also been made that venetic belongs to a stratum of it speech earlier than the cleavage into centum- and satem-dialects, on the high degree of probability of non-labialisation of the velars and non-sibilisation of the palatals in venetic [cf. CONWAO, Annual Brit. Sch. et Athens, 8152, 1901-2] Accepting this view, Albanian may be taken as a descendant of an Illyrian satem-dialect belonging perhaps to a later stratum of Indo-European speech However, there are other explanations [Cf. Giles in Camb. Anc Hist. 2,26] J. Whatnough, on the phonology of the Messapic dialect

Now the Centum-Satem hypothesis can be invalidated purely through the method of reconstruction of the primitive Arvan. Leonard BLOOMFIELD has demonstrated18 that the Indo-European palatals came to be represented by stop sounds in the earliest Sanskrit for instance I.E. g (1) appears in Sanskrit as 1,19 COLLITS<sup>20</sup> advances the argument that the Indo-European  $\hat{g}$  (1) must have suffered some change before the Aryan change of g" (g") to g1 (1) before e and i.

But this can be explained away by the assumption that the original  $\hat{g}(j)$  and gw (gw) before e and i were distinguished during the Aryan period by pronouncing the former further forward in the mouth than the latter. Thus the primitive Aryan seems to be a centum language as far as the treatment of the inherited palatals go Since in regard to velars, it is a satem-language, therefore BRUGMANN's argument<sup>21</sup> that the classification of the I. E. languages according to the treatment of the palatals agrees with their classification according to the treatment of the labiovelars, falls to the ground 22 In other words, the reconstructed primitive Aryan itself invalidated the centum-satem hypothesis. Thus we have seen that even as the invalidity of the satem-centum hypothesis established purely through the method of reconstruction of the primitive Arvan alone gets confirmed by independent facts in Tocharian (in Veneto-Illyrian and Hittite as well), the ráthas-pátis-hypothesis is also venfied by the unique phenomenon presented by the Hittite -a-stems where the nominative and genitive singular are identical, which is undoubtedly a feature of the oldest phase of the primitive Indo-European, if not of the proto-Indo-Hittute tongue.

Madras.

C. R. SANKARAN.

#### ADDENDUM.

There can be no doubt that Hittite and Tocharian have retained old characteristics of the PIE. This is attested by the existence of the labiovelar in these two languages as against the loss of the labialization in adjoining territory. Evidence of the past existence of the labiovelars is thus undoubtedly furnished [cf. E. H STURT-EVANT, Language, 6.224]. The palatal stops were developed from the older velars of the PIE, in the satem-languages which gave up also the labial element of the labiovelars of the PIE [cf. paper, NIA, Vol. I. 1939, p. 632]. H. HIRT came to the conclusion [H Hirt, Zur losung der gutturalfrage im Indo-Germanischen. Bezzenberger's Beitrage, 24, 218 ff. 1899, Idg. Gram. I. 233 ff. that the palatal stops in the IE were secondary developments from the original velars. "We have only to assume that this change did not reach as far as the centum-languages of the West or as Hittite and Tocharian in the East. It was of central origin and failed to penetrate a large part of the 1E territory in the one direction and comparatively small part in the other." [Cf. Walter Petersen, Hittite and Tocharian, Language, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 12-3]. As regards the Indo-European labiovelars and palatals, both Hittite and Tocharian reflect an older state of affairs. It must be here remembered that J. Kury-LOWICZ [Études indoeuropéennes I, 1935, Ch. I] advances cogent arguments for establishing definite conditions under which labialized velars must have occurred in the prehistory of the centum languages, but his thesis that the labialized yelars arose quite independently in the centum languages very late does not seem to be tenable and

Language, Vol. III, 1897, p 26. [Compare also A Mayer, Der Satem charakter des Illyrischen. Glotta XXIV, 161 ff. and also Illyrisches K. Z. 66, 1939, p. 100].

18. American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXXII, pp. 36-57, 1911

19. See my paper, The New Indian Antiquary, Vol. 1, p. 632, 1939, E. H. STURTE-

VANT, Language II, pp. 26-27, 1926. 20. Bezzenberger's Beitrage zur kunde der Indogermamschen sprachen, Vol. III,

p. 179. 1879.

BRUGMANN, K. V. G. 44

<sup>22.</sup> See E. H. STRURTEVANT, Language II, p. 27, 1926.

sound and it is a matter least susceptible of proof. [Cf. J. Whatmough, the development of Indo-European labiovelars with special reference to the dialects of ancient traly. Mélanges Linguistiques offers à M. Holger Pedersen. Aarhus 1937, p. 47.] It is not easy to agree with Kurylowicz [op. cit pp. 22-23] that the earliest phase of the primitive Indo-European had only palatals and pure velars and that it is even inadmissible to put on the same chronology the problem of labiovelar series with those of the palatal series. [See also E. H. STURTEVANT, Language, 12, 1936, p. 141]. The identical treatment of in explosives leaves us in no doubt as to the question of the early separation of Tocharian and Hittie from the parent language which must have taken place in common. [Cf. Walter Petersen, tbid. pp. 25-6].

Poona, C. R. SANKARAN

#### REVIEWS

The Silappadikāram or The Lay of the Anklet, translated with an Introduction and Notes by V. R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, with a Foreword by Jules Bloch. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1939, Royal 8-vo, XI + 392 Price Rs. 15/-

As Prof. Jules Bloch mentions in his Foreword this translation of a Tamil classic serves two purposes: it brings to scholars not familiar with Tamil its literary excellences in a readable form, it lays before historians source material which would otherwise be inaccessible to non-Tamil scholars. It is based on the edition of Silappadikäram by Mm. Dr V. Swaminatha Aiyar.

The Sangam period in Tamil Literature is its Augustan age and Prof. DIKSHITAR demonstrates beyond doubt that the Sil. takes its legitimate place among the extant Sangam works and his own researches have shown its importance to the historians of South India It also represents in a way the earlier musical and dramatic pieces which have been lost beyond recovery. The approximate period of its composition is assigned as the second century A.D. by Prof. DIKSHITAR.

In his learned introduction the translator deals with such topics as the story in the work, the place of Sil. in Sangam works, the date of Ceran Senguttuvan and his achievements, an estimate of his character, Karikāla in the Sil., political conditions in Northern India of the period, and of South India, some features of the administration, geographical and religious data, social conditions, superstitions, traces of Aryan culture, etc. It is worthy of the scholar whose contributions to South Indian History are of outstanding merit.

As a piece of literature, as a romance, as a source book for history and sociology, the Sil. ranks among the best works produced in early India, and all historians and sociologists should be thankful to Prof. DIKSHITAR for his successful translation of this Sangam masterpiece, presented in beautiful print. For a work printed in India it is remarkably free from misprints and very excellently produced.

S. M. K.

Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. VI, 1781-1785, 1938, Price 15-2-0.

The Imperial Record Department of the Government of India have recently issued the 6th volume of a very useful series of historical Correspondence known as the Persian Calendars, which contain an English summary of the vast amount of Persian letters that passed between the Company's officials in India and the numerous Indian powers. This Persian Correspondence gives a graphic inside picture of Indian politics and very materially supplements the historical information in numerous English papers already published by Forrest and other writers. This series commences with the year 1759, of which five volumes were already out and which had brought the story upto the year 1780. The present volume comprises an account of the transactions of the next five years, the culminating period of Warren Hastings' regime. A short introduction to the volume reviews the important events of this period and will be found suggestive and helpful by the reader in following the contents with interest and ease.

These five years cover the second half of Warren Hastings' administration and possess an absorbing interest in Indian history as they practically ensured the

establishment of British rule in India The volume contains more than sixteen hundred (1600) letters that passed between the Governor General or his subordinates on the one hand, and the various Indian potentates and chiefs, such as the Emperor of Delhi and his agents, the Nawabs of Oudh, Bengal, Karnatak and Hydarabad, the Rajas of Benares and Nagpur etc. on the other There are also many news-letters that came to the Government of the Company from the various Indian Courts. The work, it is understood, is to be continued to the end of the 18th century. When completed, it will indeed render a phenomenal service to Indian history

Books of this kind are not expected to interest the general reader; they will be required mostly by the student-class in the higher grades of Universities. Thus their sale is likely to be very limited, particularly as the prices are rather prohibitive. Will not Government offer these Calendars to genuine students at some concession rates? If they do so, they will indeed earn the lasting gratitude of the poor Indian student.

G. S. SARDESAI.

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ASVALAYANA-GRHYA-SÜTRA: THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION

By
V. M. APTE, Poona.

#### Introductory.

This study is an investigation into the sources and interpretation of all the mantras other than those taken from the RgVeda, liturgically employed in the Āśvalāyana-Grhya Sūtra which belongs to the RgVeda. The connotation of the term Mantra is here extended so as to comprise all kinds of liturgical formulas viz. mantras from Samhitās other than the Rg-Veda, passages from the Brāhmanas, Yajus, Praisas, gāthās etc.

Only a very small number of such mantras have been traced to their sources in Professor Stenzler's edition of the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra in the 'Indische Hausregeln, Leipzig 1864' (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft III Band No. 4) and the translation of the work by Professor (Propurprise in the Second Busin of the Text Medical Control of the Second Busin of the Text Medical Control of the Second Busin of the Text Medical Control of the Second Busin of the Text Medical Control of the Second Busin of the Text Medical Control of the Second Busin of the Text Medical Control of the Second Busin of the Text Medical Control of the Second Busin of the Second Busi

fessor Oldenberg in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol.

Sources.

XXIX. In the other editions of the Asvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra viz. the one with the commentary of Gārgya

Nārāyaṇa in the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta 1869), another with a translation in Marathi by Lokahittavadi, Bombay 1880, a third with the commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, the Gihyaparisisṭam and Grhyakārikās (second edition by Bhavanishankar Sukhtankar, Bombay 1909), a fourth one with a Marathi translation by Nana Yadava Takle, (2nd edition by Mahadeo Gangadhar Bakre, Bombay 1915) and the fifth with the commentary of Haradattācārya edited by T. Ganapati Sastri, in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. LXXVIII 1923, not even an attempt is made to trace such mantras to their sources.

The Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-mantra-Vyākhyā edited by K. Sāmbaśiva ŚĀstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CXXXVIII (Śrī Citrodayamañjarī No. XXVII) 1938, is a Sanskrit commentary on the mantras employed in the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra by Śrī Haradattamiśra and it was expected that it would throw some light on the sources of obscure and untraced mantras. But as regards 'sources' the commentator quotes Śaunaka:—

"Anukṛṣ(astu yaḥ kaścit kalpe'tha brāhmaṇe'pivā | mantrah padyo'thavā gadyo Vāmadevyaṁ nibodhata | | "

[Whenever a yajus is cited in Kalpa or a Brāhmaṇa text, Vāmadeva is to be taken as the Rṣi or author thereof]. A number of early Vedic texts have been published since (i.e. in the period of time following the editions of Professors

STENZLER and OLDENBERG, to date) and more aids in the form of concordances, indexes etc. are now available. I am, therefore, in a position to make the humble claim in the following pages that nearly every non-RgVedic Mantra cited in the Aśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra has been traced as a whole or in parts to some definite early source This problem, I regret to say, has not received the attention it deserves from scholars because in the many excellent editions of Grhya Sūtras that have been published till now, the matter has but rarely been taken up with any zeal. This is all the more regrettable in view of the fact that after allowing for mantra variations in the different Vedic Schools we find a fair residuum of Grhya mantras common to nearly all the extant Grhya Sütras and that therefore a very thorough-going attempt in connection with one Grhya Sūtra would have helped similar attempts in connection with other Grhya Sūtras To take but one instance, in the very scholarly edition of the Vārāha-Grhya-Sūtra by Dr RAGHU Vīra (published by the University of the Punjab, 1932), Appendix II gives a mantra index in which "Such of the mantras as are not to be found in the Vedic Concordance or as show some variations therefrom are marked with an asterisk" (p. 54), but the problem is taken up no further, probably because it was not part of the original scheme A number of mantras marked thus in that edition whose variants are employed in AG.\* I. 7. 3, 6 & 13, I. 17. 6 & 7; I. 21. 1; I. 24, 32 etc. have been traced to their sources in the following pages.

In view of this almost general neglect of the valuable mantra-material (non-RgVedic, I mean) in the Grhya Sūtras, a few exceptions being the edition of the 'Mantrapāṭha', by Dr. Winternitz, the edition of the Jaiminīya Grhya-Sūtra by Dr. Caland and that of the Vārāha Grhya-Sūtra by Dr. Raghu Vīra, a special study of such mantras in the Āśvalāyana Grhya-Sūtra is attempted in this paper, with respect to their interpretation and especially their sources in earlier Vedic literature.

The term 'sources' has been used here in a special sense. In the matter of the liturgical employment of Mantras, a Vedic school did not regard as inviolable or unalterable, the text of a mantra which was not taken from the Samhitā to which it belonged! A large number of such formulas, besides, belonged to the common stock of Grhya tradition and was drawn upon by the different Grhya texts and all possible variations of what virtually is the same mantra, are found in these texts. Compare for example the formula 'imam asmānam āroha' etc. quoted in ĀG I 7 7 and the different versions of this same formula in \$G I. 13. 12; PG. I. 7 1; ĀPMB. 1 5. 1 and IIG I. 4 1.

AG I 7 7.:— परिणीय परिणीयाइमानमारोह्यति " इममदमानमारोहाइमेव त्व स्थिरा भव । सहस्व पृतनायतोऽभितिष्ठ पृतन्यतः" इति । ७ ।

SG I 13 12 — " एहाइमानमातिष्ठाइमेव त्व स्थिरा भव । अभि तिष्ठ पृतन्यतः सहस्व पृतनायतः " इति दक्षिणेन प्रपदेनाइमानमाक्रमप्य । १२ ।

<sup>\*</sup> For abbreviations see p 60 seq

PG. I. 7. 1:— अथैनामश्मानमारोहयत्युत्तरतोऽभेर्दक्षिणपादेन । "आरोहेमम-श्मानमश्मेव त्वं स्थिरा भव । अभितिष्ठ पृतन्यतोऽवबाधस्व पृतनायत" इति । १ ।

APMB. I. 5. 1:— आति छेम महमानुमश्मेव त्वॅ स्थिरा भेव । अभि तिष्ठ पृतन्यतस्सहस्य पृतनायतः ॥ १ ॥

HG. I. 4. 1:— कुमारमास्थापयति । "आतिष्ठेममद्मानमद्भेव स्थिरो भव । प्रमृणी- हि दुरस्युन्सहस्व पृतनायतः" ॥ इति । १ ।

It is impossible, therefore, in many cases to point to any particular early Vedic text as the source in the sense that the formula occurs there in an identical form. The only aim of a Gihya text was to see that the formula it cited was suitable to the particular context in which it was employed and to this end, the utmost liberty was taken with the text of a suitable mantra occurring in an early text. A formula could also be improvised by joining together parts or lines of mantras drawn from different sources! Compare, for example, the mantra cited in our text AG. II. 9. 2, which is made up of one pāda "Rtena sthūnām adhiroha Vamsa", taken from AV. III. 12. 6° and another from RV. X. 18. 3° i.e. "Drāghīya āyuh prataram dadhānaḥ"! Words of course, could be altered easily (compare the formula quoted in AG. I. 7. 6 where the last clause 'jīveva śaradaḥ śatam' has the dual 'Jīveva' which is not found in any of the numerous parallel passages though all the remaining words are the same everywhere!).

I have therefore, adopted the following procedure in the paragraph on 'sources' under each sūtra. In the first place, an attempt is made to trace a mantra in the ĀG. to an earlier text where it occurs in an identical form. As, however, this is not always possible, a mantra or formula in an early Vedic text or failing that, a parallel Grhya text with the nearest approach in words and sense to the formula in our text as a whole is pointed out, if available, first. The formula is next considered part by part (whether it be a ptida or a line or a clause) and the 'sources' of each of these parts (in the sense of 'passages or lines most closely allied in words and sense') are pointed out, wherever available.

A survey of these sources reveals the following list of chapters or passages in early Vedic texts (i.e. Samhitäs, Brähmanas Āranyakas and Śrautasūtras), which treat of the same Grhya topics as are treated in the different chapters of the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-sūtra and which may, therefore, have influenced the latter. In certain cases, the identity of not only formulas but also of the sūtras in our text quoting them, with corresponding passages in these early texts, turns this probability into a certainty; e.g. for I. 3. 3 (the purification of Ājya) compare TS 1. 2. 1. 2 and VS. I. 31. For I. 7-8 (Kandikās treating of the marriage ceremony), compare AV. XIV. 2 (borrowing from RV. X. 85). For I. 10. 12 and 15 (the pārvaṇa sthālī-pāka) compare AV XIX. 64. 2 and \$B I. 6. 38 respectively. For Kandikās I. 13-15 (rites connected with pregnancy and the birth of a son) compare KBU.

II 8-10. For I. 17 6, 7 and 10 ('Caulam' or the tonsure of the child's head) compare AV VI 68 1-3; for I. 17. 8-9 (the same topic) compare TS. 1. 2. 1. 1 and for I. 17 16 (Caulam) and I. 18. 5 (the parallel 'Godāna' rīte) compare AV VIII 2. 17 For I. 20. 6-8, (the ceremony of Upanayana) compare \$B XI. 5. 4 1 seqq. For I. 23 (choosing of the Rtvijs) compare APS. X. 1. 4, 10-14. For I. 24 (guest-reception with the Madhuparka), compare \$\$ IV 21. For II. 6. 1-4 (mounting a new chariot) compare L\$. 2. 8. 2, 6-8 seqq. For II 8. 16 (house-building), compare AV. III. 12. 2 6-7. For III. 1-4 (the five daily sacrifices, especially Svādhyāya), compare TA. II. 10-15. For IV 1-3 (funeral rites on the death of an āhitāgni), compare \$\$. IV. 14. 17-35 and for IV. 8 (the Sūlagava sacrifice), compare \$\$. IV. 17.

This rapid preview of the sources of non-RgVedic Mantras in the Asvaläyana Grhya-Sütra discussed in the following investigation reveals that Grhya passages and not merely mantras crop up in the most unsuspected places in the earlier or pre-Grhya-sūtra literature! Already in my monograph1 entitled "RgVeda Mantras in their ritual setting in the Grhya-sūtras with special reference to the Aśvalayana-Grhya-Sūtra", I have shown that genuine Grhya Mantras in the Rg-Veda are not confined to its Marriage and Funeral Hymns nor only to its late parts as was supposed by Professor Oldenberg (S. B. E. Vol. XXX, Introduction: p. X seq.) but are scattered all over the RgVeda. The above preview of the sources of non-RgVedic Mantras has a similar story to tell. We find that among Samhitās other than the Rg-Veda Samhitā genuine Grhyat-Mantras and passages and sections of Grhya origin are found not only in the Atharva Veda which is well-known as a treasure of Grhya verses but also in the Taittirīya and Vājasaneyi Samhitās. Again, notable texts from this point of view are the 'Satapatha' among the Brāhmanas, the Taittiriya Āranyaka among the Āranyakas, the Kausītaki-Bitimanopanisad among the Upanişads and even the Shauta-Sūtras of Sānkhāyana, Latyāyana and Apastamba among the Srauta-Sütras. Thus every phase of Veduc literature takes its place in this Grhya-pageant!

Secondly, as regards the interpretation of these Non Rg-Vedic Mantras, quite a number of them remain obscure in spite of the help Interpretation afforded by the two Sanskrit Commentaries of Gārgya Nārāyana and Hardattācārya and the German, English and Marathi translations mentioned above. Professors Stenzler and Oldenberg propose emendations in the text of a number of these formulas. In the majority of these cases, I have attempted to show that the emendations are unnecessary and that the Mantras admit of a natural and satisfactory interpretation just as they stand and have adduced parallel passages in support of the original readings they propose to emend unnecessarily in my opinion. Finally in the case of some formulas, I have given interpretations which are new and which in my humble opinion are more natural.

<sup>1.</sup> Reprinted from the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute. Vol. I (1939-40).

The plan adopted in the following investigation is this:—In the first paragraph is given the text of the sutra in the AG, and the formula cited therein. The different parts, clauses or padas of the formula are marked as (a), (b), etc. not only to facilitate reference but also because, for reasons stated already, the formula very often can be traced only in parts scattered in different earlier texts. Then follows my own translation of the sutra and the mantra (which in many cases differs from that of Professors Stenzler and Oldenberg) Next comes the paragraph on 'Sources' and I invariably state at the very outset, whether any such are pointed out by Prof. Stenzler or Oldenberg. This is followed by a discussion of the text and interpretation of the formula if these offer any difficulties and of the emendations, if any such are suggested by Prof Stenzler or Oldenberg.

This whole material, therefore, I may humbly claim, is original except where Prof Stenzler or Oldenberg have made suggestions regarding the sources, these being invariably acknowledged in the proper places.

Sūtras in the text citing non-Rg-Vedic Mantras

ĀG I. 1. 4; 'Yo namasā svadhvara' iti (RV, VIII. 19. 5"), (a) 'Namaskāreņa vai khalvapi, (b) na vai devā namaskāremati, (c) Yajño vai nama' iti hi brāhmaņam bhavati |

Trans. 'He who (as) a good sacrificer (sacrifices to Agni) with homage,' so (the RV. verse quoted above in Sūtra 3 goes on to say); 'even through homage, indeed, to be sure (a sacrifice may be said to have been offered); (b) not beyond (the reach of) homage, (are) the gods surely; (c) homage, surely, is (itself) a sacrifice' thus (runs) a Brāhmaṇa.

The wording of the passage gives the impression that these three clauses form part of a single connected quotation from some Brāhmaṇa. As a matter of fact the three clauses are syntactically separate and represent bits of Brāhmaṇa sayings, picked up at random because of their general unity of sense.

Context The sacrificial character of the last two divisions of Pāka-yajñas viz. (1) the 'Prahutas' or those offered over something not the fire and (2) the 'Brahmani-hutas' or those offered at the feeding of Brāhmanas is established by the citation of the RV. verse, VIII. 19. 5 which says that a sacrifice may be offered not only by pouring an oblation into the fire but also by placing a fuel-stick on the fire or by knowledge or homage. This (so-called) Brāhmaṇa is cited by way of comment on the last pāda of that verse.

Sources · (a) & (c) No dictionary, concordance or index gives a clue. The nearest Biāhmana passage that I could find to (a) and (c) is SB. VII. 4 1. 20 (also IX. 1. 1. 16) where, in connection with a saluation to serpents, it is said "Namo nama iti Yajīo vai namo, Yajīnenaivenān etan-namas-kārena namasyati." When it is said 'A homage! A homage!'—a homage, indeed, is a sacrifice—he worships them with a sacrifice when he worships them with homage (namaskārena).

(b). The nearest approach to the words and sense of this part is found in GB 2 2. 1. 18 (pp. 117 & 118, :—Na hi namaskāram ati devāh

"The gods are not beyond (the influence of) homage." A salutation to Prajāpati is the context. Very nearly identical is also the passage: SA. I. 5

ĀG. I 3.3 : "(a) Savītustvā prasava utpunāmy (b) achidrena pavitrena vasoh sūryasya raśmibhir" iti prāg utpunātī, sakrī mantrena, dvistūsnīm |

Trans: (a) "At the inspiration of Savitr, I purify thee, (b) with (this) purifier without holes, with the rays of the Sun—the Vasu (the Beneficent one)" With this mantra he purifies (the Ajya), (in an) eastward (direction) once and twice silently.

The context is the purification of the Ajya with two Kuśa blades as strainers as a necessary preliminary of all Grhya sacrifices whose general outlines are described in this Kandikā.

Sources Prof Stenzler compares VS. I. 31, a mantra employed at the purification of the Ajya in K\$ 2. 7. 7 (not in K\$. 2. 3. 31 as Stenzler states). This mantra is identical with ours except for the word 'Vasoh' in (b), which it omits. Part (b) with 'Vasoh sūryasya' etc. i.e in a form exactly identical with ours, is traced to T\$ 1 2. 1 2. where we have it after "Devastvā savitā punātu", the context being the purification of himself by the sacrificer As pointed out in the Introduction, the tradition of these Grhya-mantras admitted of different parts from different sources being fitted together, to make a mantra suitable to a particular context.

AG. I. 3. 10:—Tad eşābhiyajña-gāthā giyate:—

'Pākayajñān samāsādyaikājyān ekabarhişah | ekasvistakṛtah kuryān nānāpi sati davate || '

Trans: In this connection, the following sacrificial gāthā is sung. "If one has (before one, the performance of different) pākayajñas (at the same time), one should perform them with the same common Ājya, barhis and the same common Sviṣṭakṛt (oblations), though the deities (of these pākayajñas) may not be the same."

The context is the same as before:—general rules for the Grhya sacrifices

Sources: Kauś, VI 34 has "Athāpi Ślokau bhavatah | "followed by two Ślokas, of which the second is our verse Both the commentators—Dārila and Keśava (p 21 Bloomfield's edition: JAOS vol. 14) remark that the ślokas are from the Gopatha Brāhmana; but in the existing edition of the Gopatha Brāhmana (Bibliotheca Indica), the Slokas are not traced! One can only hope that some manuscript of the Brāhmana contains the two ślokas

ĀG. I. 5. 4: Astau pındān kṛtvā (a) "Rtam agre prathamam jujñe, (b) rte satyam pratiṣthitam | (c) yadiyam kumāry abhijātā (d) tadiyam iha pratipadyatām | (e) yat satyam tad dṛśyatām" iti pındān abhimantrya kumarīm brūyāt 'Esām ekain grhān'eti |

Trans He makes eight lumps of earth (taken from different places) and consecrates these lumps with the Mantra "(a) Rtam (the world-order ordained beforehand) was born in the beginning, the primeval. (b) On Rta

is established Satya (Truth or conformity of events to this world-order); (c) What this girl is born to (d) that she may attain here. (e) What the Truth is, may that be seen!" He then should say to the girl 'Pick up one of these'.

Context: Sūtra 3rd enumerates the characteristics which a girl to be married, must possess. As these, such as intelligence, character etc. are difficult to ascertain, the procedure described in this Sūtra is adopted, so that the character of the origin (field, pool etc.) of the lump of earth picked up by her, may reveal her characteristics

Sources: Clauses (c), (d) and (e) constitute Mantra-parts evidently improvised to suit the particular occasion and cannot be traced in early literature.

As regards (a) and (b), there are numerous passages in early Vedic texts containing the words 'Rtam' and 'Satyam', describing their mutual relation and their relation to the 'world-order' but there is none that is identical with ours. Very similar to our (b) is "Rtam satye'dhāyi, satyam rte'dhām" in TS. 7 1. 18. 2 and "Rtam satye'dhāyi, satyam rte' dhāyi" in TB. 3. 7. 7. 4, the context in both passages being the 'Seasonal consecrations'. The latter part (in italics) of TB 3 7. 7 4 meaning 'Satyam (Truth) was placed on Rta' comes very near to our (b) in words and is identical in sense.

Among Sūtra-texts, the nearest parallel to our (a) can only be traced in GG. II. 1. 7 which reads:—"Rtameva prathamam rtam nātyeti kaścana | rte bhūmir iyam śritā." TB. 1. 5. 5. 1 has also a very similar passage to this with 'parameṣthī' for 'prathamam' and 'Kiñcana' for 'Kaścana.' So TB. 1. 5. 5. 1 and the source of GG. II. 1. 7 (i.e. some early Sāmaveda text, as GG belongs to the Sāmaveda) may be said to be the chief influences. The consecration of lumps of earth with a mantra describing Rta and Satya in our text is explained by the fact that VS. 11. 47 "Rtam satyam, rtam satyam" is a mantra to be recited while the lump of clay for the construction of the fire-alter, is held above the goat (one of the victims at the ceremony).

ĀG. I. 6 3: "Saha dharmam caratam" iti prājāpatyalı . . . . | . . . . Trans. 'Fulfil (ye) the law together'—(when) this (is said, it) is the Prājāpatya (form of marriage).

Sources · All the available parallel passages, support the reading adopted above. Baudhāyana I 20. 3 has 'Dharmam cara'; Gautama Dharma-Sūtra 4 7. has 'Saha dharmas' caryatām'; we read in the Manusmrti. III. 30:—"Sahobhau caratām dharmam" and Nārada Dh. 12. 40 has 'Saha dharmam cara', which are all formulas addressed to the couple or the bridegroom.

The commentator Haradatta pertinently remarks that although 'fulfilling the law together' is an essential condition of all marriage-forms, this special

<sup>1.</sup> Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG read 'caratah' (Third person dual of the Piesent Indicative) and translate accordingly.—"They fulfil the law together; this is the Prājāpatya" but I prefer the reading 'caratam' (Imperative, 2nd. person dual), of the Trivandrum edition which makes the part (in italics) a mantra addressed as an exhortation to the couple.

mention of the exhortation implies that the bridegroom is not to take a second wife, nor leave the householder's life for any other Aśrama (or mode of life)—which distinguishes the 'Prājāpatya' from other forms of marriage like the Brāhma and the Daiya.

AG. I. 6. 8 . "Hatvā bhittvā ca šīņṣāni rudatīm rudadbhyo haret" sa  $R\bar{a}k$ sasah | |

Trans: Should he carry her off (while she is) crying from (her) crying relatives after a smashing and breaking of heads, that is (the form of marriage called) Rākṣasa. Prof. Oldenberg says (p. 167 footnote) "The text of this sūtra seems to be based on a hemistich 'hatvā bhittvā ca śīrṣūṇi rudadbhyo rudatīm haret'; comp Manu III, 33". This is an ingenious suggestion but it may be pointed out that the words of a Sūtra in our text as well as other sūtra-texts sometimes just happen to be arranged in such a way as to give them quite unintentionally the appearance of a pāda or hemistich e g AG. I. 5. 1: "Kulam agre parīkṣeta" is a perfect anuṣṭubh pāda! Besides, if such an Anuṣṭubh hemistich had existed, it should have been traced in late works employing ślokas, as it conforms to the model of the later regular anuṣṭubh.

That this shocking recognition of the 'Rākṣasa' mode as a form of marnage, without any apology, is a survival of a very ancient custom, has been shown in my monograph entitled "RgVeda mantras in their litual setting in the Grhya sūtras, with special reference to the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-sūtra" (reprinted from the Bulletin of the Deccan College Reseach Institute), under AG I. 8. 4: 'Jīvam rudanti' iti rudatyām |.

ĀG I. 7.6. Pradakşmam agnim udakumbham ca trih parinayañ japati "(a) Amo'ham asmi să tvam (b) sā tvam asy amo'ham (c) Dyauraham pṛthivī tvam (d) Sāmāham rk tvam (e) tāvehi vivahāvahai (f) prajām prajanayāvahai (g) Sampriyau rocişnū sumanasyamānau (h) jīveva śaradah śatam".

Trans: While leading her (the bride), round the fire and the waterpot, three times with the right side turned towards them, he (the bridegroom) mutters (a) "This I am, that thou, (b) that art thou, this myself, (c) the heaven I, the earth thou, (d) the Sāman I, the Rk thou; (e) come then (tau), let us marry; (f) (and) beget offspring, (g) dear to each other, bright and amiably-minded, (h) may we two live a hundled autumns"!

Sources —(a) to (f). AV 14 2.71 reads .—"Amo'hamasmi sā tvam, sāmāhamasmi rktvam, dyauraham pṛthivī tvam, tāviha sambhavāva, piajām ājanayāvahai" | which is equivalent to our (a), (d), (c), (e) and (f) in order Our (b) is nothing but (a) with a transposition of 'sā tvam' and 'amo'ham', so its omission in the AV passage is immaterial. Our 'vivahāvahai' in (e), for the corresponding 'Sambhavāva' in AV is just an adaptation suiting the exact context in the text. So this AV mantra appears to be the source of our mantra-parts from (a) to (f). SB 14 9.4.19 has clauses very similar to ours from (a) to (d) cited as formulas for intercourse at a kāmya

rite aiming at the birth of a meritorious son. In a similar context in JUB. I. 54. 6; 57. 4 appear formulas similar to our (a) and (b). But of interest is the passage VIII. 27 4 in AB. (which as a Rgveda-Brāhmaṇa is closely related to our text) containing clauses similar to our clauses (a) to (e), the context being the 'selection of a Purohita'. Now, as Prof. Keith remarks (p 341 HOS. vol. 25), there is a parallelism between this ceremony and that of marriage. Our text gives evidence of this parallelism when both in I. 5 1 (examination of the family of the bride or the bridegroom) and in I 23. 1 (qualifications of Rtvigs to be chosen), it refers in identical terms "Ye mātṛtaḥ pitṛtaśceti yathoktam purastāt" to Ālś. IX. 3 20, where are laid down the qualifications of a priest to be chosen for partaking of a camasa at the Daśapeya sacrifice.

Clause (g). For this, may be compared VS 12 57<sup>h</sup> as also TS. 4. 2. 5. 1<sup>h</sup> where the identical three words occur, the context being the throwing of the Ukhya fire (or the fire in the pan) on to the Garhapatya hearth; the words describing the mutual relation of the two fires thus brought together, are very similar to the phraseology in our text

Clause (h) There are numerous passages with nearly identical words e.g. "Jīvāti śaradaḥ śatam" is found in RV X, 85, 39d and AV. 14. 2. 2d 63d, "Adhā jīvema" etc. in AV 18. 4. 70d; 'Jīvāni' etc. TB. 3. 7. 4. 10d; "Jīvāmi" etc. in TA. 10. 1. 8d and "Sa jīva" etc. in SB 14. 9. 4. 26d and in our own text in I. 15 3d, 9d but the dual 'Jīveva' that we have here is nowhere met with! This is at very clear illustration of the liberty taken in the different Vedic schools in the adaptation of mantras or parts of mantras by alterations in words etc. to suit the particular context in hand!

## AG. I. 7. 7:—Parmīya parinīyāsmānamārohayati:

(a) "imam aśmānamāroha, (b) asmeva tvam sthīrā bhava (c) Sahasva pṛtanāyatah, (d) abhitīṣṭha pṛtanyataḥ" iti.

Trans: Each time he conducts her round, he helps her step on the asman (the lower mill-stone which plays an important part in the Grhya ritual, being the counterpart of the pressing-stone of the soma in the Srauta ritual) with the mantra (a) "Mount on this stone; (b) like the stone be firm; (c) overcome the opposing (enemies); (d) tread down the enemies".

Sources. (a) to (c): In a note to AV. 2.13.4 (WHITNEY'S Atharvaveda HOS. Vol 7, p. 57), it is said that the Paippalāda or Kasmirian text of the AV. reads for that verse, (a) Imam asmānam ātistha, (b) asmeva tvam sthiro bhava, (c) prammīhi durasyatah, (d) Sahasva prtanāyatah.

The (a), (b) and (d) here, are nearly identical with our (a) to (c) with the following variations.—instead of 'sthirā' in our (b) (addressed as the mantra is to the biide) we have here 'sthiro' masc, because the mantra is addressed to the male child, prayers for whose long life and welfare are contained in that AV, hymn; our 'āroha' in (a), is a mere paraphrase of 'ātiştha' in AV, our (c) is exactly identical with the AV, clause (d). The AV, clause (c) is a paraphrase in different words of our (d).

Clause (d).—The last pada or clause is traced to TS. 4. 1. 2. 3d and VS. 11 20d, the context in both places being, that the verse is recited while the Adhvaryu holds his hand on the horse's back during the agni-cayana ceremony

It may be noted here, that the asman verses (or those containing exhortations to be as firm as a stone) are found employed in our text as well as in parallel Sūtra-texts in two contexts viz. the ceremony of marriage and the ceremonies of birth-rites as 'addresses to the bride or the newly-born child' (compare our I, 15. 3 which has 'asmā bhava' etc.).

How very fluid the tradition of these Grhya-mantras was, can best be seen by a glance at the parallel passage in other Sūtra texts viz SMB 1.2.1; PG I 7 1; \$G I. 13 2, \$APMB 1 5 1 and 2 2.2, \$HG 1.4.1; 19.8. cited already in the Introductory section. We find here all possible variations (of what essentially is the same mantra) that the words constituting it were capable of!

### ĀG. I. 7. 13:

- (a) "Aryamnam nu devam kanyā agnımayakşata | sa imām devo Aryamā preto muñcātu nāmutah, svāhā ||
- (b) Varunam nu devam kanyā agnimayakṣata | sa imām devo Varunah preto muñcātu nāmutah svāhā ||
- (c) Pūşanam nu devan kanyā agnım ayakşata | Sa ımām devah Pūşā preto muncātu nāmutah svāhā" | ityavicchındatyanjalım sruceva juhuyāt |

Trans. (a) "To Aryaman the god, to Agni, have the girls sacrificed (i.e. to Agni as Aryaman; 1) may he—god Aryaman, release her from here (i.e. from her father's family), not from yonder (i.e. from her husband's home).

- (b) To Varuna the god, to Agm etc. [as above with 'Varuna' in place of 'Aryaman'.]
- (c) To Püşan the god etc. [as above with 'Püşan' instead of 'Aryaman']

Context:—After the 'leading round' of the bride, fried grain is poured into her joined hands by her brother or his representative. The bride sacrifices this fried grain without opening (lit. breaking open) her joined hands, as if she was sacrificing them with the 'Sruc' ladle while the above mantra is being recited by the bridegroom

Sources Only Sütra-texts like \$G, SMB, GG, PG, APMB. and MG. have got parallel passages but the mantra cannot be traced to any early text—with the exception of 'Preto muñcātu nāmutah' the concluding part of (a) (b) and (c) which is traced to RV X 85 25° and AV XIV. 1 18°. OLDENBERG (SBE vol 29. p 44) on \$G I. 18 3, compares Pāraskara I 6 2 " preto

<sup>1.</sup> That this is the construction and sense is clear from RV V 3  $2^n =$  "Tvam Aryamā bhavasi yat Kanīnām" [Thou art Aryaman to the girls] as addressed to Agni and cited in our text elsewhere i.e. I 4 8

muñcātu mā pateh" which shows what 'itah' and 'amutah' refer to. The RV. and the AV. verse-pādas also have the same implication I think that the influence here is AV. XIV. I. 17 which reads "(a) Aryamaṇam yajāmahe (b) subandhum patīvedanam | (c) urvārukamiva bandhanāt (d) preto muñcāmi nāmutaḥ | for the following reasons: (1) The last pāda of each of our (a) to (c) is the last pāda here; our first pāda is reminiscent of the first of the AV. because of 'Aryamanam'. (2) There is general unity of sense (3) This mantra in our text is followed by the citation in I. 17, 17 and 18, of RV. X 85. 24 and 25 which correspond to AV. XIV. 1 19 and 18. Thus, AV. XIV. I. 17, 19 and 18 which would correspond to the citations in our Sūtras I. 7.13, 17 and 18, very likely influenced our text.

ĀG. I. 7. 19: 'Athanām aparājitāyām disi sapta padāny abhyutkrāma yati, (a) "iṣa ekapadī (b) Ūrje dvipadī (c) rāyaspoṣāya tripadī (d) māyobhavyāya catuṣpadī (e) prajābhyah pañca-padī (f) rtubhyah ṣaṭpadī (g) sakhā saptapadī bhava (h) sā mām anuvratā bhava (i) putrān vindāvahai bahūn (j) te santu jaradaṣṭayah" iti.

Trans IIe then (i.e. after the sacrifice of fried grain and the loosening of the bride's two locks of hair) helps her take seven steps forward with the mantra —

- (a) For sap, (be thou) one who hast taken one step forward,
- (b) For juice, " " two steps"
- (c) For the augmenting of riches, be thou one etc. three steps forward,
- (d) For comfort ,, , four steps forward,
- (e) For progeny " " five steps forward,
- (f) For the seasons " six steps forward,
- (g) Be a friend, (thou) who hast taken seven steps,
- (h) So be thou devoted to me, (i) let us attain many sons,
- (1) let them reach old age.

Sources (a) to (g): TB, 3.7 7.11 reads as follows:

- (a) ekam ise Vispustvā anvetu,
- (b) dve ŭrje """
- (c) trīni vratāya .. .
- (d) catvārī māyobhavyāya "
- (e) pañca pasubhyah ", ",
- (f) şad nāyaspoşāya "
- (g) sapta saptabhyo hotrābhyah "| sakhāyaḥ saptapadā abhūma | sakhyam te gameyam |

The context is —The Yajamāna follows in the steps of the Soma-krayanī cow while she is being led. The remarkable agreement of this passage with our mantra with the exception of a few unimportant differences suggests it as the influence on our text. As regards the differences, it is apparent that the TB has the better version Our text e.g. makes an abrupt syntactical change in (g).

The idea of friendship consummated by the walking of seven steps in company, can be traced to AV. V. 11. 10 "Saptapadah sakhāsmi" (I am

thy comrade of seven steps). Perhaps the faint origin of 'seven' as the number of steps is in RV. VIII. 72. 16.—"Adhukṣat pipyuṣīm iṣam ūrjam saptapadīm ariḥ | sūryasya sapta raśmibhih" || where we not only come across the words 'iṣam' and 'Ūrjam' of our Mantra but also the association of the seven rays of the sun with the 'seven-stepped ūrjam'!

- (h) (1) and (J):—This part is only traced to JUB. 1 54. 6° where it occurs after 'Amo'hamasmi' etc. a mantra parallel to our I. 7. 6. This part has the same position (as in JUB) in SG. I 14. 6 and PG. I. 8. 1. This part of our Mantra then (easily detachable from the rest in sense and syntax) appears to have been a sepanate Mantra which our text has tacked on to our mantra (a) to (g) and which other texts have joined to other mantras in other contexts.
- ĀG I 7. 22 · Dhruvam arundhatīm sapta ṛṣīn iti dṛṣṭvā vācam visṛjeta "Jīvapatnī prajām vindeya" iti |

Trans: After observing the polar star, the (star) Arudhatī and the Seven Rṣis (Ursa major), let her release her speech (i.e. break her silence with the words) "With my husband living, may I aatain piogeny"

Context—This follows after the saptapadī rite.

Sources. The part 'prajām vindeya' can be traced only to \$G 1. 17. 4 (as compared by Oldenberg) in exactly the same context as in our text. The Mantra is one of those unimportant short mantras of a general invocatory purport, the words of which could be improved upon in any vedic school and which need not supposed to have a traditionally fixed text.

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- VS—The Vājasaneyi-samhitā in the Mādhyamdina Sākhā· edited by A Weber, Berlin and London, 1852
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- KBU.—The Kausitakı-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1861.
- JUB The Jaiminıya-or Talavakāra-Upanişad-Brāhmana: Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XVI, pp. 79-260.

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- KS.—The Kātyāyana Srauta-sūtra: edited by A. Weber, Berlin and London, 1859.
- ApS The Apastamba Srauta-sütra: Bibliotheca Indica edition in three volumes.
- MS.—Das Mānava Śrauta-sūtra; Dr. Friedrich KNAUER, Books i-v. St. Petersburg, 1900-1903.

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# JNANAGHANA PUJYAPADA

By

## E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN, Madras.

Appayya Dīkṣita in his Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha,¹ refers to an advaita manual by name Tattvaśuddhi This² is an authoritative work in 46 chapters,³ called prakaraṇas, by one Jñānaghanapāda,⁴ a disciple of Bodhaghanācārya.⁵ Who Bodhaghana and Jñānaghana were are to be considered here.

In a work entitled *Spingagriguruparamparā* (No. 302 of Seshagiri Sastri's II Report) is given a list of the various pointiffs of the Spingeri Mutt. The list mentions 41 ācāryas on the whole beginning with Mahādeva (Lord Siva) and ending with Narasmha Bhāratī Though this list may not be quite accurate, it is also not wholly incorrect. That is to say, unless and until some positive evidence is set forth to prove the inaccuracy of the list, its tentative correctness holds good. The whole list may be reproduced here with advantage:

" महादेवो महाविष्णुः तृतीयश्चतुराननः । विष्ठः शक्तियोगीन्दः पराशरमुनीश्वरः ॥ व्यासः शुको गौडपादो गोविन्दभगवान्मुनिः । गुरुः श्रीशङ्कराचार्यः षण्मतस्थापनः प्रभुः ॥ विश्वरूपाचार्ययोगी नित्यबोधघनाभिधः । ततो ज्ञानघनाचार्यो ज्ञानोत्तममहासुनिः ॥

Tattvaśuddhi, ch. I verse 4.

<sup>1.</sup> See pp 141, 190, 266 and 363 of Siddhantalesasangraha, Kasi Skt. Ser. 36

<sup>2.</sup> Being serially issued by the present writer in the Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, in collaboration with Mr S S. Suryanai ayana Sastri

<sup>3.</sup> Das Gupta, History of Indian Philosophy II, p. 57 f n says: "Jñānaghana, who probably lived in the 13th century, wrote an elaborate dialectical work in 33 chapters (prakaranas) called Tattvaśuddhi". This is wrong. The evidence for placing Jñānaghana in the 13th century is not given. The enumeration of chapters as 33 is also not correct, probably he concluded that the work is complete in 33 chapters, on the basis of an incomplete copy in 33 chapters, found in the Govt Or Mss Library, Madras (R. No. 2897), referred to as B. in my edition of the same.

<sup>4.</sup> See colophons to the chapters of Tattvasuddhi.

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिवाजकाचार्यश्रीमज्ज्ञानघनपादविरचितायां तत्त्वहाडी। ध्र

<sup>5.</sup> व्याख्यागर्जितनिर्जिता जडिंघयः कष्ठीरवाशङ्कया तर्कारण्यनिषण्णवादिकरिणो निःश्रेयसादौ स्थितिः । विद्यादृष्टिसुपक्तिष्ययतिसत्सस्यैः क्षमा शोभते शश्वद् बोधधनस्य यस्य गुरवे तस्मै नमः श्रेयसे ॥

ज्ञानगियीचार्यवर्यः तथा सिंहगिरीश्वरः। ततश्रेश्वरतीर्थाख्यो नृसिंहाभिधतीर्थकः॥ विद्याशङ्करतीथोख्यो लिम्बकायोगतत्परः । भारतीकृष्णतीर्थाख्यो विद्यारण्यमहामनिः॥ विद्यानगरनिर्माता वेदभाष्यादिकुद्ररः। श्रीचन्द्रशेखराभिख्यभारती तदनन्तरम् ॥ नृसिंहभारती भयो नृसिंहोपासकस्सदा। भक्तशङ्करनामाढ्यः प्रुषोत्तमभारती ॥ श्रीचन्द्रशेखराभिख्यभारती तदनन्तरम् । न्रसिंहभारती चैव प्रख्योत्तमभारती। भारती रामचन्द्राख्यो नरसिंहाख्यभारती। नृसिंहभारती होयो नृसिहोऽभिनवस्तथा॥ सिचदानन्दयोगीन्द्रः स्तम्भे हेरमबदर्शकः। श्रीनृसिंहाख्ययोगीन्द्रः सिचदानन्दभारती ॥ ततश्चाभिनवाभिख्यः सिचदानन्दभारती । ततोऽभिनवपूर्वश्रीनृसिंहाभिधभारती॥ श्रीसचिदानन्दयोगीन्द्र तपश्चरीपरायणः । पुनश्चाभिनवाभिख्यः सम्बदानन्दभारती ॥ श्रीश्टक्रेरिपराधीशः श्रीविद्यामन्त्रबोधकः । श्रीमदाचार्यसहज्ञः श्रीवसिंहयतीश्वरः॥ भारतीनामविख्यातः तपःशीलो जगद्रसः। राजाधिराजसंपूज्यो जगत्ख्यातो विराजते ॥"

In the light of the following evidences also the apparent and tentative accuracy of the above list can reasonably be assumed to hold good.

First, in a work entitled Sankarācāryacarita by Govindanātha,<sup>a</sup> (No. 301. of Sheshagiri Sastri's II Report; same as MD.<sup>7</sup> 12171-2) the predecessors of Sankara are mentioned as Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Vasiṣtha, Sakti, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Suka, Gauḍapāda and Govinda.<sup>8</sup> Lord Siva is left out. The rest of the ācāryas mentioned corresponds with the predecessors of Sankara as found in the Spāgagiriguruparamparā.

श्रीग्रुकस्याभविच्छिष्यो गौडपाद इति श्रुतः । तस्य शिष्यो महातेजाः वर्तते स्म द्विजो हिरः ॥ संन्यासविधितत्त्वज्ञ गोविन्दस्वामिनं स तम् । स्थितं कादयामवापाञ्च वायुमार्गमुपाश्रितः ।

<sup>6.</sup> Ed. by Dewan Bahadur N. D. MEHTA, and printed in the Chitrasala Press, Poona, 1931

<sup>7.</sup> MD = Madras Des Cat. of Mss

<sup>8.</sup> See Seshagiri Sastri, II Report pp. 101-2 But in the printed edition this is missing. Only Suka, Gaudapāda and Govinda are referred to,

Secondly, in a work called *Gadyavallari*<sup>9</sup> tantra, by Nijātmaprakāśa<sup>10</sup> Āṇandanātha Mallikārjuna Yogīndra Yati (Mitra *Notices*, VII, No. 2261). which opens with a list of the teachers of the Śāṅkara sect, the first 22 names beginning with Śiva and ending in Vidyāranya correspond with those in the *Śṛṅgagiriguruparaṃparā Gadyavallari* mentions 28 ācāryas before Malli-kārjuna, its author.

Again in another work called *Guruvamśamahākāvya*,<sup>11</sup> by Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrin,<sup>12</sup> son of Vīreśvara Śāstri, written under orders of Saccidānanda Bhāratī, disciple of Narasinha Bhāratī, a long list of the successive pontiffs of the Śṛngeri Mutt is given. This order of the ācāryas corresponds to a greater length with the order found in the *Śṛngagiriguruparamparā*.

This concordance of the four lists is sufficient evidence to show that, the opening part and a great extent of the list in *Syngagiriguruparamparā* are reliable, if not the entire list. It is possible that the *Guruvamsamahākāvya* was based on the *Syngagiriguruparamparā*, still the accuracy of the *Syngagiriguruparamparā* is not disproved.

Now let us examine the list proper. The list mentions on the whole 41 ācāryas from Lord Siva to Narasinha Bhāratī. Sankara is the eleventh and Vidyāranya 22nd. According to Mr. Sheshagiri Sastri, Vidyāranya came to the pontifical seat in 1331 A D.<sup>18</sup>. After him, according to the list there were 19 priests and the period of reign for each ācārya, after Vidyāranya is 29 years, on an average. Previous to Vidyāranya and after Sankara, there were 10 pontiffs. Accepting 820 A D as the date of Sankarācārya's demise, we get 510 years of interval for 10 ācāryas, i.e. on an average each ācārya would have been in the pontificate for about 50 years. Granting that ascetics generally live longer than ordinary men and assuming that they are usually appointed as pontiffs at an early age, it may seem that a reign of 50 years for a single pontiff is not unreasonable. But 50 years of reign in succession for 10 pontiffs cannot be satisfactorily explained. The more so when we come to note that after Vidyāranya the average period for an ascetic is abruptly reduced from 50 to 29. Mr Sheshagiri Sastri on this point doubts the reli-

<sup>9</sup> Dr Aufrecht in his C C I, p 377a, under Bodhaghana, says that he is mentioned as the successor of Viśvarūpācārya in the Srīvidyāpaddhati Bik Cat 613 This Śrīvidyāpaddhati is only a portion of the Gadyavallari See colophon to Śrīvidyāpaddhati:

इति श्रीनिजात्मप्रकाशानन्दनाथमिलकार्जनयोगीन्द्रविरन्तिताया गद्यवलयो अनुक्रमोत्तमाख्यायां श्रीविद्यापद्धतौ etc.

<sup>10.</sup> AUFRECHT identifies him with Prakāśānanda, author of the vedānta work, Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī.

<sup>11.</sup> See Annual Report of Mysore Arch Dept. 1928, p 15.

<sup>12.</sup> Laksmana Sāstrin was contemporary of Somasekhara II (1714-1739 AD.) of Keladi, when Saccidānanda Bhāratī (1705-1741 AD.), disciple of Narasimha Bhāratī adorned the pontifical seat at Srigeri ibid

<sup>13</sup> Recent researches have shown that Vidyātīrtha, a guru of Srngeri lived to the end of 1375 AD and was immediately succeeded by Vidyāianya. See J. A. H. R. S. IX pt 4 p 40, also OLD 1938 No 6 118

ability of the list and says that the manuscript of *Śringagiriguruparamparā* is defective.

But we have evidence to believe that some ascetics lived longer than others. Viśvarūpa, according to tradition, lived very long. Again take the case of Jīlānottama (author of Istasiddhivivaraņa) who is said to have adorned the pontificate for 63 years:

जातो मङ्गलनाम्नि चोलविषये नागेशसंज्ञात् द्विजात् श्रीज्ञानोत्तम इत्यवाप्तविरुदो यः तार्किकामेसरः । ज्ञानानन्दमुनिः त्रिषष्टिश्चरदः संमण्डय पीठी गुरोः सिद्धिं मन्मथमार्गशीर्षसितसप्तम्यामवापस्त्रधीः ।

Punyaślokamañjari,14

Granting even this, we cannot satisfactorily reconcile the fact that 10 ascetics before Vidyāranya were long-lived and his followers abruptly came to be short-lived. Thus arises the doubt regarding the accuracy of the list in *Spigagiriguruparaniparā*. To explain this discrepancy away the possible course is to assume some break in the continuity of the pontiffs. And until and unless there is some positive evidence for proving this discontinuity, it is unsafe to assume it. Thus apparently the list in the *Spigagiriguruparamparā* has to be taken as correct.

Coming to the list itself, the order of succession of the ācāryas is as follows: Siva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Vasiṣtha, Sakti, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Suka, Gauḍapāda, Govinda, Saṅkara, Viśvarūpa, Nitya-Bodhaghana, Jāānaghana, Jāānottama etc. Saṅkarācārya is mentioned as the eleventh in the order of succession. Next to Saṅkara comes Viśvarūpa, who has been proved by authorities to be none else than Sureśvarācārya, Saṅkara's disciple. Viśvarūpa is mentioned invariably as the successor of Saṅkara in all the four lists referred to. Govindanātha in his Saṅkarācāryacarita, clearly mentions Sureśvara as the second disciple of Saṅkara. He also says that Viśvarūpa was his former name as a house-holder, and Sureśvara was his name after sannyāsa.

विश्वरूपं ततो नीत्वा भिक्षतां देशिकोत्तमः। स्वमनोरथलाभेन रान्त्रष्टः सुतरामभूत्॥

Sankarācāryacarsta, Govindanātha. V. 61.

<sup>14.</sup> See Naişkarmyasiddhi, Intro Hiriyanna, p. 35, f. n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> See Anandanubhava's *Nyāyuratnadīpāvalī* p. 154, Ms. R. 5505 of Madras Library. Visvarūpa and Suresvara are clearly identified.

गृहस्थावस्थायां विरचिते विश्वरूपमन्थे दर्शितवाक्यपरिमहो दश्यते । न चासौ प्रन्थः संन्यासिना विरचितः, तथा हि 'परिवाजकाचार्यभुरेश्वरविरचिते' इति प्रन्थे नाम लिखेत्। लिखितं तु 'महविश्वरूपरचिते' See also Anandagırı's Com. on the above : pp. 110-111 (Ms. No. R. 4459 ıbid) ·

निश्वरूपप्रभाकरयोः आप्तत्वासिद्धिमाशङ्कते—नन्वित ।........ किं च गाईस्थ्ये स्थित्वैव निबन्धनिर्माणात् न विश्वरूपाचार्ये पक्षपाताशङ्केत्याह गृहस्थेति । etc.

आचार्यस्य द्वितीयोऽयं शिष्यः संन्यासनामतः। सरेश्वर इति ख्यातो बभूव भुवनत्रये॥ ibid. VI. 1.

It is surprising to note that Mr. J. C. Ghosh<sup>16</sup> omits Viśvarūpa's name, probably copying the mistake of Rajendralal Mitra,  $^{17}$  while giving the list of adaryas in the  $Gadyavallar\bar{\imath}$  The text in the  $Gadyavallar\bar{\imath}$  is very clear:

ततः श्रीशङ्कराचार्यो विश्वरूपार्थ एव च । ततो बोधघनाचार्यः ततो ज्ञानघनाह्वयः ॥

Jñānaghana is the third in the order of succession after Sankara. Since all the lists agree with respect to this fact, this position of Jñānaghana seems to be fairly acceptable, until the above fact is disproved. Thus we are in a position to fix Jñānaghana's date roughly. The date of Sankara's death has been accepted by scholars as 820 A.D. This date is also supported by a striking epigraphical evidence. In *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. I, one Sivasoma, predecessor of King Indravarman (877-889 A.D.) is said to have studied the Sāstras from Sankara:

येनाधीतानि शास्त्राणि भगवच्छङ्कराह्वयात् । निःशेषाखिलमूर्थालिमालालीढाङ्किपङ्कजात् । Vcrse 39.

Prof COEDES remarks on this 'It is not impossible that this is a reference to the celebrated Sańkarācārya, whose activity in India falls at the beginning of the 9th century" King Indravarman flourished about 877 A.D. So that it is not impossible for his preceptor, Sivasoma, to have been a student of Sańkara in Sankara's closing years The latter half of the above verse clearly favours this view.

Now Sureśvara (i.e Viśvarūpa) was Śankara's disciple and immediate successor. He was followed by Bodhaghana. Bodhaghana was also very famous like his illustrious predecessors. This is borne out when Jñānaghana, his discple, says of his teacher,

व्याख्यागर्जितनिर्जिता जडिघयः कण्ठीरवाशङ्कया तर्कारण्यनिषण्णवादिकरिणो निःश्रेयसाद्रौ स्थितिः । विद्यादृष्टिसुपकिकिष्ययतिसत्सस्यैः क्षमा शोभते शक्षद् बोधघनस्य यस्य गुरवे तस्मै नमः श्रेयसे ॥

Tattvaśuddhi Ch. I. v. 4.

Bodhaghana was followed by Jñānaghana Thus approximately some 80 years can be reasonably assumed to have elapsed after Śańkara, and before Jñānaghana came to the pontificate, assuming of course, that Sureśvara and Bodhaghana together adorned the seat at Śrngen for 80 years. This assumption is not altogether impossible, when we take into consideration the fact

<sup>16.</sup> IHQ XIII pt. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Mitra Notices of Mss. VII, 2261, p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> See JOR Madras, XI, iii. pp 285-6 K A. Nilakantha Sastri: 'A Note on the date of Sankara'

that according to tradition, Sureśvara had a very long life. Thus Jñānaghana can be placed at 900 AD.

This date is supported by other evidences too. Taking the internal evidence: Jñānaghana rarely quotes from others. In one place  $^{19}$  in his Tattva-Suddhi he quotes a stanza from Maṇḍana's Biahmasiddhi:

लब्धरूपे क्रचित् किश्चित्तारगेव निषिध्यते। विधानमन्तरेणातो न निषेधस्य संभवः॥ "

In chapter 39 of the *Tattvaśuddhi*, in connection with the discussion of the substrate of avidyā, Jñānaghana refers respectfully to the view held by Sureśvara. The actual reference is: atmaiva svāvidyayā samsarati svāvidyayaiva vimucyate iti hi tattvavidām sthitiḥ. Though he does not explicitly mention Sureśvara by name, from Appayya Dīkṣita's *Siddhāntaleśasangraha* (p. 122 of the Kasi Skt. Series. See also Acyutakṛṣṇānanda's commentary thereon) we know that this view was held by Sureśvara.<sup>21</sup> This favours Jñānaghana being placed about 900 A.D.

Again in chapter 44 of the *Tattvaśuddhi*, on avidyānivṛtti, Jñānaghana says:

यस्मात् नाज्ञाननिष्टत्तिः सदसदिनिर्वचनीयप्रकारा अस्माभिरभ्युपगम्यते ; किं तु पश्चमप्रकारा । सदसदिष्ठिकाराः किल निष्टत्तयो भावाभावयोरेव दृष्टाः । अज्ञानं पुनः सदसदिलक्षणम् । अतस्तिशवृत्तिरिप तदनुसारिणी युक्ता । यक्षानुरूपो बलिरिति हि न्यायः । etc.

In the above pratīka, there seems to be reference, without mention of name, to the views of Vimuktātman. For in the advaits tradition, the fifth mode of avidyānivṛtti is associated with the name of Vimuktātman,<sup>22</sup> though in the Siddhāntaleśasangraha,<sup>23</sup> this view is attributed to Anandabodha. This would show that Vimuktātman was a predecessor of Jñānaghana.

Again in the above patrika it does not seem altogether impossible to suppose that there is a veiled reference to Jayanta Bhatta, when Jñānaghana says: yakṣānurūpo balih iti hɨ nyāyah <sup>24</sup> Jayanta Bhatta, the great grandson of Saktisvāmin, the minister of King Muktāpīda Lalitāditya of Kashmir, could not have been very far removed from the famous Vācaspati Miśra (841 A.D.). Probably both of them were contemporaries.<sup>25</sup> This also is in favour of placing Jñānaghana about 900 AD

<sup>19</sup> Prakarana 1, p 6 of the Madras Univ. edn

<sup>20</sup> Brahmasiddhi p. 44 Mm. Kuppuswami Sastriar's Edn

<sup>21</sup> Citsukha attributes this view to Vimuktätman. See Citsukhi, p. 363 and also the commentary thereon by Pratyagrūpabhagavān.

<sup>22</sup> See J O R. M. V, p 332

<sup>23.</sup> Chapter IV.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the verse in Nyāyamañjari p. 355.

न सन्नासन्न सदसन्नानिर्वाच्योऽपि तत्क्षयः। यक्षातुरूपो हि बलिरित्याचार्या व्यवीचरन्॥

<sup>25</sup> Sarasvati Bhavana Studies III, p. 104, f. n.

In another place<sup>26</sup> he refers to Umveka, not directly, but refers to his views as Umveka-pakṣa This is clear evidence to prove that Jñānaghana lived at a period, when Umveka's views were authoritatively recognised. Umveka has been proved by scholars to be the same as Bhavabhūti, the dramatist-philosopher, on the evidence of Citsukha <sup>27</sup> Umveka now, is also accepted to be a disciple of Kumārila.<sup>28</sup> Bhavabhūti lived about 750 A.D.<sup>20</sup> The fact that Umveka was very proficient in mīmārnṣā, especially in the ślokavārtika of Kumārila is testified by the commonly quoted stanza.

ओम्बेकः कारिकां वेत्ति तन्त्रं वेत्ति प्रभाकरः। वामनस्तूभयं वेत्ति न किश्चिदपि रेवणः॥

Şaddarsanasanuccayatīkā: Guņaratna, p. 20 Bib. Ind. edn.

The frequent references to the doctrines of mīmāmsā and vedic exegesis in the dramas of Bhavabhūti also point to this fact. Umveka's commentary of the *Ślokavārtika*<sup>30</sup> has been recently discovered. Umveka also wrote a commentary<sup>31</sup> on Maṇḍana's *Bhāvanāviveka*.<sup>32</sup> He noted different readings in the text of Maṇḍana and in some places also gave alternative interpretations <sup>33</sup> All these prove that Umveka was a great mīmāmsaka. Reasonably some 100 years can be fairly assumed for the spread of Umveka's views in mīmāmsā and for him to become as an authoritative exponent of this system and to have followers to justify the phrase—umvekapakṣa. Thus umvekamata in mīmāmsā would have been prevalent only at about 850 A.D.<sup>32</sup> And the fact that Jñanaghana refers to Umveka's views with a certain amount of contempt shows that Jñanaghana could not have flourished earlier than 850 A.D. Thus Jñana-

<sup>26</sup> Ch 29—Bhedābhedanırāsaprakarana, p. 204 of the Madras Ms. D. 15729. अयं तु क्षपणकपक्षाद्पि पापीयान्मवेकपक्ष इत्युपेक्ष्यते

<sup>27</sup> Cetsukhi, p 265, N. S Edn

<sup>28</sup> See Intro. to Gaudavaho p. ccvi by S P PANDIT

इति श्रीमत्क्रमारिलस्वामित्रसादप्राप्तवाग्वैभव श्रीमदुम्वेकाचार्यविरचिते मालतीमाधवे पहोऽङ्कः ॥

<sup>29</sup> Bhavabhūti must be referred to the last quarter of the 7th century and the first of the eighth, i.e. 675-725 add See R G Bhandarkar. Intro. to the Report on Search of Mss in the Bom Pres during 1883-4, p 15

<sup>30.</sup> To be published shortly by the Madras University

<sup>31.</sup> Printed in the Sarasyati Bhavana Texts Series

<sup>32.</sup> There is some doubt regarding the identity of this Umveka with the commentator on Slokavārtika. For Mandana seems to have known of Sankara's views about samuccayavāda and he disagreed with him. This shows that Sankara and Mandana were contemporaries. Thus Umveka, who commented on Mandana's Bhāvanāvīveka, and noted different readings also in Mandana's text, should necessarily be later than Mandana and thus later than Sankara too Umveka, who is identical with Bhavabhūti and who wrote a commentary on Slokavartīka, thus cannot be the same as the commentator on Bhāvanāvīveka.

<sup>33.</sup> See I H. Q VII, p 303

<sup>34</sup> Another plausible objection is this ls it necessary that Umvekapakṣa should signify a school or a following of Umveka? Why not it be taken to mean Umveka's individual views? But the clear comparison of Umvekapakṣa with Kṣapaṇakapakṣa in the reference given serves to answer this objection.

ghana can safely be placed about 900 A.D. which makes him a contemporary of Sarvajñātman, author of Samkşepaśārīraka, who lived about 900 A.D., 35 and not a contemporary of Prakāśātman, 36 as supposed by Mr. S. Srikanta Sastri.

Another important point not to be lost sight of in this connection is this. The date of Jñānaghana is arrived at 900 A.D taking that of Sankaja's death as 820 A.D. There is a difference of opinion regarding this date of Sankara If the date of Sankara's death is taken as 664 A.D., 37 a deduction of 156 years becomes necessary and thus Jinanaghana will have to be placed at 744 A.D. This is too early for him as proved by the internal evidence. where Jñānaghana refers to the *Umvekapakṣa*, which as has been said above would have been prevalent only at about 850 A.D. Nor can the date for Sankara (655-687 AD) given by Dr. Chintamanias be accepted, for the same reason. Again for the very same reason, the date ascribed recently by Bhagavaddatta to Sankara's disciple, Viévarūpa (600 A.D.) also cannot be accepted. Bhagavaddatta attributes this date to Viśvarūpa after identifying Pratāpašīla occurring in a verse at the end of the Ācārādhyāya of Viśyarūpa's Bālakrīdā, 30 a commentary on Yājñavalkya smrti, with King Prabhākaravardhana (who died in 605 A.D.) and was probably Viśvarūpa's patron on the authority of Bana Bhatta, who in his Harsacarita, beginning of the 4th Ucchvāsa says ·

तेषु चैवमुत्ययमानेषु.....प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनी नाम राजाधिराजः। This is not sufficient evidence to establish the identity. For the word 'pratāpašīla' occurs in many inscriptions and need not necessarily imply a proper name. It, after all, signifies only valour. And Prabhākaravardhana was not the only King noted for his valour. Bāṇa simply wanted to give expression to Prabhākaravardhana's prowess and he poetically expressed pratāpašīla as another well-known name of Prabhākaravardhana. Thus the identification of Pratāpašīla with Prabhākaravardhana is not sufficiently supported by evidence.

Hence until further decisive evidences are put forth to contradict the date of Sankara's death as 820 A.D., it tentatively holds good.

Mr. J C. Ghosh, 40 on the authority of the Spiger list, assigns Jhana-

See also.

प्रथमोदयानुरक्तो निखिलमल मण्डलं निजं कृत्वा । पालयति सततमुर्वी अतिबलवानेष नृपसविता ॥

End of Vyāvahārādhyāya of Bālakrīdā.

<sup>35</sup> Das Gupta · History of Indian Philosophy, II, p. 111.

<sup>36</sup> See later.

<sup>37.</sup> Brahmasiddhi · Introduction, p lviii

<sup>38</sup> J O. R., Madras, III, p. 47.

<sup>39</sup> इति संस्तमण्डलः मुधामा पुरुकिचरो रमणः प्रतापशीलः । रविरिव त्रपतिः समः प्रजानां जगदिखल व्यवहारतो बिभर्ति ॥

ghana to the period 848-910 Ap. This is approximately correct. But he goes on to identify Simhagiri found in the list with Gaudesvara, Citsukha's preceptor and says that Simhagiri is identical with Jijānottama. This point is still doubtful.

Recently again, Mr. S. Srikanta Sastri,  $^{41}$  thinks that Tattvaśuddhi was based on a work named  $\bar{A}tmatattva!$  probably by Ananyānubhava. The basis for this assumption is this. First of all he wrongly quotes the text of Tattvaśuddhi thus  $^{42}$ :

इह खळु निखिलोपनिषत्पदकदम्बकतात्पर्यपर्यालोचनापरिनिश्चित अनन्यानुभवानन्दाद्वितीयात्म-तत्त्वमधिकृत्य केषुचिद्धेषु तत्त्वपरिशोधनं विधीयते । The correct version of the text is 43

इह खल्ल...... --- मिथकृत्य केषुचिदर्थेषु तत्त्वपरिशोधनं विधियते।

He seems to read in the words 'ātmatattvam adhikṛtya' some undue emphasis and interprets them as based on Ātmatattva, a work! Who is the author of this so-called Ātmatattva? Srikanta Sastri proceeds to interpret the compound—ananyānubhavānandādvitīyātmatattvam as referring to Ananyānubhava, the author of Ātmatattva, on which is based Jñānaghana's Tattvaśuddhi. In support of this wrong reading and undue emphasis on certain words, he sets forth the evidence of Prakāśātman, who in his Vivarana<sup>44</sup> says that one Ananyānubhava was his guru Thus Srikanta Sastri makes Jñānaghana a contemporary and probably a disciple of Ananyānubhava.

This sort of surmises seems to come out of the interpreter's enthusiasm to find out new and hitherto unknown works and authors in advaita. For the explanation of the commentary on *Tattvaśuddhi* for the word 'adhikrtya' is not in his favour. There, adhikrtya is given as equivalent to 'prastutya', which means only 'about which'. Further the words अनन्यानुभवानन्दाहिनीयात्मत-

वन्दे तमात्मसम्बुद्धस्पुरदृब्ह्यावबोधतः । अर्थतोऽपि न नाम्नेव योऽनन्यानुभवो गुरुः ॥

45. The commentary is by one Uttamajña, disciple of Jñānottama. See the introductory verses in the commentary as also the colophon. A copy of this commentary is available in the Madras Mss. Library No. 15730

यन्नामश्रवणाङ्गीता वादिनो मोहिता मृशम्। तस्मै श्रानोत्तमार्थाय जगन्मोहिभिदे नमः॥ २॥ उत्तमश्रो यतिवरो श्रानोत्तमपदाश्रयः। तत्त्वशुद्धेस्तु सद्याख्यामह कुर्वे यथाबलम्॥ ३॥

Colophon

<sup>41</sup> IHQ. XIV 11, p 402.

<sup>42</sup> IHQ. XIV. 11. p 402

<sup>43</sup> See edition of Tattvaśuddhi in the Annals of Or. Institute, Madras University.

<sup>44</sup> See Vivarana Introductory verse 6

इति परानन्दपरिज्ञानपरितृप्तपरमहसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमज्ञानोत्तमभगवतपुज्यपाद्शिष्ये-णोत्तमञ्चयतिवरेण मयेयं सद्यख्या कृतेति ।

स्वमिश्वत्य cannot satisfactorily and without prejudice to the principles of Sanskrit grammar give rise to the assumption that Ananyānubhava was the author of one Ātmatatīva, a work! If this is so, the words ānanda and advitīyā go without any connection or sāmarthya and could not be tagged together in the above compound. The words at best yield only the sense—that some points about (adhikṛtya) the nature of Ātman (Ātmatatīva) which is secondless and of the nature of bliss to be realised only by personal experience (ananya-anubhava-ānanda-advitiya) are to be considered in the following 46 chapters of the Tatīvaśuddhi.

If Mr. Srikanta Sastri thinks that he can have some liberty in interpreting the above compound, another person cannot be denied the same. And a third man can as well suppose one Anubhavananda as the author of some work, probably Atmatativa If against this Mr. Sastri says that his position is supported by Prakāśātman's evidence, it is also possible to say that Anubhayānanda was the guru of Amalānanda<sup>46</sup> (Kalpataru). Or one can again suppose that Anubhavananda, pupil of Kṛṣnananda (author of Siddhantasiddhānjana) and author of a commentary called Advaitaratnakośa-prakāśa\*\* on Nrsimhāsramin's Advataratnakośa, was the author of Atmatattva, an independent advaita work, on which was based Jñānaghana's Tattvaśuddhi. In this case, instead of Jñānaghana being the contemporary of Prakāsātman. as supposed by Mr. Srikanta SASTRI, he can be shown to have flourished in the 18th century. For, Anubhayānanda, the commentator on Nrsimhāsrama's Advaitaratnakośa, should have flourished in the latter half of the 17th century. And Jūānaghana to base his Tattavasuddhi on this Anubhavānanda's work, the so-called Atmatattva, can be easily ascribed to the beginning of the 18th century All this to show that there is or can be no limit to this kind of surmises.

Let us now see what other information can be had of Jñānaghana. All that we know of him is that he was the disciple of one Bodhaghanācārya, and that he was the fourth from Sańkanācārya in the pontificate at Sṛngeri. Aufrechtt<sup>48</sup> notices a commentary on Caturvedatātparyasaṅgraha of Haradatta, attributed to one Jñānaghana and identifies him with the author of Tattvaśuddhi. A copy of Jñānaghana's gloss on Caturvedatātparyasaṅgraha is available in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.<sup>49</sup> It begins:

### स्वयंत्रभुसुखं बह्य दयारचितविम्रहम्। यथार्थानुभवानन्द्पदगीत गुरु नुमः॥

 $<sup>46\,</sup>$  See colophon to Amalānanda's  $\mathit{Kalpataru}.$  Also introductory stanza 8 to the same ,

<sup>47</sup> See Des Cat. of Mss in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library, Nos. 7502-04. This Λημολαντικά is also the author of a commentary called Prabhāmandala on Sāstradīpikā. ibid. No. 6932. This work is different from the Prabhāmandala of Yajñanārāyana Dīkṣita on the Sāstradīpikā.

<sup>48</sup> Cat. Catalogorum I, p. 179a

<sup>49</sup> Des Cat of Mss. in ASB. VII, No. 5621,

श्रीहरदत्ताचार्यकृतचतुर्वेदतात्पर्यदीपिकाप्रारंभः । शिवरहस्ये शिवोक्तिः । कलियुगे मद्भक्तो भविष्यति । आचार्यचरणैः चतुर्वेदतात्पर्यसंग्रहः क्रियते इत्युक्तम् । तन्मूलसूत्रस्तवो लिख्यते— महादेवो देवः etc.

It ends:

इति श्रीञ्चानघनेन विरचिता चतुर्वेदतात्पर्यसंग्रहदीपिका समाप्ता । श्रीगौरीशङ्करार्पणमस्तु । दीपिकासंख्या शतद्वादश (112).

This Jñānaghana seems to me to be different and later than the author of Tattvaśuddh. Haradatta Śivācārya probably flourished at the end of the 11th century For Kureśavijaya is a point to point refutation of Haradatta's Pañcaratnamālikā Haradatta, thus was a contemporary of Ramānuja and an elder contemporary of Kureśa 50 Again from the introductory verses of the chapters of Tattvaśuddhi it is clear that Jñānaghana, author of Tattvaśudhi worshipped Viṣṇu. 51 And for the devotee of Viṣṇu, to write a commentary of a purely Śaiva work, though not impossible, does not seem to be probable Further the Dīpikā on Caturvedatātparyasangraha is very biicf, 52 and does not exhibit the thorough and comprehensive style of Jñānaghana, author of Tattvaśuddhi Thus with the available facts, at present, it is not safe to say that the author of the Caturvedatātparyadīpikā is identical with Jñānaghana, author of Tattvaśuddhi.

<sup>50.</sup> Proceedings of 6th All-India Oriental Conference, p. 609

<sup>51.</sup> See also the last stanza in Tattva śuddhi where the author himself says that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu .

श्रीमछङ्करभाष्यदुग्धजलघेरादाय विद्याजलं सद्यो बोधघनो विनेयफलदत्सस्योत्करे वर्षति । तद्विद्याजलबिन्दुसंद्रुतमतिश्रके सदाघोश्वजे

भक्तो ज्ञानघनाभिधानगदितः तत्त्वार्थशुद्धि मुनिः॥

<sup>52.</sup> Dipikā-samkhyā sata-dvādaša (112). Refer to above.

### CORRESPONDENCE

### A COMPREHENSIVE INDEX TO THE QUR'AN

To

THE EDITORS.

New Indian Antiquary.

Dear Sirs,

The Committee of the Islamic Research Association has for some time past been considering the advisability of preparing a comprehensive *Index* to the *Qur'an* in English. The inadequacy and incompleteness of the existing indexes is well known to all those who are interested in Islamic studies. It is felt that a full and adequate index, free from the prevalent inaccuracies, would be a useful addition to the reference books concerning Islam.

It is therefore a matter of gratification to the Committee to announce that the President of our Association has offered a prize of Rs. 500 for the preparation of such an index. The index when ready will be published by the Association at its own cost. The particulars, terms and conditions are as follows:

- (1) The Index to the Qur'an should be in English.
- (2) The references will be to the Egyptian Royal ed. (A. H. 1342, Bulaq) and also, to Flügel's ed. of the Arabic Text.
- (3) The Index should be arranged like a dictionary and should be on the model of Wensinck's Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition (Brill, Leiden, 1927). It should be airanged alphabetically, for facility of reference, and not in separate sections. It must be full and comprehensive, containing (a) Geographical Names, (b) Names of Persons and Tribes, (c) Technical Terms and (d) a complete subject-index, and full cross-references.
- (4) In the preparation of the index, particular attention should be paid to the needs of the *layman* (accustomed to read the Qur'an in an English translation).
- (5) The MS. (typewritten, or written with equal legibility) should be submitted on or before 31st December 1942, to the Hon. Secretary, Islamic Research Association. It should be copy for the press, that is, absolutely ready for being sent to the printer, typewritten (or written) on one side of the paper only, and provided with a margin.
- (6) The Committee reserves to itself the right to give extra time to an author, on sufficient reason being given.
- (7) The Committee shall be the sole judge of the merits of the MSS, submitted and it reserves to itself the right to reject any or all MSS, offered without assigning any reasons, and its decision shall be final.
- (8) The rejected MSS, will in due course be returned to the respective authors, but whilst it is intended to take every care to ensure the safe return of the MSS, to the author, the Association or its officers will not be responsible for the loss of, or damage to, the MSS.
- (9) The selected MS, will be published in the series of the Islamic Research Association.

(10) Every person regardless of religion, nationality, race or sex is eligible to compete,

Provided that the Members of the Executive Committee of the Islamic Research Association shall not be so eligible

(11) The accepted MS and its copyright will belong to the Association.

Every student of Islam is earnestly invited to compete for the prize. Scholars who are contemplating to prepare such an index are invited to write to the Hon, Secretary.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly give to the above announcement the widest publicity possible, by publishing it in the journals in which you are interested, or by exhibiting it on the Notice Board, or by any other means.

Yours faithfully.

Bombay, 10 April 1940

A. A. A. FYZER

Replies may kindly be sent to Asaf A A Fyzee Esq., Hon. Secretary Islamic Research Association, Government Law College, Bombay, 1. India

# OUTLINE OF A SCHEME FOR AN INDIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS

Objects :--

- 1. To represent to the World of Letters, the intellectual achievement in the Indian vernacular literatures and to stand out as a representative institution of India by means of which the influence of India might be greater
- 2 To make known the vernacular literatures outside their linguistic area and to encourage good writers by means of annual awards.
- 3. To influence the Cultural unification of India and to co-ordinate the various activities of several branches of study and creative genius
- 4. To encourage individual genius by awarding annual prizes to the best of literary, scientific and artistic productions in India.
- 5. To foster unity and friendship among poets and artists all over India by holding conferences in which mutual expression of views and experiences should be rendered possible, and to do all that is necessary to encourage, spread and develop by all possible means the literary and artistic genius in India. The Academy should be run absolutely on non-communal and non-provincial lines. The membership of the Academy should be kept on a basis of pure merit and should be free from all personal considerations. It shall be a distinction comparable to membership in the Academies of leading Western Countries.

## The Constitution and The Organization of the Academy -

- 1. Branches of the Academy should be established in each province (having a recognised vernacular) and these should be co-ordinated by a Central Office of the Academy at Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay.
- 2 Each Provincial branch should maintain its own language and collect specimens of excellent literary and artistic productions of the year. They should be sent to the Central Office from all parts of India.

- 3. The Board of Award at the Centre should be run in English or Hindi, and it should assign the hall-mark of recognition to certain really meritorious works, after appraising their value and apportioning their merit. They should arrange for their translation into a common language. The awards should be made for the best work in all fields of Cultural activity, Literature, Art, and Research in Science and History.
- 4 The Academy should run a bi-monthly journal in English or Hindi in which contributions from writers all over India and reports of activities from all provinces should be published. The Journal should be conducted by an Editorial Board representing all provincial units and aspects of culture.
- 5 The Academy should undertake the publication of a Bibliography of Indian Publications, for which the Co-operation of all the Academies, Research Societies and Art-Galleries in India should be sought. This should be an annual feature, for which a handsome subsidy from the Government should be applied for.
- 6. The Management of the Academy should vest in an annually elected President, Vice-President and three General Secretaries assisted by an Executive Committee of a representative character. The Board of Award and The Editorial Board should be affiliated to the Central Executive Body.
- 7. An All-India Conference should meet every year, to which delegates from all provinces should attend. The Conference should be utilized for exchange of views, discussion of important topics and problems facing the Academy and the body should arrive at resolutions which should be binding on the Body. The President of the Conference should be duly elected by all delegates.
- 8 The Indian Academy should be represented in all International Conferences, by a batch of delegates, specially elected by the body.

In the initial stages, the Academy should apply to the Government and Public Bodies for funds. Liberal donations from patriotic philanthrophists should also be sought.

Viziangarum City.

D. VISVESVARA RAU.

#### REVIEWS

Annual Report of the Mysore Archwological Department for the year 1937. University of Mysore, Government Press, Bangalore, 1938. Pp. 1x+243

This Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore for the year ending 30th June 1937 is as replete with information and illustrations as its predecessors. Among the ancient sites studied during the period of this report were Channagiri, Chitaldrug, Of the monuments studied two deserve special mention Kıttur and Hale-Alür. viz (1) The Arkeśvara temple at Hale-Alūr with its numerous sculptures of the Chōla period and (2) the Rāmesvara temple at Narasamangala, a unique monument with very fine sculptures. Some valuable epigraphic work was also done by the Department during this period. About 75 inscriptions were collected, some of which have been edited by Mr R Rama Rao, the Assistant of the Department with the help of Pandits under the instructions of Dr M. H. KRISHNA, M. A., D Litt. the Director of Archaeology Among the new finds, two are important: (1) an epigraph on the Dhvaja-stambha of the Kesava temple at Bölür stating that the golden Khaga-dhavja stambha was set up by Jakkarasa, son of Timmara-a, subordinate of the famous king Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar, and (2) an inscription of the same temple recording a grant made to some Siva temple near Bëlür by Ballāļa I, the Hoysala king in 1106 AD. The Department also purchased the Basayanpur copperplates of the Punnād king Skandavarman which were published as No. 53 of 1936. An interesting MS (of the "Memoirs of Hyder Ally from the year 1758 to 1770" by Eloy Joze Correa Peixoto, a Portuguese in Hydar's service) which was acquired previously was completely copied in spite of its faintly visible hand-writing and studied for review. The Department also acquired some 50 interesting coins and prepared 141 electro-type casts for the com show-case of the Government Museum, Bangalore. The Director and his assistants, took an active part in the sexcentenary celebrations of the Vijayanagar Empire at Hampi These are some of the details of Part I of the Report.

Part II of the Report is devoted to the Study of Ancient Monuments and Sites (pp 3-73). It contains much useful matter for the benefit of students of Indian Sculpture and Iconography as a mere glance at the plates will show. - Part III deals with Numismatics (pp 74-81) and describes some Pandya coins of date prior to AD. 1200 and also those of later Pāndyas (after AD 1210) viz. Māravarman Sundara Pāndya I, Sundara Pāndya II, Jātavarman Sundara Pāndya and Māravarman Kulasekhara I Part IV (Manuscripis) pp 82-119 describes the Memoirs of Hydar Ally referred to above and takes detailed review of its contents. The MS was purchased in London Another copy of this MS in English exists in the British Museum and consists of 176 pages The present MS contains 166 pages in three books. It is possible to suggest that this MS is a translation of an original Portuguese MS written in AD 1770. These Memoirs of Hyder (1758-1770) record chronologically many anecdotes about his rise in the army and eventually in the administration of the country. It refers to many facts touching on Hyder's ability and character e.g. his unscrupulousness in killing his mother with his own hands This story of matricide requires corroboration though it is a contemporary statement from one who had great admiration for his hero.-Part V (New Inscriptions for the year 1937) pp 120-189 contains the texts, Notes and translations of many lithic records, some of which bear dates AD 1455, 1340, 1259, 1282, 1311, 1280, 1294, 1303, 1196, 1337, 1514, 1276, 1181, 1109, 1148, 1162, 1140, 1097, 1142, 1240, 1207, 1551, 1122, 1303, 1300, 1334, 1337, etc inscriptions, though not dated belongs to the Ganga ruler Satyavākya Rāchamalla II

(c. 9th Cent. A.D.). The sculpture of a bull (Plate II, 2) depicting a young bull of the "Baroda breed" would be found interesting to the historians of Indian agriculture and Cattle-breeding. Another important sculpture is the image of Paraśurāma (Plate XI, 3), with his paraśu or mace-axe resting on the right knee. As in the sculptures in Ellora and Elephanta his lower hip is thick while the upper one is thin. This reminds us of the celebrated "Austrian lip." Other sculptures though important cannot be indicated in this notice for want of space.

Dr. Krishna and his Department deserve our best thanks for publishing such Reports under the direct patronage of the Government of II. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, one of the most progressive and enlightened rulers of modern India.

P. K. G.

Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume (Published under the auspices of the Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association and Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar) 1936, Pp. iv+380; Size:—77 × 10".

The present volume, sumptuous in matter and form, is a visible indication of that national consciousness among Indian Scholars, which has shown itself as a potent factor dominating all their activities in varied spheres, social, intellectual and political, during the last two decades. This healthy attitude of mind has brought forth a national revival in all spheres of intellectual life and has given us a new vision and a new aim in our studies pertaining to our past glories as also our pitfalls.

It is really an irony of fate that a Hindu Empire which stood in tact against foreign inroads for no less than two hundred years should be shattered to pieces by one decisive battle and should require a Sexcentenary volume to commemorate its glories and cultural achievements. Be that as it may, we heartily thank the organizers of the present volume for putting together much valuable historical matter about this "forgotten empire" in the form of 32 papers (with numerous illustrations) from young and veteran scholars, who have been actuated by the sole desire of representing every aspect of this empire on the basis of historical records.

In 1931 Mr. P. N. Bengeri of Hubli suggested a celebration at Hampi in commemoration of the Sexcentenary of the foundation the Vijayanagara Empire. An association for this purpose was formed in 1933 and public opinion in favour of the celebration was created among the people of Karnātaka by holding conferences at Hubli (1933), Raichur (1934) and Bombay (1934). It was decided to publish a (T) History of Vijayanagara in Kannada, (2) a Vijayanagara Commemoration volume first in English and in vernaculars later on as also (3) a picture-album of the monumental relics of Vijayanagara. Of these three items the monumental English volume is an accomplished fact and we await an early execution of the two other items with eagerness

The present volume has been brought out under the guidance of the veteran historian Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Atyangar, M.A., Ph.D. who, in spite of his advanced age of 66 years devoted his energies to the work of the volume and but for whose guidance "the volume would not have had the finish in the matter and form which it now has" as we are informed gratefully by Mr. D. P. KARMARKAR, the Secretary of the "Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume."

Before closing our short notice of this volume we shall only indicate in brief the names of contributors together with their contributions: (1) S. K. AIYANGAR—Character and Significance of the Empire of Vijayanagar in Indian History, (2) H. HERAS—Vijayanagara Empire a Synthesis of South Indian Culture, (3) R. RAMRAO—Hinduism under Vijayanagara Kings, (4) K. ISHWARA DUTT—Telugu Literature under Vijayanagara Empire, (5) S. R. SHARMA—Vijayanagara and Jamism, (6) C.

SIVARAMAMURTI-Vijayanagar Paintings from the Temple at Lepakshi, (7) S. PARAMASIVAN-Late Vijayanagara Paintings in the Brhadisvara Temple at Tanjore, (8) R. S. PANCHAMUKHI—Coinage of the Vijayanagara Dynasties, (9) D. B. Dis-KALKAR-Shahaji's Relations with Vijayanagara, (10) T. S. SHEJWALKAR-What Shivaji and the Maratha State owed to Vijayanagara, (11) B. A. SALETORE-Theories Concerning the Origin of Vijayanagara, (12) S. SRIKANTAYYA-Vijayanagara and Vidyāτanya, (13) V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR—Establishment of the Vijayanagara Rule in the Tamil Country, (14) K. RAGHAVA CHARLU-Krishna Raya, The Man, (15) G. H. KHARE—Kruhnadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara and the Vilthala Image at Pandharpur, (16) R. N. SALETORE—Some Aspects of Art during the Reign of Krishnadeva Raya, (17) V. S RAMACHANDRA MURTY-Authorship and Importance of the Amuktamālyada as a Source of History for the Reign of Shri Krishnadevarāya, (18) G S. DIXII—Economic Conditions in the Time of Krishnadevarāya, (19) N VENKATA RAO--Krishnadevarāya and his Literary Cricle, (20) B KESHAVA RAO-Historical Importance of Pārijātāpaharanam, (21) K. K. BASU-Battle of Talikota, (22) N. Lakshminarayana Rao-The Nāyakas of Keladi, (23) N. K. V. PANTULU—An Interesting Chapter in the History of Vijayanagara, (24) C. M. R. CHETTIAR—Rule of Vijayanagara Over Kongu Country, (25) M. H KRISIINA.— Vidvasankara Temple, Stingeri, (26) S SRIKANTHA SASTRI—Development of Sanskrit Literature under Vijayanagara, (27) N SUBRAHMANYAM—Geographical Notes on the Chief Capitals of the Vijayanagara Empire, (28) P. S. SUNDARAM IYER—Sri Vidyaranya and Music (29) C HAYAVADANA RAO-Lines of Future Research in Vijayanagara History, (30) D. L. NARASIMIIA CHAR—Kannada Literature under Vijayanagara, (31) K. V. H KRISHNACHARYA—Music under the Vijayanagara Empire, (32) V. RAGHAVAN-Brahmasütravitti of Praudhadevaraya. The above contents speak for the richness and variety of the subject matter, which we are sure, would make the volume indispensable to all lovers of Indian History in India and outside.

P. K. G.

Bhāskarī (Vol. I)—A commentary on the Iśvara-Pratyabhijñāvimaršinī of Ablinavagupta, edited by K A Subramania Iyer and Dr K. C. Pandey, University of Lucknow (Sanskrit Department); Prince of Wales Saraswati Bhavan Texts, No 70 Allahabad, 1938 Pp xIII + 425 Size --5½"×9" Price. Rs 6.

The volume before us is an illustrious addition to the celebrated Saraswati Bhavan Texts Series of Benares. The Iśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Vimarśmī of Abhinava-gupta is the most important work on the Saiva Philosophy of Kashmir, as it is a mature product of Abhinavagupta's brilliant genius. It gives the fundamentals of Saivism in a brief but lucid manner of exposition. Abhinava is known to us also as the author of the Abhinavabhāratī commentary on Bharata's Nātyaśāstra. He was influenced in his exposition of the theory of Rasa by the Kashmir Saiva Philosophy of which he was an acknowledged master. The need for a traditional interpretation of this philosophy so long felt by scholars has been at last fulfilled by the present commentary of Bhāskara, published for the first time by two able scholars Prof. Aiyar and Dr Pandey of the Lucknow University.

Bhāskara's commentary or *Bhāskarī* is represented by a rare MS used for the present edition. It was discovered by Dr. Pandey (the indefatigable author of the monumental work on *Abhinavagupta*) in Srīnagar in 1931. Its owner is a descendant of Bhāskara still living in Kashmir A copy of this original MS is now in the possession of Pandit Maheshwar Razdan of Srinagar. This copy has been used for the pre-

sent edition. The difficulty of editing a Sanskrit text on the basis of a single MS is very great but the editors have tried their best to be faithful to the MS used by them facilitating the work of subsequent editors. In the critical introduction the Editors have explained in detail the value of this commentary. They are of opinion that "Bhāskara's interpretation of the Vimarśini is in strict accordance with tradition, because the Saiva tradition was unbroken, as he himself says, upto his time (Bhaskari, I. p. 7)." Giving an estimate of Bhāskara as a commentator we are told that "Hardly any word of the original is left unexplained. But it is not merely a word for word commentary. He tries to bring out the philosophical import of the original and, where necessary, he enlarges upon the real meaning of Abhinava." As regards Bhāskara's date and antecedents Dr. Pandey has already dealt with the subject on p. 151 ff. of his "Abhmavagupta" and hence the subject is not dealt with in the present Introduction.

If Bhāskara strictly follows tradition and if his exposition of Abhinava's text is very scholarly and rooted in this tradition the fact that Bhāskara is a late commentator of the 18th century need not detract the value of his commentory as emphasized by the learned editors. It is high time that many of the texts on the Saiva Philosophy of Kashmir now in MS form are published by scholars in Kashmir and outside and thus made available for further critical stduy in the manner adopted by Prof. Alyar and Di. Pandey

P. K. G.

Malwa in Transition of A Century of Anarchy, The First Phase (1698-1765) by Dr. Raghubir Singh, M.A.Ll.B., D. Litt. with a Foreword by Jadunath Sarkar, Kt. Cl.E., D Litt.; D B. Talaporewalla & Co 210 Homby Road, Fort, Bombay. 1936. xv | 391 Price Rs. 5/- Size. 5½"×8"

It is a pity that Malwa, which played an important part during the Hindu and early Muslim periods of Indian History has had upto now no history worthy of its past except Sir John MALCOLM's Memoir of Central India (1820), which, being a pioneer work, was necessarily imperfect and became obsolete in course of time. This deficiency in the history of Malwa has been now happily made good by our learned friend Dr. Raghubii Singii, who combines in himself in a unique degree all the benefits accruing from a sare co-operation of Sri and Sarasvati. To add to this blessed circumstance the Maharaj Kumar possesses intimate knowledge of Malwa with its topography and genealogy a factor which makes his present study of Malwa, "intensive, accurate and exhaustive" as Sn Jadunath Sarkar calls it in his brief but forceful Foreword to the Volume. The Raj Kumar has also utilized all the available materials, bearing on the period chosen by him, in printed and manuscript records from Persian, Marathi. Hindi, English and French sources, thus making his history comprehensive, rich and factual, but perspicuous and readable, divested of hyperbole and undue patriotism. It would be difficult to replace such a history of Malwa casily by a better one for at least half a century to come.

The volme is divided into seven chapters ... (1) Mālwa at the close of the 17th century (pp. 1-23); (2) Mālwa during the last decade Aurangzeb's reign (pp. 24-873), (3) The increasing importance of Mālwa (1707-1719) pp. 88-126; (4) The Mughal-Maratha struggle (first stage 1719-1730) pp. 127-207; (5) The Mughal-Maratha stage (second stage 1730-1741) pp. 208-287; (6) The consolidation of the Maratha Hold on Mālwa and the End of the Epoch (1741-1765) pp. 288-321; (7) Condition of Mālwa during the Period (1698-1765) pp. 322-339.

The author's conclusion about the First Phase of Malwa's history dealt with in the present volume is that "the whole period (1698-1765) was naturally one of transition and that the province saw great changes which revolutionized its society, culture and ideals, introduced new factors and above all gave entirely new colour to its political map." During the period of upheaval and disorder any great creative effort was naturally wanting. A general degradation of intellectual life of the province was inevitable during the period. Whether the impact of the Marathas would help Mālwa to rise once again to its former greatness could be answered by a study of the second phase. We await with eagerness this study of the Second phase of the history of Mālwa promised by the learned author in the present volume. The Bibliography, Indlex and the Maps which accompany the volume make it very useful to the students of Indian History. The volume has been carefully edited and neatly printed,—features which reflect credit on the author and the publisher alike. A few photographs of some of the historic sites in Malwa would have enhanced the value of the historical narrative of this Mālwa in Transition.

P. K. G.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas (in lower Deccan) by Dinesh Chandra Sircar, MA, PHD, University of Calcutta, 1939, Pp xv+417 Size.—6½"×9½".

The early history of India has ever remained a subject of exceptional interest to historians perhaps on account of the paucity of material which makes historical reconstruction difficult, if not impossible Eminent scholars, Indian and foreign, have exerted themselves continuously to give us a reasonable and readable account of the early dynastic and cultural history on the strength of epigraphic and literary evidence so far available. Much churning of the available inscriptions has already been effected and as a result of this incessant labour the bare outlines of history have been made visible. The pioneer work done by scholars like BHANDARKAR, FLEET, RICE, DERBREUIL and others in the field of the early history of Peninsular India has been inspiring younger scholars like Dr. D. C Sircar to further efforts in the field and as a result thereof we have before us the present volume in which the author tries to develop in a strictly scientific manner the views exposed by him in his monographs and papers bearing on that "Blank in history" between the last great Satavahana (Andhra ruler and the first Pulakesin). The Volume is divided into two Parts, Part I dealing with the Eastern Districts (the Andhra region) and Part II with the Western Districts, (the Karnātak region) To reconstruct a back-bone from the dry lines of epigraphs is, not an easy job, especially in a field where many of these bones are likely to remain "bones of contention" between one expert and The author has given in this volume not merely a survey of research but has added to it some new points (vide p 5 Intro) for the consideration of responsible scholars. We have, therefore, no doubt that his work would be useful to every student of Indian history who cares to interest himself in the exploration and investigation of the dark recesses of the history of the Deccan in the widest sense We await with eagerness the Second Volume of this work (in the course of preparation), dealing with the dynasties that succeeded the Satavahanas in the Upper Deccan

Poona

P K GODE

### HARI KAVI'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE BHAVANI SWORD OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT

### By

#### P. K. GODE, Poona

In 1924 Mr. S. M. Edwards contributed a note on Shivap's Sword "Bhavānī" to the Indian Antiquary which he concluded with the following appeal to scholars:—

"The question still remains 'where is now the original Sword Bhavāni?" In view of what is written above and of the fact that the Sword now worshipped at Satara is the Sword of Shahu, can any reader suggest a solution of the problem? Could the Sword have been taken to Benares when the Raja retired thither after his deposition? Has it been hidden to reappear at some future date as the symbol of a united Maratha people? Perhaps

(4) Pratap Singh' the Raja of Satara presented General Lionel Smith with a sword in A.D 1820 with the approval of the then Governor of Bombay. Mr. Edwards rejects Parasnis' suggestion that this sword may have been the Bhavāni sword.

I. Vol. LIII, 1924, pp 18-20—References to the Bhavānı Sword recorded by Mr. EDWARDS are as follows:—

Sivadigvijaya Bakhar (reference translated by Dr. Surendranath Sen on p 181 of his translation of Sabhāsad Bakhar.

<sup>(2)</sup> Grant Duff's History of the Marathas Vol. I, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1921, p. 230—Grant Duff states that the Bhavāni Sword "is still preserved by the Raja of Satara". On p. 241 (Vol. 1) he mentions that Sambhaji carried the sword during the Maratha attack on Goa in 1683 and that he did great execution with it. On p. 313 (Vol. I) he states that two swords viz. (1) the Bhavāni Sword and (2) the sword of Afzakhan of Bijapur had been taken by the Mughals at Raigarh. These were given as presents to Shahu by Aurangzeb when Shahu's nuptials were celebrated by the Emperor. Both these swords as well as the third sword personally presented to Shahu by Aurangzeb were in the possession of the Raja of Satara at the time Grant Duff published his history in 1826.

<sup>(3)</sup> Mr D. B. Parasnis informed Mr. Edwards that the sword preserved at Satara is 3'-9" in length in the blade and 8" long in the handle and bears a Marathi inscription "Srimant Sarkär Raymandal Raya Shahu Kadîm Avval," which shows that it is the weapon of Shahu Parasnis further informed Mi Edwards that there is a belief at Satara that the original Bhavani Sword was taken by Tarabai, wife of Rajaram to Kolhapur and that in 1875 this sword was presented by the Diwan of Kolhapur to H. M the late King Edward. It was exhibited in 1878 at the Paris exhibition (vide p. 68 of Handbook of the British Indian Section of this exhibition by Sir George Birdwood). Mr. Edwards made inquiries in England about the above sword the result of which rendered it certain that the Bhayāni was never taken to England.

some one of the leading students of Maratha history may be able to answer the question"

In view of this appeal made 14 years ago by the then editor of the *Indian Antiquary* and finding that no effort had been made by scholars to examine the whole problem of the genesis and historicity of the Bhavani sword I was tempted to make some notes about this problem and make my own contribution to it, howsoever slight, though I don't claim to be a 'leading' student of Maratha History. In these notes I tried to gather what has been said about the Bhavāni sword by some of the previous writers on the subject with a view to indicate the stage at which the problem stands at present. Thinking that these notes may be of use to other workers in this field I am publishing them after waiting for full two years (since this paper was first drafted) with a view to get the benefit of exchange of views with senior workers in the field.

In the Shivaji Souvenir<sup>2</sup> published on the occasion of the Ter-centenary of the Maratha King, Shivaji the Great, we find photographs of four panels of Shivaji Memorial prepared by the celebrated sculptor, V P. Karmarkar (facing p. 98 of English Section of the Souvenir). One of these panels contains the picture of Goddess Bhavāni with eight arms presenting a sword to Shivaji Maharaj, who is shewn at her feet with face towards the goddess and receiving the sword with both his hands. Mr. H. George Franks interprets this panel by putting the following words on record as coming from the mouth of the Great Shivaji.—

"I received that famous sword very early in my career as a token of a compact with the Chief Gowalkar Sawant. It has been suggested to me on my way to the place where it was being kept that I should take it by force, but remembering what tremendous storms are sometimes raised by unnecessary trifles, I thought it better to leave it to its owner, especially as its possession was not a matter of life and death to me. In the end the wise chief brought the sword to me as a sign of amity even when he knew that its purchase-price was not to be measured in blood. From that day onward

<sup>2.</sup> Edited by G S SARDESAI contains an English section which includes (1) the Jedhe chronology (2) the Jedhe karena (3) Are the Bhonsales Kshatriyas? (4) Shivaji and the Portuguese (5) Original documents .—Shahaji's letter to Ali Adıl Shah, A Persian Firman, Shivaji's letter to his father, Shivaji to Maloji Ghorpade, Shivaji to his officers, etc (6) Shivaji's letter to Jayasinha, etc., and a Marathi-Hindi Section including (1) Kayı Bhushan (2) Shiyabāwani (3) Maratha Forts (description) (4) Maratha Forts (alphabetical list) (5) The birth-date of Shivaji (6) Historical documents and letters -Shivaji's letter to Baji Prabhu, Jijabai's letter, Treaty between Shivaji and Portuguese, etc., (7) Commercial policy of Shivaji, (8) Some old arms and their history (9) Meeting of Shivaji and Chhatrasal (10) Life sketches of Shivaji's contemporaries, etc.-This volume was published on 3rd May, 1927 It contains the following illustrations -(1) Shivaji on horseback (2) Aurangzeb in old age (3) Ambarkhana at Panhalgad (4) Shri Ramdas (5) Kalyan gate of Sinhagad (6) Swords and arms (7) Chhatrasal (8) Four panels of Shivaji Memorial (9) Shahaji and Shah Jahan (10) Bust of Shivaji (11) Some Marathi letters reproduced.

the sword, which I reverently named after my tutelary deity Bhavāni³ always accompanied me, its resting place when not in use generally being the altar of the goddess, to be received back from her as a visible favour from heaven, always on the Dasana day when setting forth on my campaigns. I am told that the sword is now at Satara, but I am afraid that I cannot verify it until I can see it to identify it. The fine Genoa blade 3 feet and 9 inches in length, might, in fact, be my other favourite sword which I called Tulja presented to me by my father."

I am not aware of the authorities on which the above journalistic description is based but it may be taken to be an upto date summary of the history and tradition associated with the swords of Shivaji the Great. I am concerned in this paper with the sword known as the *Bwavām sword* and hence shall try to put on record references to this sword from contemporary and subsequent records which may reveal the high value attached to it on account of the successive and successful feats of bravery and personal adventure which mark the entire career of this great hero.

In the Maratha Chronicle composed by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis in A.D. 1811 we find the following passage referring to the Bhavānī sword:—

Page 134—''महाराजानी सफाई' करून 'तुम तों बड़े और पठाण, आब हमारी भवानी शिवाजीकी देखों 'महणून तरवारीचा वार खांदाबर केला ''.

In the above extract which describes the Afzalkhan incident in Shivaji's life we are told that Shivaji retaliated to Afzalkhan's attack by giving a

<sup>3.</sup> Mr. Y. R. GUPTE has reproduced an original letter of Shivan addressed by him to his step-brother, Vyankoji which begins with "श्रीमहादेव श्रीतुल्जा भवानी". It appears from line 49 of this letter that Shivaji was conscious of the favour of his deity in all his operations against the Muslims. This line reads as follows:— 'दुसरा विचार करावा होता की, श्रीदेवाची व श्रीची कृपा त्यावरी पूर्ण जाली आहे. दुस्र दुक्ताला ते भारितात etc" (Vide इतिहाससंग्रह (October, 1915) Vol. VII, Nos, 1, 2, 3 (ऐ. स्कु. ले. २).

Cf Jayarama Kavı (A.D. 1653-58) Radhämūdhavavilāsa Campū (VI Ullāsa) э. 227—'' तुरुजाभवानी श्रीमत्पोइरंगं च..... तत्वा''

<sup>4.</sup> Life of Shivayi the Great in seven chapters by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, dited with copious notes, critical and explanatory, by K. N. SANE, 1924 (A. B. Press, Poona) Some other chronicles pertaining to the Maratha History are:—

<sup>(1)</sup> বিষয়স্বালী বাস — by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad written in 1694 at Jinji, by order of Rajaram, ed. by K. N. Sane, 3rd ed. 1912. Trans. into English by J. L. Mankar as Life and Exploits of Shivoji (Bombay 1st Ed. 1884, 2nd Ed. 1886).

<sup>(2)</sup> चित्रग्रम्बखर composed about 1760.

<sup>(3)&#</sup>x27; রাণবিণিবজ্য Ed. by P. R. NANDURBARKAR and L. K. DANDEKAR. (Baroda, 1895).

<sup>(4)</sup> The Raigarh Life (Original Marathi text lost). English trans. pub. in G.W FORREST'S Selections, etc., from the letters in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, Vol. I, (pp. 1-22), 1885.

stroke of his sword with the words: "you are a big person besides being a Pathan; just have a taste of this Bhavānī (sword) of Shivaji". The accounts of this Afzalkhan incident state that Shivaji carried with him the tiger's claws (vāgh nakha) and a bichvā (a small dagger). If these details are true to history it may not be true that Shivaji had with him on this occasion the Bhavāni sword referred to in the Chitnis Bakhar. It may also be difficult to presume the identity of the bichvā with the Bhavāni sword. Leaving it to specialists to settle these questions we may feel satisfied by only noting the reference to the name Bhavāni (sword) in the Chitnis Chronicle of AD. 1811.

Another chronicle which gives exhaustive information, about the *Bhavām* sword is the "*Srī Sivadigvijaya*" published at Baroda in 1895. Dr. Surendranath Sen in his *Siva Chhatrapati* translates the account of the *Bhavām* sword appearing on pp. 354 ff of the above edition of the *Sivadigvijaya* as follows:—

The *Bhavāni sword* "S.D [154] the Sāvants had an excellent *dhop tarwar* (a long and straight sword) worth two hundred *Hons*. Shivaji wished that such a famous sword should be with him. But it is not proper to wish for a good thing that belongs to one's *Sardars* [155] or a neighbour of rank

\*\*\*The Mahārajā wished to have the sword but it would bring him disrepute as the precedent showed,—and so the Mahārajā observed that the matter should not be even spoken of ,—as in another age such a cause had resulted in the slaughter of many.\* \* \*But the sword that had divine properties addressed the Mahārajā in a dream.—"If thou goest to fight with me in thy hand even at the head of a small force against a mighty army the enemies will be routed and victory shall attend thee. Do not give the sword back, keep it always near thee and duly worship it." That very night the Sāvant heard the following behest in a dream—"Give the sword to the Mahārajā and secure his friendship thereby. Otherwise thou shalt lose thy kingdom. I shall no longer stay with thee and I am going away." The Sāvant assembled his officers and related all about the dream. With the counsel of all, it was decided to secure the friendship of the Mahārājā by

<sup>5.</sup> Vide Siva Chhatrapati, Vol. I, Calcutta 1929 by Dr. Surendranath SEN. Sivadigvijaya is the most voluminous of the three bakhars viz (1) the Sabhāsad bakhar (2) the Chitris bakhar and (3) the Sivadigvijaya Its authorship is shrouded in mystery Its author was a Prabhu Kāyastha according to Dr. SEN, but not Khando Ballāl as the editors suppose Rajawade thinks that the author was some scion of the Baroda branch of the Chitris family. Its language is at times very modern Rajawade thinks that the bakhar is a revised edition of an old bakhar Sir Jadunath Sarkar, thinks that it is the revised edition of a new lost bakhar of which Tārikh-i-Shīvājī is the Persian rendering. Its date is uncertain. Rajawade supports the date 1818 suggested by Mr Shankar Balakrishina (pp 258-259).

An English translation of Tärikh-i-Shivājī is published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in Modern Review—March 1907.

presenting the sword. Accordingly the Sāvant came to see the Rājā and presented the sword to him It was named Tuljā Bhavāni "

In the picture of Shıvaji reproduced by James Douglas, we find Shıvaji seated on horse-back in full attire holding the reigns of the horse in the left hand and a straight sword blade exending from its handle firmly grasped in the right hand. This sword blade appears to be the earliest pictorial representation of Shivaji's sword. Can it by any stretch of historical imagination be identified with the famous Bhavāni sword the subject of so much description in the Swadigvijaya quoted (in translation) above?

In the Shvap Souvenir volume (1927) we find a very exhaustive article on Historical Weapons by Prof Manikrao of Baroda (pp. 138-153) in which he states that the Bhavāni sword of Shivaji was sent to King Edward by the Maharaja of Kolhapur and that it is preserved at the Buckingham Palace in a golden cupboard. He also expects its return to the Indian soil and exhorts the historical research scholars to collect all possible information about this sword (p. 150). He then gives us a description of this sword in detail such as—two deep lines or grooves on both the sides; golden decoration on the steel parts of the handle; its handle made of steel and provided with cover, its blade broadened at the joint of the blade and the handle, the end of the handle studded with rubbics and diamonds. This sword, Prof. Manikrao states, was preserved at Kolhapur and was an object of worship but the descendants of Shivaji parted with it out of a sense of loyalty to King Edward. (p. 151.)

I am unable to verify the statements made by Prof. Manikrao regarding the Bhavāni sword in the above article. If the sword is preserved in the Buckingham Palace its identification may not be a difficult matter. But as matters stand the Bhavāni sword has become the object of much historical speculation and patriotic wonder and the people of Maharashtra will be prepared to pay any price for it provided its existence is traced and its identity proved on historical evidence.

- 6. ŠEN Siva Chhatrapati (Vol. I of Extracts and Documents relating to Marāṭhā History) pp 151-152.
- 7. Bombay and Western India by James Douglas, London, 1893. Vol. II, p 174—Mr. Douglas remarks: "No portrait of him has come down to us in an English work except the one in Orme's history, evidently from an oval on glass by some Delhi painter [Given ante Vol I, p 331. The accompanying cut is from De JanCigny and X. Raymond's Inde (Firmin Didot fr. 1845).—B] and most probably picked up by Orme or his father (landed an adventurer in Western India, 1706) in their wanderings along the coast of Western India in the early part of the 18th Century. Their proximity to Shivaji's own time, is a partial guarantee of its faithfulness". Douglas gives a bust of Shivaji on p 331 of Vol. II from Orme.

In the Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-1668) by Bermer reprinted in 1891 (London Constable & Co) a bust of Shivaji is reproduced on p. 187 from Valentyn's Beschryving in which is published an engraving of this bust from an Indian drawing. Mr. V S. Bendre has published in 1933 this bust of Shivaji with the following endorsement — "Copied from the painting secured by Von Valentyn just after the Surat Sack of 1664 A.D." For other pictures of Shivaji see Pictorial Shivaji published by Y. N Kelkar, Poona, 1935.

There was once a belief current in Maharashtra that the sword was preserved in the British Museum. The late Mr V L Bilave has tried to dispel this belief by publishing a letter from the authorities of the British Museum stating that no such sword as the Bhavāni sword has been preserved in that Museum. This belief runs counter to the statement of Prof Manikrao that the Bhavāni sword is preserved at the Buckingham Palace.

Mr. Parasnis<sup>8</sup> in his article on the Afzalkhan incident quotes the following passage from Justice M. G. Ranade's Rise of the Maratha Power (pp. 97-99):—

"The Mahomedan historians, whom Grant DUFF follows, charge Shivaji with treachery in the first attack he made with the fatal  $v\bar{u}gh$ -nakh (tiger claws) and the  $Bhav\bar{u}n\bar{i}$  sword, etc "

The above remarks give rise to an impression that the works of the Mahomedan historians contain a reference to the Bhavāni sword. I am unable to verify the above statement at present. In the present paper I am confining myself to the references to the Bhavānī sword in the Maratha records with a view to point out the carliest reference to this sword in the contemporary records

Prof R. P PATWARDHAN in his article on the Afzalkhan incident<sup>o</sup> remarks that the chief sources for the Afzalkhan incident are Sivabhārata, Jedhe Śakāvalı, Povāḍā, Sabhāsadı bakhar and 91 Kalami Bakhar and then states<sup>10</sup> that no reference to the use of vāgh-nakh occurs in Sivabhārata<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Ithāsa Samgraha (Dec. 1914-Jan 1915) Vol VI, Nos 4 to 6 v. v. dec. No. 19 (p. 62)—In the description of the combat as given by Parasnis on the authority of a bakhar discovered by him at Satara the only offensive weapons on Shivaji's person when he set out for the combat are (1) vāgh nakh and (2) Brchvā (p 69): In this article Parasnis has published a photograph of Afzalkhan's tomb at Pratapgad (facing p. 73). There is also an article in this issue of the Itihāsa Samgraha on the family diety of Shivaji containing a photograph of the image of the goddess (facing p. 74) and another photograph of the temple of the goddess (facing p. 76).

James Douglas gives a picture of  $v\bar{u}gh$  nakh in Vol. II of his Bombay and Western India (p 181) His chapters on Shivaji's Forts in this volume (pp 157-197) will be found interesting. They contain some good illustrations such as (1) Ganga Sāgar Tank at Rayagarh (p 157); (2) Rajarh (p. 66) (3) Pratapgarh and Afzalkhan's tomb (p 167); (4) Shivaji on horseback (p 174), (5) Plan and elevation of Shivaji's Cenotaph (p. 180).

Jayarama Kavī's description of Shivaji's visit to the temple of Bhavānī at Pratapgad and of the image of the goddess will be found in the Parnālaparvalagrahanākhyāna, chapt. IV, verses 21-54 The temple was thronged with people gathered for the mahā pāja

<sup>&</sup>quot; घंटामृदगकाहाळढुंदुभिष्वनिनादितम् । कालोचितमहापूजासंख्यावृत्तजनैर्वृतम् ॥ २६ ॥

<sup>9</sup> Siva-Caritra-Nibandhāvali (pub. by B.I.S Mandal, Poona, Saka 1851—A.D. 1929) Chapter VII, pp 161-179

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p 164.

<sup>11</sup> Edited by S. M. DIVEKAR (B.I.S Mandal, Poona, 1927) with numerous

Jadhé Sakāvah 12 and 91 Kalami bakhar 13 The Swabhārata refers to " कृपाणिका" while the 91 Kalami bakhar refers to only bichvā and paṭṭā. The Jedhe Sakāvah does not refer to any weapon at all Later Prof Patwardhan describing how Shivaji got ready to meet Afzakhan states (p. 176)—"He held the Bhavām sword in the right hand and the bichvā in the left and tied the shield to his back" ("उजने हातांत भगानी सरगर व हाने हातांत विचया वेतल पाठीला हाल बांचली"). I am not aware if Prof. Patwardhan identifies the "कृपाणिका" referred to in the Swabhārata with the Bhavāmi sword. Possibly the term कृपाणिका may refer to the bichvā more than to the Bhavāmi sword. This reference is however inconclusive so far as my present inquiry is concerned because we don't get in the Swabhārata any mention of the name भगानी as applied to Shivaji's sword.

In the Sivakāvya 15 composed by Purusottama in Sanskrit the meeting of Shivaji and Afzalkhan is described at some length. This poem was composed in AD 1821 and hence, though its historical value may not be very

In the Painālaparvata grahanākhyāna (or the story in verse of the capture of the Panhala fort near Kolhapur) composed by Jayarama Kavi in Saka 1595 (preface p 1) = AD 1673 the following verse shows that the vāghnakha was used by Shivaji's soldiers as a matter of routine.—(chapter III, verse 25 of the Bh I S. Mandal Edn., 1923, Poona)

illustrations The text is based on MS No B. 1409, (Burnell's MSS catalogue), in the Sarasvati Mahal MSS Library of Tanjore. The editor has also availed himself of a palmleaf MS of the *Sivabhārata* which is a Tamil rendering of the original (vide *Upoddhāta*, p. 5) The published text of the *Sivabhārata* contains 2262 *Slokas* or verses.

<sup>12.</sup> An English rendering of this chronology appears in Shivaji Souvenir (1927) pp 1 to 45—by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Pages 47-99 contain an English rendering of the Jedhe Kareena by Sir J. Sarkar. The original texts of the Jedhe Sahāvali and the J. Kareena in Marathi were published by Lokamanya B. G. Tilak in Siva Carita-Pradīpa (pp 14-65) ed by D. V. Apte and S. M. Divekar (B I S Mandal, Poona, 1925) These texts are based on a MS in the possession of Dayajirao Sarjerao Jedhe Deshmukh of the village Kārī in Bhor State This MS is on Portuguese paper (22 folios) Rajawade published fragments of this Sahāvali in his Sources of Maratha History (Khanda XVIII, No. 5).

<sup>13</sup> Edited by V S. VAKASKAR, 1930.

<sup>14</sup> Amarukośa Kānda II, verse 89 mentions the word कृपाण = sword (" खन्ने तु निह्निश्चनदहासासिरिष्ट्यः । कोक्षेयको मण्डलामः करवालः कृपाणवत् ॥ ८९ ॥ ) (see B.S.S edition of Amarakośa, 1907, p 202) For the text of this work the editor has used a MS copied in A.D 1297. (Vide his Sūcanā at the commencement). Mr Apre in his dictionary explains कृपाणकः = a sword while he explains कृपाणिक a knife or a dagger. The lexicon Abhidhāna Cintāmani of Hemacandra records the word. कृपाणिका ( ३ मत्येकाण्ड )—" क्षरी छुरी कृपाणिका "

<sup>&</sup>quot; शार्दूलनखवल्लोहनिर्मितैर्नखरैर्युतान् "

<sup>15</sup> Published in the Kāvyetihāsa Samgraha (1884, 1887, by K N. Sane and J B Modak) This Kāvya is almost an epic of the Maratha History (from A.D. 1627 to 1818). Puruṣottama's surname was Bandeṣṭi and his family was resident of Pedgaun in Ahmadnagar District. Puruṣottama was born in A.D. 1766 and died as a sanyāsi in A.D. 1856.

great it has some merits as a poem. It describes the fatal embrace of Afzal-khan as follows:—

" आिलंगनक्षण इमं मृगराडिवेन भृत्वा नृपस्य सिशरः प्रविधाय बाह्योः । तस्थौ नृपोपि बलवान् नखतोस्य कुक्षी शक्त्या (स्था) बिभेद विशिखो ह्यवनै पपात ॥ ५९ ॥ " 16

The MS from which the above verse is quoted contains illustrations in colour of the Afzalkhan incident. One of these illustrations represents Shivaji  $^{17}$  dressed for the combat or rather his meeting with Afzalkhan. He holds on his right hand the  $v\bar{a}gh$ -nakha and a small dagger in the left hand, which is obviously the  $bichv\bar{a}$  referred to in the several accounts of this incident and mentioned as  $\bar{a}g\bar{a}g\bar{b}$  by our poet. The following three verses tell us how Shivaji meditated on his family deity Durgā and obtained her favour before starting on his perilous task:—

"अहं त्वदीयोस्मि सराज्यकोशः कालो बलीयान् कुटिलो ममायम् । शत्रुर्महान् भीमबलोहमल्पो दुर्गैव देवी शरण न चान्यः ॥ ४८ ॥ तस्याः प्रसादादहमेवमद्य निहन्मि चिंता न हि काचिदत्र । तद्वाहिनीं त्वं शमयासु वीर वीरेभेटैः पातितवीरसंघैः ॥ ४९ ॥ इत्थं स सेनाधिपतिं प्रबोध्य हस्तांगुलै ट्याघ्रनखं निबध्य । वामे करे सूक्ष्मतरां च शस्त्रीं निधाय देवीं प्रणमन् प्रयातः ॥ ५० ॥ "

The poet explains the word and as follows in his commentary: -

"शलीं छूरिकां स्याच्छस्त्री चासि पुत्री च छूरिका चारि धेनुके त्यमरः ॥

<sup>16.</sup> I have copied this verse from a MS of the work in the Govt. MSS Library at the B O. R. Institute, Poona,—No. 81 of 1907-'15. Purusottama composed a commentary on his poem in which he explains the above verse as follows.—

<sup>&</sup>quot; आर्छिगन इति ॥ सः यवनः मृगराट् सिंह. इसिमव आर्छिगनस्य क्षणे समये एनं राजानं धृत्वा नृपस्य ब्रिरः बाह्वोः मध्ये प्रविधाय दृढ धृत्वा तस्थौ ॥ वरुवान् नृपोपि अस्य यवनस्य कुक्षी कुक्षिप्रदेशौ नखेनेति नखतः सार्चविभक्तिकस्तसिः व्याव्रनखेनेत्यर्थः शास्त्रधा (क्त्या)च विभेद चिच्छेद हि यस्मात् भेदनात् विगता शिखायस्मात् सविशिखः यवनोपि अवनौ पपात पतितवान् ॥ ५९ ॥ <sup>55</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Vide folio 45 a of B O R. Institute MS No 81 of 1907-'15 The verse describing the person of Shivaji reads as follows —

<sup>&</sup>quot;नात्युच्चो नातिनीचः कमलदलिभाक्षोतिपीनोन्नतांसो गौरांगो गृढजत्रुर्मनसि च जनयन्योषितां कामदेवः। निर्माकः सिंहयानोऽहणकरचरणः कटमूपाधिमूषो मृद्धंप्रयानद्वरक्ताजिनविहितपद्त्राणकोसौ प्रतस्थे॥ ५२॥

This verse of course does not mention the  $v\bar{a}ghnakh$  and the dagger shown in the picture ( $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches  $\times$   $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in size) referred to as व्याप्रनास and शस्त्री in verse 50 on folio 44 a,

It appears to me that the "सूक्ष्मतरा शङ्को" mentioned by Purusottama is the same as the कृपाणिका of the *Sivabhārata* It is, however, difficult to identify कृपाणिका with the *Bhavām* sword

James Douglas<sup>18</sup> in his chapter on Shivaji in his Bombay and Western India published in 1893 makes a reference to the Bhavāni sword and states in a footnote 19:—"The Genoa blade presented to the Prince of Wales in 1875 during his visit to India by the Raja of Kolhapur" and reproduces a picture of the sword from Grant Duff's History (p 346) This picture gives us a long blade of sword with a decorated handle with the scabbard pictured near it. The blade of the sword as represented in this picture is curved at the end but the breadth of the blade is almost uniform and not broadened as in the case of the sword claimed to be Shivaji's sword by Mr. Bomonjee D Pudumji<sup>20</sup> of Poona, who has published a small pamphlet called "Notes on the subject of Shivaji's sword" This sword is a "tegh" sword with a broad curved blade, slightly concave in the middle and made of flexible steel It is single-edged and higher up double-edged upto a length of 9 inches from its point. The length of the blade measured along the middle of its curve from the point to the hilt is 2 ft. 42 inches The tang of the sword is 21 inches wide. The blade is broader higher up, the maximum width being nearly 3 inches. The hilt of the sword is beautifully

<sup>18.</sup> Bombay and Western India, Vol. I, pp. 331-346, deal with Shivaji, his country, his birth, his person and character, his accomplishments, his motto, his good and bad traits, etc. These pages contain the following illustrations:—

<sup>(1)</sup> Picture of Shivaji (bust) from Orme's Fragments (p. 331),

<sup>(2)</sup> View of Sinhgarh (from a photograph by Dr. T. CROOKE (p. 339).

<sup>(3)</sup> Shivaji's sword "Bhavāni" (from Grant Duff's History) (p. 346).

<sup>19.</sup> Ibid, p. 342—This footnote explains the statement of Prof. Manikrao of Baroda referred to earlier in this paper to the effect that the Mahaiaja of Kolhapur presented the sword to King Edward. The Prince of Wales referred to by James Douglas is of course identical with King Edward VII Students interested in the history and identification of the Bhavānī sword may hunt up this clue from official sources.

<sup>20</sup> Mr. Pudumji in his pamphlet (August, 1928,) gives us a picture of a sword in his possession which he claims as Shivaji's sword. He also observes (p. 2 of pamphlet) "At any rate one thing is certain that the sword called 'Bhowāni' has not yet been irrefutably identified. There is a belief in Satara that a sight of the sword causes safe delivery of a woman in labour". He refers to the information published by Mr. P. M. Chandorkar in the Journal of the Bharata Ithasa Mandal, Poona, 1918 add, to the effect that on either side of the throne of Shivaji at Satara there are two swords. One of them is an ordinary sword. The other is the Bhavānī sword on the right hand side of the throne. There is an engraving on the blade of this sword viz. "सरकार राजा शाहुछत्रपति काद" from which we find that King Shahu appears to have engraved his own name on it. On the blade of the sword in the possession of Mr. Pudumji the words "छत्रपति महाराज शीवाजी" are inlaid in gold in Devanāgarī characters. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar thinks that a letter in the word. छत्रपति is written in the style in which we find it in MSS 150 or 200 years old (p. 15 of pamphlet).

enchased with tiny gold flowers <sup>21</sup> On the other side of the blade are marks of the crescent moon <sup>22</sup> (6 small marks of the crescent moon, 4 small marks of the full moon possibly and 2 big marks of the crescent moon). Mr Bomanji Pudumji prints on p. 3 of his pamphlet a copy of a letter dated 24th March, 1925, from the authorities of the British Museum stating that the British Museum does not possess the original "Tiger-claw" or sword of Shivaji <sup>23</sup>.

In a letter dated 12th February, 1912, from Mr. D P. Moos to Khan Bahadur B. D. Pudumji, the writer considers the sword in question to be a genuine old sword of Shivaji. This opinion is based on the following points - (1) the quality of the steel (2) its "Taga" shape, a characteristic of the Maratha swords (3) its old-type lettering and (4) the "Tahanshah" work of inlaying the letters, the art of which is now extinct. (Mr Moos represented the firm of "The Indian and Oriental Armour", Medow Street, Fort, Bombay). Mr Pudumji quoles an extract from the illustrated Hand-book on Indian Arms (by Wilbraham Egenton now Lord E.) which refers to a sword presented by the King of Kabul to the Governor-General This sword once belonged to Tamurlane Swords are estimated by their age, watering or temper. Publimji reproduces a coloured view of "Jevaheer Khana" once the residence and strong-hold of Shivaji (Fort Singhur, Dt Poona) and now in his possession. He also gives an extract from Satara Gazetteer (1884) by Sir James Campbell which reads ,-(p. 238)-"The sword of Afzalkhan and Shivaji's favourite sword Bhavani passed to the Moguls on the capture of Shambhaji in 1690 They were restored by Aurangzeb to Shahu in 1707 and till 1827 remained a valued trophy in the armoury of Shivaji's decendants." In the revised edition of his pamphlet, Mr Pudumji (1929) gives a photograph of a brass tray (p. 36) about 2 ft in diameter with him on which is embossed the celebrated episode in Shivaji's life viz the release of a beautiful Moghul lady (daughturin-law of the Subedar of Kalyan) brought as a captive after the sack of Kalyan in 1664 AD.

<sup>22.</sup> Mr Pudumji in a revised edition of his pamphlet (21st March, 1929,) on p 11 draws our attention to the last para 91 of Shivaji's letter to Jaysinha, who invaded the Deccan at the head of the Moghul army This para reads as follows - "91 Tommorrow, the moment the sun shall conceal his face behind the evening cloud, the Crescent moon of my sword shall flash forth That is all. God be with thee" Mr. Pupumji is of opinion that the expression "Crescent moon of my sword" in the above para represents "Shivaji's own description of his sword" as to its shape, ie, it had a curved blade. The letter of Shivaji from which the above para has been quoted is in Persian and has been published by the Nāgarī Pracharını Sabha of Benares ın their Patrikā (Bhāga 3, No. 1-Sanivat 1979). This has been reprinted in the Shivaji Souvenir (1927) Marathi Section (pp 161-170) and English trans. of it in the English Section (pp 170-178) Though this letter in the form of a poem may have a high poetic value its testimony on the question of the shape of Shivaji's sword has no value, especially as the document bears no date and is also of anonymous authorship. Hari Kavi (AD 1685) describes the Bhavani Sword by the terms " चन्द्रहासः" असिलता, ın his Sambhurāja Carita

<sup>23.</sup> This reply was received by Mr. V. L. Bhave, author of the *History of the Marathi Literature* (Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvat) and is printed in the *Journal of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal*, Poona, of Saka 1837 (=Ap 1915) p 91 It is signed by C Hercules, Record-keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnology, British Museum, London, W. C.)

The Sabhāsad Bakhar<sup>25</sup> composed in Ad. 1694 refers in many places to the tutelary deity of Shivaji viz. Sri Bhavānī<sup>25</sup> but no references to the Bhavānī sword can be found in it. The references to the family deity Bhavānī in this bakhar are generally associated with the major incidents of Shivaji's intrepid career but I have failed to trace in this source any mention of Bhavānī as the name of Shivaji's sword. I await more light on this problem from scholars who have done intensive research in the history of the period.

The next important contemporary source of information on the problem of the Bhavāni sword is the Sivabhārata<sup>25a</sup> composed by Kavindra Paramā-

25. Ibid, p 9 "(श्री भवानी कुलदेवता महाराजांची"); p. 11 and 23 ("श्री भवानी तुळजापूरची") p. 37 ("श्री भवानी") p. 42 (श्री शंभूस व भवानीस नमस्कार केला); 46 (श्री शंभूमहादेव, "श्री भवानी") p. 49 ("श्री भवानी") p. 53 ("श्री-भवानीने") p. 83 ("श्री महादेव व श्री भवानी कुलस्वामी") p. 89 ("श्रीभवानी") (cf. Jedhe Sakavalı (under Saka 1581)— "कदाश्वित श्री अंबेच्या वरदें अफजलखान मृत्य पावला तरी इशारतीचे अवाज गडावरी होतील" (and under Saka 1600) भवानीबाई लेक संभाजी राजे यासी जाली (at Sringarpur).

25a. Edited by S M. DIVEKAR, Pub. by the Bharata Itihasa Mandal, Poona, Saka 1849 (=A.D. 1927,) contains a fine frontispiece of a picture of Shivaji in colour from a painting in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is a fascimile reproduction from the original in which the height of Shivaji's figure is about 3\frac{1}{2} inches. Other good features of the edition are (1) Upoddhāta pp. 1-28 by S. M DIVEKAR; (2) a useful bibliography, and, (3) a masterly introduction by D V. APTE (pp. 1 to 200.) The text and the Marathi translation of the 31 chapters of this epic (" चरित शिवराजस्य भरतस्येव भारतम्"-Chap. I, 22) of the Life of Shivaji has been critically edited. This is followed by an exhaustive index of places and persons mentioned in the text. The illustrations besides the frontispiece are (1) a contemporary horoscope of Shivaji by Sivaram Jyotisi (page 56) (2) photo of folio 39 of MS recording verses about the birth-date of Shivaji (p 56), (3) photo of the extract from Jedhe Sakāvalı containing the birthdate of Shivaji (p. 56); (4) Bangalore Fort (p 64), (5) Images of the Goddess Bhavani at Fort Sıvaneri (Sivai) and at Fort Pratapgad (Bhavani) (p. 65), (6) Map illustrating the Muslim dominions in Shahaji's time (p. 80), (7) Map of Karnatak in Shahaji's time (p. 80); (8) Map of Southern India in Shahaji's time (p. 80), (9) Map illustrating Shivaji's invasion of Konkon in Saka 1583 ( = A.D. 1661) (p 81), (10) Photos of the forts, Purandhar, Rajagad and Smahgad (p. 208), (11) Photos of Pratapgad, Panhalgad and of a picture of Afzalkhan (p. 209), (12) Map illustrating Shivaji's invasion of Saka 1589 (= A.D.

<sup>24</sup> Life of Swa Chhatrapati (by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad) Ed. by K. N. SANE, 1923, (Fourth Edition). Mr SANE has based his text on five MSS (1) MS produced from the pujārī at Pratapgad (2) MS copied in A.D 1852 and deposited in the Native General Library of Poona (3) and (4) MSS procured by Krishnajipant Acharya Kalgaunkar of Satara (Mr SANE has relied on the Pratapgad copy as it is very old and especially on account of its being found at Pratapgad The date of composition recorded in this MS is Saka 1616 (=AD 1694) but the Samvatsara mentioned is "Kvala" which is equivalent to Saka 1619 (=AD 1697), (5) MS procured at Mahad, in which some changes appear to have been made from Duff's History.

nanda by order of śrī Chhatrapatı Shivajı Maharaja. This poet hailed from Nidhinivas (=Nevase on the bank of Pravara river) and was a contemporary of the celebrated Gāgābhatta who officiated at the Coronation of Shivaji in AD 1674. He composed the <code>Sivabhārata</code> after <code>Śaka 1583</code> (=AD. 1661) and before <code>Śaka 1596</code> (=AD 1674) the year of Shivaji's coronation at Raigad. Mr. D. V. Apte<sup>27</sup> has already pointed that Shivaji made use of the sword in his fight with Afzalkhan and this sword is none other than the Bhavlānī sword referred to by Paramānanda in the <code>Śiva-bhārata</code> in verses 16 and 22 of Chapter XX. These verses are as follows as translated by me in English —

"Prostrate him (Afzalkhan) to the ground by the great stroke of your sword ( असि ) as that person (demon in the form of yavana) is constantly rising on this earth for the obstruction of dharma" (verse 16) 28

"It has been ordained by the Creator that he (Afzalkhan) should be killed by this hand of yours and hence, O King, I (goddess Tulaja) have identified myself with your sword ( কুমাৰ্গা )" (verse 22)<sup>29</sup>

"With these words Sarvānī, i.e., the goddess Bhavānī or Tuljā entered his sword ( कृपाणिम् ) and he (Shivāji) though in a waking state regarded it (the whole occurrence) as a dream."

(verse 23).30

In the above verse we get a genesis of the Bhavānī sword which is perhaps the earliest on record from contemporary sources: Evidently the goddess Bhavāni enters the usual sword of Shivāji and makes it unusual. This association of the goddess Bhavānī with Shivāji's sword given in a contemporary record (between 1661 and 1674 A.D.) is extremely valuable as it explains how

<sup>1667)</sup> after the Afzalkhan incident (p 248); (13) Map illustrating Shivaji's battle of Umbarkhind (p 248), (14) Map illustrating Shaista Khana's invasion of Saka 1582 (= A.D. 1660); (15) Map illustrating the siege of Panhalgad Saka 1582 (= A.D. 1660) (p 249); (16) Pictures of Shah Jahan, Mahmma'd Adil Shah, Shaista Khan, Jasavant Sinha, Aurangzeb, Fazalkhan, Raja Jayasinha and Dilerkhan (pp. 252-253)

<sup>26.</sup> These Chronological limits are given by Mr Divekar (vide p. 20 of his Upoddhāta to the *Swabhārata*) The poem refers to the death of Siddi Johar (a. d. 1661)

<sup>27.</sup> Śwabhārata (Prastāvanā, p 168). In the Index (p. 12) under Bhavāni Tarvār reference is made to verses 22 and 23 of Chap. XX of the text

<sup>28.</sup> Page 193 Śwabhārata-

<sup>&</sup>quot;उद्भवन्तं निरोधाय धर्मस्येह मुहुर्मुहुः । तमेनमसिपातेन महता भुवि पातय ॥ १६ ॥

<sup>29</sup> Ibid---

<sup>&</sup>quot;विधिना विहितोस्त्यस्य मृत्युस्त्वत्पाणिनामुना । अतस्तिष्ठामि भूत्वाहं **कृपाणी** भूमणे तव ॥ २२ ॥

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p 194--

<sup>&#</sup>x27;' न्याहरन्तीति शर्वाणी तत्कृपाणीमवीवशत् । असौ जाग्रदवस्थोऽपि<sub>"</sub>तत्स्वप्रमवमन्यत ॥ २३ ॥ ''

the term *Bhavāni tarwār* came into being. The verses quoted above do not, however, refer to any sword of Shivāji as *Bhavāni tarwār*, an expression which became an established usage during the course of centuries that have elapsed since the tragedy of Afzalkhan. The human sword of Shivāji having once become divine by its association with the goddess Bhavānī and this having been linked up in popular imagination with all the heroic exploits of Shivāji, whom the people believed to be an incarnation of Siva,—this human sword has now become an object of much wonder and speculation for the historian and the patriot alike. It would be certainly a red-letter day on which its existence and identification are proved beyond challenge by any scholar or institution interested in historical research. Our duty for the time being is to collect all possible information which might help scholars and patriots in keeping the memory of the Bhawānī sword fresh in their minds so that this quest of the holy grail may continue unabated by all lovers of the Maratha history in particular and of history in general.

The foregoing discussion and record of references to the Bhavānī sword appears to me like Shakespeare's drama Hamlet without the King of The account of this sword as recorded in the Swadigvijaya being a late one<sup>31</sup> cannot be taken as historical truth especially in the absence of contemporary evidence to support it in material particulars. The account of the Sivabhārata is quite valuable so far as the genesis of the expression Bhavānī tarvār is concerned. The reference to this sword in the Chitnis bakhar of A.D. 1811 is also not very helpful. It is, therefore, necessary to search for more contemporary references to the Bhavani sword like that of the Swabhārata. Such references alone can give that factual touch to the history of this question which is necessary to fill up the historical void that separates us from the time of the author of the Śwabhārata. I shall, therefore, conclude this paper by putting on record at least one contemporary reference to the Bhavānī sword in which we find a poetic description of the exploits of the Bhayani sword in the hands of King Sambhaji, to whom this sword must have passed on as a heroic legacy after Shivaji's death in A.D. 1680. This reference is also very important as it is the only one so far discovered in which the name "Bhavānī's Sword" is mentioned five years after the death of Shivaji, i.e. in AD 1685 and in which no less than 3 yerses or 12 lines are devoted to the praise of this sword. The bearing of these verses on the history of the Bhavani sword was not quite apparent to me when I

<sup>31.</sup> Vide Siva Caritra—Pradīpa (B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1925) p. 75 where the date of composition of the Sivadigvijaya is given as Saka 1740 = A.D. 1818. The extracts from several Bakhars relating to the birth date of Shivaji (pp. 71-78) will be found interesting. These bakhars are (1) Sabāsad B (AD 1697) (2) Chitragupta B. (about A.D. 1759), (3) 96 Kalami B (A.D. 1780), (4) Bakhar composed for Savai Madhavarao Peshwa (Rajawade Khanda 4) (A.D. 1783), (5) Chitris B. (AD 1810), (6) Choti B. (A.D. 1817), (7) Sivadigvijaya (A.D. 1818), (8) Panta Pratinidhi B. (AD 1844), (9) Panditrao B. (A.D. 1848), (10) Shri Shivaji Pratap (A.D. 1829), (11) Shedgannkar B. (A.D. 1854).

noticed them first three years ago in my paper, 32 on "Hari Kavi alias Bhanubhatta, a court-poet of King Sambhāji and his Works" I was then under the impression that in the documents of the period many authentic references to the Bhavani sword must have been traced and scientifically recorded by the indefatigable researchers33 in the field When, however, I began to look for them in the published records I was thoroughly disappointed to find a woeful lack of reliable information on the question of the history of the Bhavānī sword based on contemporary and subsequent evidence. Evidently the problem has not been examined by any scholar competent to search for, scrutinize and arrange in a chronological order all the available data bearing on the question. I have gathered in this paper a few facts regarding the Bhavānī sword solely with a view to provide a historical background to Hari Kavi's description of this sword in his Sambhurāja-Carita, composed in A.D. 1685. This description shows that to a resident of Surat like Hari Kavi the glory of the Bhavānī sword had some poetic appeal as will be clear from the following verses:-

Folio 8234 of MS No. 191 of 1875-76-

"राजिन्ति घोषयामस्तव विजयमहो ते वयं मद वाचो वीरश्रीशोभमानः करतलविलसच्चंद्रहास्गे<sup>35</sup> भवान्यां (न्याः)।

<sup>32</sup> This paper was submitted to the Modern History Congress, Poona in June, 1935 and was published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. XVI, pp. 262-291. Hari Kavi was a resident of Surat. His family hailed from the Mahārāṣṭra. He composed (1) Sambhurāja-Carita by order Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, the guru of Sambhaji, (2) Haihayendra-Carita and its commentary Sambhuvilāsikā by order of Sambhaji and an anthology called the Subhāṣitahārāvali. The Sambhuraja Carita was completed at Surat on 12th January, 1685. It is a mahākāvya in 12 sargas of which only some fragments are available in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona

<sup>33.</sup> Rao Bahadur G S. SARDESAI, the Maharashtra Historian has directed my attention in a private communication dated 16th April, 1938 to his views on the problem of Bhavānı Sword as recorded by him on p 53 of his volume on Shiyaji (Marathi Riyasat-2 Saka Kartā, Shivan, Bombay, 1935): Shivaji during his Konkan expedition (AD. 1657-58) came into contact with Lakham Savant of Goa This Savant had in his possession a (1651-1675 AD.) whom he made a vassal famous sword manufactured in Europe, which Shivaji acquired by presenting the Savant 300 hons and a dress of honour This sword was named Bhavani. As its possession brought much success to Shivaji he used to worship it daily. This sword is still at Satara in the temple of the goddess and is included among (Footnote -King Shahaji (father of Shivaji) sent by sea articles for worship. some valuable articles from Karnatak such as a bedstead, a belt and an armour and a Phiranga talvar according to the statement of the Cchoti Bakhar of the Maratha Empire. It is possible to conclude that the sword included among the above articles is the Bhavani Sword. The story about the transfer of this sword to London is not true.)

<sup>34.</sup> Vide Annals, XVI, p 266, where these verses have been quoted by me.

<sup>35.</sup> चंद्रहास ≔ a glittering sword (Apte), "खड़े तु निश्चिशचन्द्रहास्तासिरिष्टयः" Amarakośa (II, 8, 89) Bhānuji Dikṣita explains —चन्द्र इव हासः प्रभा अस्य । चन्द्रं हसित वा । युतिमत्वात्.

रुत् उतार काती गुणाती।। आकाराचि ब्रुदाबानापि एकमतान्तरतामसम्बर्गा पंतितितिति । १००१ रतना नापना मं का पण्या । ता इतिता म में का तिचंद्रिय ज्य नारीए। या म्यामा या मयु अस्मात बाष्यी वाजिनाश्चा १४६। मो इत्यासारा सम्बरन नर्घ "" " भिदेतां कालकारं बिनाव घातातंगे से च्यू की ब. तज्र गतिस मात्ये जानार्षे युत्ता व्यक्षिति विविद्याति । स्वित्याति । स्वित्यात् । स्वित्याति । स्वित्यात् विविध्यात् । स्वित्यात् । त ज जिलस बंद्र समित गर्गा। व में तत भ्रात्र । त्रिंदर गल बंत द्रिंग नार प्रणिका यकार राशिसनी स्टिप्ज गतिविजयाशिसिना पत्रमालिष भाशिना स्वेड्न ह्नी तसिस् ॥राजनियाषयामसन्विजयमहोते वयम्र्यां याबारम्यायामनं कर लागरेरपारे, प्रधनवस्त्रमणेशिबयंतीसमीतायीर स्रांग्रेजी प्रतामिक्राबाजे मन्त्रस्त प्रधारी प्रतारा राजाता । प्र

SAMBHURAJA-CARITA OF HARI KAVI (AD 1685)

(Folio 82 of MS No 191 of 1875-76 containing three verses about the Bhavāni Sword)

Nex. Indiun Intiguai

[एरनिष्णंत्रेतुपुर्तनाः॥नांचानियमित्येयज्नुस्द्रेत्यंत्रेर्नवैरंजरेनायानांह्रीतिनायकःहि |नित्तं शंनुत्रिद्नंद्न्॥१७८॥भावितामित्रित्त्रित्तेविद्ध्येत्रारंगनायोद्धेभानारायणत् प्रायुक्तिरिक्तनुहरिकवित्रिवित्रम्केशंकर्भे न्याजन्ति। ||वी न्यदेशनिर्णयोनामघद्शं सर्भःसंप्रुण्शा ॥श्रीः॥संप्रूणंचैनकार्या। ॥श्रीः॥ जगिर्दित विषे: आश्रमारा श्रमः॥सगीन्र रनवयपदार्वनावात्ये विद्योतिते त्ता का ये खनुशं क्रितिम्याच्यापनम्येत्राजॅनरिनंनानामुलाकं जिनं॥१७५॥इतिश्रीस्पर्पपुर्कितम्पाना मेन ये मासिन्गोय नामिब इति पहे हिनायाहिन।। सहारे हिजनाय कर्याप हने नापूर्णय

HARIKAVI'S SAMBHURAJA-CARITA. LAST FOLIO
Containing the date of its composition viz Samvat 1741 = AD 1685
Ms No 191 of 1875-1876 in the Govt Mss Library, B O R Insutute, Prona

New Indian Antiquary

चक्रेस्त्प्रमतिद्विरदगलचलद्भूरिभांकारपूर्णं सा वीराशंसिनीभूत्रिजगति विजयाशंसिनी यचकास्ति ॥ १२६ ॥ शंभो त्वत्खङ्गचर्ल्यो<sup>36</sup> लसति समुदिता कालकादंबिनीव<sup>37</sup> ंघ्वांतालीं<sup>38</sup> सैन्यधूलीं वत जगति समातत्य<sup>39</sup> झत्कार विद्युत् । अन्त्रां सारेरपारे<sup>40</sup> प्रधनवस्रमतीं<sup>41</sup> हावयन्ती<sup>42</sup> समन्तात् प्रौढक्षुण्णेभकुंभोद्ग<sup>43</sup>तमणिकरका<sup>44</sup>न्प्रक्षिपंती नितांतं ॥ १२७ ॥ सूते नानापदार्थास्तव यद्सिलता शंभुराजाद्भुतं तत् तापार्कं कीर्तिचंद्र विजयहुतभुजं तारकाली गुणाली । झत्कारान्विद्यदेधानपि रिपुकमलां भारतीमस्मदीयां नारीणां शात्रवीणां नयनयुगसराबाष्यशैवालिनीश्च ॥ १२८ ॥"

In the foregoing three verses Hari Kavi gives us a fine poetic description of the "Bhavāni's Sword" <sup>45</sup> and its doings on the battle-field. This description is inserted in the battle-scene of the Sambhurāja-Chanta in which Sambhāji is shown as surrounded by the army of his enemy intending to attack him With him we find Campā, the terror-struck herome of the poem on her journey to her husband's home after her marriage<sup>46</sup> with Sambhāji

<sup>36</sup> खन्नवहीं = the sword-creeper = sword resembling a creeper possibly by its length and elasticity.

<sup>37</sup> कादंबिनी = a long line of clouds.

<sup>38</sup> ध्वांत = darkness, आली = a row or continuous line.

<sup>39.</sup> समात्रत्य = having over-spread in an intense manner.

<sup>40.</sup> The infathomable waters in the form of weapons (used by the army)  $\exists t \in T$  water.

<sup>41.</sup> प्रघन = Battle and वसुमती = earth; प्रधनवसुमती = the battle-field.

<sup>42</sup> प्रावयन्ती = flooding.

<sup>43</sup> इसकुंभ = the foreheads of elephants which were full grown (श्रीह). The elephants had their temples shattered to pieces ( क्षण ).

<sup>44</sup> मणिकरकान् = Hail stones in the form of pearls in the temples of elephants (the temples of elephants are supposed to contain pearls) Verses 126 and 127 contain a metaphor of a violent storm attended with lightning and dark clouds and followed by a heavy rain shower with hail stones

<sup>45.</sup> The MS has the reading "चन्द्रहासो भवान्यां" The correct reading ought to be चद्रहासो भवान्याः = Bhawāni's sword.

<sup>46.</sup> The Sambhurāja-Carita (AD 1685) gives a detailed description of Sambhājī's marriage with Campā. In this connection compare a picture of a marriage scene in colours painted on folio 61 of Skandha IX of the Bhāgavatapurāna (B. O R. Institute MS No. 61 of 1907-1915). This MS was prepared in A.D. 1648 at Udayapura. The picture in question shows the bride and bridegroom in matrimonial attire seated facing each other with two priests shown seated near the bride and the bridegroom with the nuptial fire between the priests. Another picture on the same folio shows the bride and bridegroom seated on a chariot possibly on a journey to the bridegroom's home. The chariot is dragged by two white horses.

at Surat as also Kṛṣṇaṇaṇdita<sup>47</sup> the guru of the Maratha King, who is discribed as a very important personage throughout the poem and at whose instance Hari Kavi informs us he wrote the Sambhurāja-Carita. This description of the Bhavānī's sword has an earlier parallel in the description of the sword of Shahāji<sup>48</sup> by Jayarāma Kavi, who composed his Rādhāmādhava-vilāsa Campū or a Life of Shahāji between Saka 1575 (= A.D 1653) and Saka

"पुनरपरिमन् दिवसे यथापूर्वमुपविशति सति राजनि शस्त्रमार्जकतैलथावितां रत्नस्वित-मुष्टिमंजुळां पार्श्ववर्तिमृत्यपाणिगृहीतां कृपाणिकामवलोकितुं विकोशां कुर्वाणे सित स क्विर्वर्णयामास।

> यथामित मया विभो तव कृपाणिकायाः स्तुर्ति विधाय विनिगच्छते सदिस सकवीनां पुरः। परिक्षणविचक्षणिक्षितित्वैकसंरक्षण— क्षणं ळिळतळक्षणश्रवणमत्र संदीयतां॥ २२७॥

राजा सादरं तच्छ्तवान् । यथा ।

नृप तव क्रुपाणिकेयं दृढतरकरपीडनेन संभ्रांता ! अपहृतकोश्चा स्त्यैर्निपतित परिवृत्य वैरिणां कंठे ॥ २२८ ॥ नृप तव क्रुपाणिकायाः प्रायः सारा×नी छाया ! अनया निकृत्य शत्रूननुकृतित सापि तत्र पत्रस्थान् ॥ २२९ ॥

हस्तोदितो विचित्रः शाहमहीपाळ खङ्गमेपस्ते । वर्षति यत्र हि घारां कुरुते तत्रैव जीवजीवनाभावं ॥ २३० ॥ आश्चर्ये तव शाहिश्वितीश रष्टं कुपाणजलदस्य । वृष्टिं विनेव कुरुते यस्तृणसृष्टि प्रतीपरदनेषु ॥ २३१ ॥ अबलोकितं श्रुत वा कैरिप चलनं जलस्य जलपुरतः । नृप तव कृपाणनीराद् गच्छिति नीरं परस्य वदनस्थं ॥ २३२ ॥ कृष्णा कापि कृपाणी राजनाजौ विलक्षला जयित । हरित पररक्तवल्लं स्वीयेनाच्छाय कालेन ॥ २३३ ॥ श्रीमान् महाप्रयागः पुष्करकलिता कलिंदजा यस्मिन् । भूश्वमीलिष्ठ लिलता सूते चित्रं सरस्वतीं गंगां ॥ २३४ ॥ अलमल्यमुवना शाहिश्वतीश रहं कृपाणनुतिर्मियः । तणमप्यिदतभुतं विलोक्य निलग्राहिःस्वती ॥ २३५ ॥

एवमादीन्यन्येषामपि महाकवीनां खङ्गवर्णनान्याकर्ण्यं किमपि विविदिपुरिवान्यत्राकृष्टदृष्टिर-भवत् । etc."

<sup>47.</sup> I shall prove in a separate paper the identity of this Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita with Kayi Kalasha or Kabp, the celebrated minister of king Sambhāji.

<sup>48.</sup> Vide p 236 of Rādhāmādhapapilāsa champū by Jayarama Pindye, edited by V. K. RAJAWADE (Saka 1844 = 1922 A.D.) Poona. This poem is a Life of Shahāji, the father of Shivāji and grandfather of Sambhāji. The description of a sword or खडावर्णन occurs in the 8th Ullāsa (verses 227-235) as follows:—

1580 (A.D 1658).49 Evidently Javarāma Kavı was a senior contemporary of Hari Kavi (A.D. 1685) and his description of Shahaji's sword is not merely poetic but factual as well. It is described as "रत्नवचितमधिमंजलं" or "lovely on account of its having a handle bedecked with jewels." It is compared to a cloud (क्रुप्णज्ञहरू ) and is called कृष्णा or of darkish lustre due to its being rubbed clean by the application of some polishing oil (श्रासमार्ज कतैलधावितां). Will it be possible to prove on documentary evidence that this very sword of Shahāji actually seen and described by Jayarāma Kavi before AD. 1658 was transferred to Shivaii sometime thereafter and was actually in his possession at Pratapgad at the time of the Afzalkhān incident of AD 1659? If this sword of Shahāji is proved to be identical with the sword of his son Shivāji with which the goddess Bhayāni identified herself at the time of the Afzalkhan incident as stated by Kavindra Paramananda between A.D. 1661-1674 it would be easy for us to imagine that this same sword passed on to Sambhaii50 after his father's death in A.D. 1680 and was later described by Hari Kavi in A.D. 1685. Even if this identity of the two swords remains doubtful it would be worth while representing the results of our discussion about the contemporary references to the swords of Shahān. Shivān and Sambhān in a tabular form as follows :---

Serial No.	Owner	Source of Description	Date of Description	Description
1	Shahāji	Jayarāma Kavi in VIII Ullāsa of <i>Rādhāmādhava-</i> vilāsa Campu.	Between 1653- 1658 A. D.	" रत्नखचितमुष्टि- मंजुलां '' and " कृष्णा "
2	Shivājı	Kavindra Para- mānanda in Śivabhāratā XX, 16, 22, 23.	Bet. A. D. 1661- 1674	कृपाणी or असि
3	Sambhāji	Hari Kavi in Śam- bhurāja Carıta	12th January 1685	चंद्रहासो भवान्याः - असिस्रता or खङ्ग- वस्री

The foregoing table shows three different swords associated with the grandfather, the father and the son in one and the same line of kings and

<sup>49</sup> According to RAJAWADE vide p 4 of his Intro. to Rādhāmādhavavilāsa. 50 Cf Bar M K. Sett's remarks in his article on "Sri Vatsyayana" in the Jubilee Volume (1938) of the Anthropological Society, Bombay, p. 197—"A young man is asked to go out into the world and carve a career for himself. The carving was done by his trusty sword, often the parting gift of his family."

described by three different poets all of whom were contemporaries of their patrons. The difference of about 30 years between the first contemporary reference to a sword and the last reference and the chronological sequence of references tend to suggest a hypothesis for further verification that the objects referred to by three contemporary poets are not several but identical

The foregoing discussion about the Bhavānī sword associated with the hair-raising exploits of Shri Shivājī Mahārāja raises the question of the existence or otherwise of any earlier historical parallel to the story of the Bhavānī sword as now finds currency in the Mahārāṣṭra and the veracity of which has to a certain extent been confirmed by Hari Kavi's description of the Bhavānī's sword (agirqi: ˈˈāḡt̄jti;) in the hands of King Sambhāji Luckily for us such a historical parallelsī is found in the divine sword given by a strange woman to Kumāra Kampana the eldest son of King Bukka of Vijayanagara and which had been the heir-loom in the royal Pāndyan family.

The account of this Pāndyan sword has been foitunately preserved for us in a magnificent poem<sup>52</sup> composed by Kumāra Kampaṇa's talented queen Gangādevi and hence possesses much historical value. Kumāra Kampaṇa also called Kampaṇāy was the son of Bukka I (A.D. 1376—Death, V. Smīril Oxf. His. 1923, p. 302) by his wife Depāyi When the prince Kampaṇa grew to manhood his father advised him on the duties of royal princes and asked him to proceed against the king of the Turushkas with his headquarters at Madura. Kampaṇa accordingly undertook this expedition and pitched his camp in the town of Marakata.<sup>53</sup> A goddess appeared before him and after describing to him the disastrous consequences of the Mussalman invasions of the South and the sad plight of the southern country and its temples exhorted him to extirpate the invaders and restore the country to its ancient glory, presenting him at the same time with a divine sword Kamparāya then proceeded against Madura and in a battle, killed the Sultan juling at the place. He then made grants to several temples.<sup>54</sup>

The closeness of the above historical parallel to the story of the *Bhavām* sword is remarkable. Though the *Pāṇdyan sword* mentioned by Gangādevī as presented to her husband Kamparāya is removed historically by about 350 years the points of similarity of the circumstances connected with each sword may now be tabulated as follows—

<sup>51.</sup> I am thankful to my friend Dr. B. A SALETORE, for pointing out to me this parallel

<sup>52</sup> Vide Sources of Vijayanagar History by S K Alyangar, Madras, 1919, pp 23-24 where Dr Alyangar has given us a brief analysis of each of the eight cantoes of Gangādevi's historical poem called कम्प्रायचित्रम् irom a MS in the Govt. Ori. MSS Library, Madras. Vide printed edition of this poem also called मुश्राविज्ञम् by Pt Shrinivas Shastri of Travancore, Archaelogical Department (Trivandrum).

<sup>53</sup> Kamparāya Caritam, Canto V

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, VIII.

#### The Pändvan Sword.

#### The Bhavāni Sword

- (1) This sword is given by a goddess to the hero.
- (2) The hero here is Kumāra Kambana or Kambarāya, son of Bukka I.
- (3) This sword is given to the hero on the eve of the performance of a heroic deed viz. the destruction of the Sultan of Madura by Kamparāya.
- (4) The object of the exploit of the hero was to deliver the Hindus from the tyranny of the Muhammadans, not to say their religious oppression and desecration of Hindu temples
- Sultan of Madura and becomes victorious.
- several temples after the conquest of Madura

- (1) This sword is also given by the goddess Bhavani to the hero
- (2) The hero here is Shivan, son of Shahān
- (3) This sword is also supposed to be given on the eve of Shivaii's meeting with and destruction of Afzalkhan
- (4) The object of Shivāji's exploit was also to deliver the Hindus of the Maharashtia from the Moghul and Muhammadan tyranny indicated by the breaking of Hindu idols and destruction of Hindu temples.
- (5) Kampaiāya, the heio kills the (5) Shivāji kills Afzalkhan and effectively checks the Muhammadan tyranny
- (6) Kamparāva makes grants to (6) Shiyān also made some grants to some men of his court according to the Sivadigvijava,55

I believe the above parallelism between the incidents associated with the Pandyan sword and those connected with the Bhayani sword will be found sufficiently interesting by the students of the Maratha history.

In concluding my survey of the problem of the Bhavānī sword I have to point out that so far no contemporary reference to this sword has yet been traced by scholars working in the field of the Maratha history. In view of this fact vouched by close students of the Maratha history Hari Kavi's re-

<sup>55.</sup> Ed by P. R Nandurbarkar and L K Dandekar, Baroda, 1895, p 171-"Pantajipant was the recipient of the inam of the village Hivaresi. He was also given the robes of honour. Visyasrao Nanaji and others who had served (at the time of the Afzalkhan incident) were also the recipients of some inams, etc. A new tower was built at the place where Afzalkhan was killed, etc."

ference to the Bhavāni sword in AD 1685 must be treated as "practically contemporary" 56 and hence should retain its evidential value in any discussion about the genesis and historicity of the Bhavāni sword. In view of the decaying condition of the MS in which Hari Kavi's verses about the Bhavānī sword are found I have thought it advisable to publish along with this paper photograph of the folio of the MS on which these verses are recorded as also that of the last folio on which the date of composition of the Sambhurāja Carita is found.

<sup>56</sup> This paper was read before the Bharat Iti. Sams. Mandal, Poona in June 1938 Mr V S Bendre who was then in London, had sent a note on the subject of this paper for the annual gathering of the Mandal where this paper was read On reading this note I wrote to Mr Bendre pointing out that there is no contemporary evidence regarding the Bhavāni sword except the three verses of Hari Kavi. Subsequently Mr. Bendre sent me a copy of his paper on the Bhavāni sword which he had contributed to a London Journal and in which he has admitted the force of my evidence as will be seen from the following extract.—"Where is the Bhavāni sword of the great Mahratta hero Shivāji? Much has been told in the later chronicles about this sword which was a gift to him by his goddess Shri Bhavāni. These narratives are not, however, quite unanimous in their description. The only practically contemporary reference is that by Han Kavi in his Sambhurāja Carita (1685 Ad.).—Folio 82 verses 126-8 of this work—photo-copy supplied by my friend Mr P. K. Gode."

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GŖHYA-SŪTRA: THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION\*

# By V. M. APTE, Poona.

ĀG. I. 10. 12 — Srtāni havīnisyabhighāryodagudvāsya barhisyāsādyedhmamabhighārya (a) "Ayam ta idhma ātmā jātavedas (b) tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha (c) vardhaya cāsmān prajayā pasubhir (d) brahmanarcasenāmaādvena samedhava svāhā" iti.

Trans: After sprinkling (with Ājya) the cooked portions of sacrificial food, taking them from the fire to the north placing them on the Barhis, he sprinkles the fuel (with Ājya) with the Mantra "(a) This fuel is thyself O Jātavedas; (b) with it blaze and increase, O Blazing One, (c) and increase us with progeny, (and) cattle, 1 (d) with holy lustre and nutrition advance us".

Context: The Pärvaṇa-sthālīpāka—the norm of Pākayajñas (see ĀG. I. 10. 26) is described in this Kandikā I. 10

Sources: The nearest approach to our Mantra in words and sense is AV XIX 64 2 (a) Idhmena tvā jātavedah (b) samidhlā vardhayāmasi | (c) tathā tvam asmān vardhaya (d) prajayā ca dhanena ca" || (With firewood, O jātavedas, with fuel, we increase thee; so do thou increase us with progeny and wealth) The subject of the AV hymn XIX. 64 is service of the fire with fuel

ĀG. I. 10. 15: Vijñāyate 'cakṣuṣī vā ete yajñasya, yadājyabhāgau'.

Trans: It is known (from the Śruti): "These two are, indeed, the eyes of the sacrifice, namely the two Ājyabhāgas". The context: In the Pārvana-sthālīpāka, (Sūtra 14 tells us) the two Ājyabhāgas are offered, the northern one to Agni, the southern one to Soma The above quotation from the Śruti in Sūtra 15 explains this special assignment of the Ājyabhāgas to Agni and Soma.

Sources: Prof Stenzler aptly compares SB. I. 6. 3. 38 which is identical with our quotation except for the word 'ha' inserted before our 'vā.' That this is the source is made very probable by the fact that 'Vijňāyate' generally introduces a quotation or the gist of a passage from the Sruti (that is some Brāhmana work).

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p. 61 of May 1940 issue

<sup>1</sup> This translation which follows the pāda division of the mantra and connects prajayā paśubhih with Vardhaya and takes pāda (d) as a separate clause, is different from OLDENBERG'S where vardhaya stands awkwardly by itself.

AG I. 10. 23: (a) "Yadasya karmano" tvaīīneam, (b) yadvā nyūnam ihūkaram | (c) Agnistat svistakṛd vidvān (d) tsarvam svistam suhutam karotu me | (c) Agnaye svistakṛte suhutahute sarvaprayaseittāhutīnām kāmānām samaidhayitre sarvan nah Kāmānisamardhaya si ahā" iti |

Trans—(He sacrifices the systakrt oblation with the following mantra re the one in this Sütra according to Nārāyana and Harad itta but the wording of the mantra shows that it accompanies both the Syrstakrt as well as the Survaprāyaśsritta oblations). "Whatever I have exceeded in this rite, or whatever I have fallen short of therein, all that may Agin Syrstakrt, the knowing one, make well-sacrificed and well-offered for me. To Agin Syrstakrt, who offers the oblations for general expiration so that they are well offered, (and) who furthers (the infillment of) our desire. "Fubril all our desires! Syriba!"

Sources (a) to (d) Prof Oldenberg compares SB XIV 9 4, 24. The passage is identical with ours except that 'Sarvam' and 'me' at the beginning and end respectively, of our (d) clause are omitted and 'evalia' added But I think that our text is influenced by the passage APS 111, 12-1 which is identical with ours except for the omission of 'me' at the end, because the context 'Dar'spūrnapasa' sacrifice, is the exact Srauta counterpart of the P'irvana sthālīpīka which is the context in our text and because the following clause (e) is traced only to APMB, another text of the same Apastamba school (e): Clause (e), is only traced to APMB 2, 18-31 and HG 1, 3, 7 where the same maintra occurs with a few changes. Both the texts omit 'Sarvannah k'inkin samardhaya, swāhā' APMB, adds instead 'suhutahuta ahutīnām' while HG adds 'sarvahute sarvahutāhutīnām'.

 $\overline{\rm AG}$ I. 13 1 · Upanvadı garbhalambhanam punisavanam anavalobha nam ea [

Trans In the 'Upanyad' (are treated), the rites of garbhalambhana (to occure conception), the pumsavana (to ensure the birth of a male child) and the anavalobhana (the rite to ensure absence of miscarriage etc.)

The problem is: —What is the Upanişad referred to here? Nürüyana says that it belongs to another Sükhä and treats of topics beginning with the garbhādhāna rite and ending with Ātmajñāna (knowledge of the Self). The same is the explanation of the commentator Haradatta Prof. Sienzer (p. 33) reproduces the above view of Nūrūyana. Prof. Oldenberg. (p. 179) after referring to Nūrūyana's view compares Prof. Max. Müller's, note on Bihad-Āranyaka VI. 4. 24, the suggestion being that the Bihadāranyakopanişad, which incidentally treats of these ceremones may be the 'Upanişad' referred to in our text. I, however, think that the 'Upanişad' meant is the 'Kauşītaki-brāhmāna-upanişad,' for the following reasons.—(1). The non-Revedic and Revedic citations in this and the following two kandikūs, which treat of Pumsavana and allied rites are all found in a similar context in that Upanişad which contains the very mantras cited in our text and none others. (2) The KBU belongs to the RV and stands along with the Kauṣītaki Biāhmana, in a specially intimate relation to the 8G with which our text is closely allied. (3)

Our text treats of only two rites¹ (the 'Pumsavana' in I 13. 2-4 'Anavalobhana' in I 13. 5-7) out of the three mentioned in this Sütra, ignoring the 'garbhalambhana' probably because it is treated in the KBU (4) 'Yadi nādhīyāt' ('if he does not study the text') in the next sütra implies that the Upaniṣad referred to, was one, the knowledge of which was presumed but not definitely presupposed on the part of an adherent of the Āśvalāyana śākhā In other words, it was just a text like the KBU which did not belong to that śākhā but was at the same time closely associated with the literature of the śākhā as it belonged to the same veda

AG I. 13. 3: (a) 'Kım pıbasi, kım pibasitı' pṛṣṭvā (b) 'Punsavanam pumsavanam' iti trih pṛatiyasiyāt |

Trans. When he (the husband) has asked 'What dost thou drink? What dost thou drink? she should thrice reply 'Pumsavanam (the begetting of a male child)! pumsavanam!'

Context: These questions and answers are with reference to three handfuls of curds (each handful being mixed with two beans and one barley grain) which the wife is given to eat in the Puinsavana ceremony

Sources · Only (b) and that too in the form 'pumsuvanam' is found in APMB, 2, '11, 4 in very much the same context

AG. I. 13 6: 'Prajāvajjīvaputrābhyām' harke

Trans. According to some (authorities), with the 'Prajāvat' and 'Jīva-putra' hymns.

(Context · In the anavalobhana ceremony (the description of which commences with Sūtia 5, immediately after that of the Pumsavana), the husband inserts into the wife's right nostril (the juice of) a herb that has not faded, while she is seated in the shadow of a circular apartment]. Sutra 6 now states that this ritual act is accompanied by the recitation of the 'Prajavat' and 'Jivaputra' (hymns) according to some authorities. [I do not agree with Prof Oldenberg's view (p 180) that the text here describes one continuous ceremony (that of the Pumsavana) in this Kandika Nārāyana, in my opinion, is right in his view that Sütras 2-4 refer to the Pumsavana and in sūtra 5 begins the Anavalobhana I give the following reasons: (1) 'Atha' in sūtra 5 signifies the introduction of a new topic and 'mandalāgarachāyāyam' indicates a change of scene for the new rite (2) The ignoring of the garbhalambhana cannot, as Prof Oldenberg takes it, serve as a parallel to the ignoring of the 'anayalobhana' because the proper place for a description of the 'garbhalambhana' was after sūtra I 8. 14 (where the rite has been passed over), at any rate long before a description of the Pumsavana rite, a reason for ignoring it may have been, as already suggested a treatment of it in the 'upanisad' of sūtra 1 a knowledge of which is presumed; there is no such justification for passing over the 'anavalobhana', the proper place for it being after that of the 'Pumsavana.'

<sup>1</sup> Oldenberg thinks that only one continuous ceremony is described. I have discussed the point under AG. I. 13. 6.

Sources: Prof. Stenzler gives the following information 1 "The two verses:—as given in the Kritische Anmerkungen (p. 48) are: (1) Ā te garbho yonimatu pumān bāna ivesudhim | ā vīro jāyatām putras te dasamāsyah | i and (2) Agniraitu prathamo devatānām sosayan prajām muñcatu mṛtyupāšāt | tadayam rājā varuņo' numanyatām yatheyam strī pautramagham na rodāt | These two verses are the first verses of two sūktas, which according to Nārāyana are named after their seers 'Prajāvat' and 'Jīvaputra'. According to the Samskāra-kaustubha, Hiraṇya-garbha is the Rsi of both these Sūktas and according to both the Samskāra-kaustubha and the Prayoga-ratna each of these two sūktas consists of five verses. The first of these sūktas agrees in part with AV. III. 23; there is no trace of the second sūkta in any of the samhitās before us; its first two verses are found in PG. I. 5. 4." (Italics mine). [Incidentally, it may be noted that these two verses are given in the Bibliotheca Indica Edition, p. 61].

Definite information is now available on this point, in the light of which some of these statements (given in italics above) of Prof. STENZLER will have to be corrected. 'Jīvaputra' is mentioned as an ācārya in PG II 4 3 and a Prajāvat (Prājāpatya) is the Rsi of RV. X. 183 So Nārāyana's view that these are the names of two Rsis, whose hymns go by their names is quite plausible In fact a precise statement to that effect is found in the Brhaddevatā V 92° "Prajāvaj-jīvaputrau vā garbha-karmani sainstutau" (=()1 'the two hymns of 'Prajavat' and 'Jivaputra' may be used together as 'praise' in the ceremony of pregnancy) Our Sūtra 6 seems to be an echo of this view, our 'Eke' corresponding to the 'va' of the Brh-D verse. Prof. MACDONELL in his notes to the translation of this verse (on p 189-90 HOS. vol 6) says "This (ie the Prajāvat) khila called by the name of its author has seven stanzas in the Kashmir MS, and is there described in the Anukramanı as garbharthasihstutih. In his note to the word 'Jivaputra' he adds that the Jīvaputra khila also called after its author, comes immediately after that of Prajāvat in the Kashmır MS and has five stanzas

Were it not for this decisive statement of the Bṛhaddevatā that 'Prajāvat' and 'Jīvaputra' stand for the two RV khilas named after their seers, it would have been a tempting theory to look upon RV X 183 (a hymn whose Rsi is 'Prajāvān' and whose subject-matter admirably suits our context) as the 'Prajāvat' hymn referred to

In 'Die Apokryphen des Rgveda' by Scheftelowitz are given (pp. 81 to 84) the two khila-hymns the opening verses of which are the two verses given above with some minor variations. The note there on p. 82 gives the same information that is stated above:— 'Dieses Lied nach der Anukramanī von Prajāvān verfasst, wird ebenso wie der folgende Jīvaputia-Hymnus beim Garbhakarman vorgetragen, vgl. Brh D 5 92, etc.

ĀG I 13. 7: Prājāpatyasya sthālīpākasya hutvā, hīdaya-deśam asyā

<sup>1</sup> This is a free rendering of the relevant parts of Stenzler's note 6 in German on p 34 of Indische Hauseregeln Aśvalāyana, Zweits Heft Uebersetzung.

ālabheta" (a) yatte susīme hīdaye (b) hītam antalī prajāpatau | (c) Manye' ham mām tadvidvāmsam (d) māham pautramagham nīyām" ili | v v v

Trans: After the sacrificing of a sthälipäka sacred to Prajāpati, he (the husband) should touch the region of her heart with the Mantra 'What is placed, O fair-proportioned one', in thy heart, in Prajāpati, I think myself the knower of that May I not suffer harm that comes through sons'.

The context is a continuation of the same 'anavalobhana' ceremony mentioned above

Sources: Prof Stenzler points out (p 35) 'Der verse steht auch Kausstaki Upanisad 2, 8 u. 10'. The explanation is that our first two pādas (a) and (b) are the same as the first two pādas of KBU II 10 except for 'śritam' in the latter for our 'hitam' and our (c) and (d) are the same as pādas · (c) and (d), of KBU. II 8 except that the latter has 'putryam' for our 'Pautram and 'rudam' for our 'niyām' This is one more illustration of the fluid tradition of Grhya-mantras' A mantra was improvised or made up so that it might suit a particular context by jouring parts drawn from more than one source'

Similar verses are found in a number of Sūtra-texts Our first two pādas are found without variation in SMB  $1.5\,10$ —where the last pāda is also the same except for 'nigām' instead of our 'nigām'

ĀG I 14.3 Athāgnim upasamādhāya paścādasyānaduham carmāstīrya prāggrīvamuttaraloma tasmınnupavisţāyām samanvārabdhāyām "Dhātā dadātu dāšusa" iti dvābhyām. . . iti ca |

Trans Then having put fuel¹ on the (domestic) fire, and having spread to the west of it, a bull's hide with the neck to the east and the hair upwards, (he makes oblations) while his wife who is seated upon that (hide) takes hold of him with the two (verses) beginning with 'May Dhata give to his worshipper' . . . . etc

The context is the ceremony of Simantonnayana (or parting of the hair) which takes place in the fourth month of pregnancy

Sources: Prof. STENZLER gives the two verses (p 36) as they are given in the Samskāra-kaustubha and Prayogaiatna and Prof. OLDENBERG refers to SG. I. 22 7, but no explanation is given of the remarkable fact that our text cites the two verses by quoting the opening pāda of the first as a pratīka although the verses do not occur in the Rgveda. Our text evidently presupposed a knowledge of the text from which the verses are extracted on the part of an adherent of the Āṣvalāyana Ṣākha, as in the case of the Rgveda. Now an investigation of the source of the two verses reveals that

<sup>1</sup> Prof OLDENBERG'S translation of 'Susīme' as "O thou, whose hair is well-parted" seems to be the to a confusion of the word ' $Sim\bar{a}$ ' (in the epithet  $Sus\bar{i}me$ ) with the word Simanta' (:= the parting of hair) Besides, the parting of hair took place in the 'simantomayana' ceremony which follows this ceremony in point of time!

<sup>1.</sup> OLDENBERG'S translation of 'Upasamādhāya' as 'gives its place to the fire' ignores the technical sense of the term,

they are taken from AS VI. 14 16, which explains why our text has not cited them in full. Evidently the Samskára Kaustubha and Prayogaratna (very late ritual texts) have extracted them from the AS, as then version of the two verses (as given by Prof. Stenzler) is exactly the same as that of AS. I thas been shown by me elsewhere in a discussion of 'Rikamaham' (RV II. 32 4-5) cited in this very sutra along with these 'Dhati' verses that TS. III. 3. 11 3 is a section that has influenced the citation and sequence of Mantras in this sutra. TS III. 3. 11 3 and 2 are two 'Dhāti' verses reminiscent of the AS verses in a general way, though only TS. III 3. II 3 agrees with the first pāda of the first 'Dhāti' verse quoted in AS VI 14 16.

It is a curious fact that the last two pādas of our second verse are an adaptation of the last two pādas of RV. III. 59 1 'Mitrah kṛṣṭīr annmṛṣṭ bhưcāṣte, mitrāya havyam ghṛtavajjuhota || 'with 'Dhātā' substituted for 'Mitrah', as 'Dhātī' is the appropriate detty here. This is not an isolated example of adaptation of verses or verse-pādas from the RV, compare to example the mantra cited in ĀG. II. 9. 2 which incorporates RV. 1 53. II into a larger mantra and the one cited in ĀG. I. 7. 6. which adapts RV. X 85 394="Jīvātī śaradaḥ śatam", by changing 'Jīvātī' into 'Jīveva'.

ĀG. 1 14. 6 Viņāgāthurau samsāsti "Somam rājānam samgāyetām" iti.

Trans . He issues instructions to the two lute-players . 'may they sing to King Soma'!

Context. This order is given by the husband in the simantonnayana ceremony after parting his wife's hair three or four times.

Sources: ĀPŚ. 20 6. 5 reads 'Atra brāhmaņo vīnāgāthī gāyati". ĀPŚ 20 6 14 has 'Sāyam-dhṛtiṣu hūyamānāsu rājanyo vīnāgāthī, and ĀPŚ 20, 7. 1 has "Sāyam prātar vīnāgāthinau gāyetām". It appears from these passages that of the two lute-players one was a Brāhmana, the other a Rājanya (or Kṣatriya) an important fact showing that the art of lute-playing was looked upon as worthy of practice by the two highest castes

The parallel passage in SG I 22 11-12 shows that there were sometimes more than two lute-players. This passage as well as PG I 15 7 (where 'King Soma' is implied though only the word 'Rājānam' is used) show that the kingship of Soma was symbolical of earthly kingship

ĀG I. 14 7 . "Somo no rājāvatu mānusīh prajā mvistacakrāsāv" -iti yām nadīm upavasītā bhavanti  $\mid$ 

Trans Prof STENZLER construes the gatha thus :-

(1) 'May Soma, our King, protect the human species, who have settled down within thine jurisdiction O thou (referring to the river) 'ie he separates 'nivistacakrāsau' (a case of irregular double sandhi in his view) as 'nivistacakrāh asau' and construes 'nivistacakrāh' with 'prajāh' This construction is supported by the parallel passages in ĀPMS II 11 12 and 13 where

<sup>2</sup> See my monograph · "Rgveda Mantras in their ritual setting in the Grhya-Sūtras" reprinted from the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute Vol I

- 'vivṛttacakrāh' a variant of 'nɪviṣṭacakrāh' qualıfies 'Sālvīh' (prajāh) and 'Brāhmaṇīh prajāḥ' respectively
- (2) Prof. Oldenberg (p 181) suggests that the words should be separated according to regular sandhi rules as 'nivistacakra asau' the two words going with 'Nadi' (who is to be named next as 'asau' implies) and translates 'May Soma, our King, bless the human race. Settled is the wheel of N. N ' Prof. OLDENBERG does not seem to have noticed that this is the construction of Nārāvana also (Haradatta, the other commentator also gives the same construction), when he says 'Nivistacakiā gange' Prof. Stenzler who generally follows Narayana and who has quoted his comment on this part of the Mantra, has either not noticed or has disapproved of Naravana's construction, when he remarks that 'Nıvistacakrāsau' is a case of irregular sandhi. None of these two constructions explain the propriety of the mention of the 'particular river' in connection with 'prajah', or, the introduction of the river-name in connection with Soma and finally the propriety of the mention of the river and Soma in the Simantonnayana ceremony I therefore split up and construe the gatha thus :-- The lute-players sing : 'Somo no rājā (Soma is our king)' [My reasons for taking this as an independent clause are that the parallel clause in APMB II. 11 13, HG 2 1 3 and PG 1 15 8 is an independent sentence like 'Soma eva no rājā'; compare also RV X 109. 2<sup>a</sup>. 'Somo rājā prathamo biahmajāyām',]. The next sentence would be 'avatu mānusīh prajā nivistacakrā asau'. May this (river) whose wheels (i.e. banks or course) are well-settled, protect the human race (1e keep them safe from the danger of floods and supply them with water) This meaning of 'nivistacakra' is supported by 'avimuktacakre tire' in PG. 1. 15 8 The mention of the name of the local river thus becomes quite natural The association of 'Soma-the King' with the waters and, therefore, with a river is well-known Compare KS XIV. 2 'Somo rājā osadhīsu apsu' The mention of the river in the Simantonnayana ceremony is (I suggest) appropriate because the clear (and at times slightly deviating) parting of the hair brings to our minds the spectacle of a river whose winding course runs through trees and reeds. For the figurative association of 'hair' with 'reeds or plants', compare AV VI 137, 2c and 3c keśā nadā iva vardhantām let the hair grow like reeds and APS 6 20 2:  $Keśa \ barhih =$ the hair are (like) Kuśa grass!
- ĀG I 15 1 Kumāram jātom, purānyairālambhāt, sarptr madhunī hiranyanikāṣam hiranyena prāśayet (a) 'Pra te dadāmi madhuno ghṛtasya (b) Vedam savitrā prasūtam maghonām | (c) Āyuṣmān gupto devatābhih (d) śatam jīva śarado loke asminn'iti |

Trans: A son (newly) born, (the father) should, before others touch him, give to cat, of butter and honey, from (a picce, of) gold after rubbing them (together) with (that) gold with the mantra: (a) 'I give to thee of honey (and) ghee, (b) (a mixture symbolising) holy knowledge inspired by Savitr for the bountiful (institutors of sacrifices), (c) full of life, protected

by the derties, (d) live a hundred autumns in this world' [The sūtra and the mantra require some explanation]

A small quantity of butter and honey (mixed up) is poured on a stone and rubbed with a piece of gold vigorously enough to allow some gold dust to be assimilated into the mixture and then one end of that piece of gold is put into the mouth of the child to be licked up by it. So 'hiranyena' does not mean 'from a golden vessel or spoon' as Prof Oldenberg takes it

Sources: Prof. STENZLER (followed by OLDENBERG) corrects the reading 'maghonām' (genitive plural) of the manuscripts into 'Maghonā' (instrumental singular, qualifying 'savitrā') on the analogy of SG I 24. 4 which has a mantra very nearly identical with ours. The variations are: Pāda (a) reads there as 'pra te yacchāmi madhuman makhāya'; (b) has 'maghonā' for our 'maghonām', (c) has 'gupito' for our 'gupto' - an improvement from the point of view of the metre, (d) is the same as our (d)

The correction of 'maghonām' into 'maghonā' on the analogy of SG is quite plausible but not at all necessary because as has been seen, each individual school-text often exercised the right to alter the readings of a Mantra which belonged to the common Grhya tradition. Besides, in my translation given above, 'Maghonām' yields quite a good sense, the genitive case often doing duty for the dative.

ÄG I. 15 2. Karnayor upandhāya 'medhājananam' japati : (a) "Medhām te devah savitā, (b) Medhām devī sarasvatī | (c) medhām te aśvinau devāv (d) ādhattām puskarasrajāviti."

Trans Holding (his mouth) near (the child's) ears, he (the father) mutters the (following) 'medhājanana' text [lit: producing 'medhā' or intelligence] 'Intelligence may God Savitr, intelligence may goddess Sarasvati, intelligence may the Aśvins, the lotus-wreathed gods put in thee'.

The context of 'Jātakarma' or birth-rite is continued.

Sources Our mantra is an adaptation the RV Khila · X 151 2 which reads : (a) "Medhām mahyām āṅgirasah (b) medhām devī sarasvatī | ; (c) medhām me aśvinau devau (d) ādhattām puskarasrajā"

The variations are our mantra substitutes in (a) 'savitā' for 'āṅgi-rasah' (savitr is a very popular deity of the Grhya-ritual, compare the ceremony of Upanayana), and 'te' for 'me' throughout as the father addresses the mantra to the child. TA 10 40. 1 also has a very similar mantra to ours, only (a) being different and reading 'Medhām me indro dadātu'

TA 10. 40 is an anuvāka that constitutes the 'Yājīikī Upaniṣad' and TA 10. 40 1 is a prayer for intelligence. It is curious that this TA mantia is an adaptation of RV X 184 2 where 'garbham' occurs for the 'midhām of TA and 'sinīvālī' (a deity very appropriately invoked in birth-rites) is mentioned in the first pāda—an interesting process which illustrates the genesis of the Grhya tradition of mantras!

AG. I. 15. 3: Amsāv abhimṛśatī (a) "aśmā bhava paraśur bhava, (b)

hıranyam astıtam bhava (c) Vedo vai putra-nāmāsi, (d) sa jīva śaradah satam' iti.

Trans:—The father then touches the two shoulders of the child with the mantra "Be a stone, be an axe, be gold insuperable [I prefer the reading 'asrutam' (=unmelted or solid) of PG. I 16. 18 and \$B 14 9 4. 26 to our astṛtam' (=insuperable)] Thou art, indeed, the Veda named 'son'; so live a hundred autumns."

Sources:—The \$B 14. 9. 4. is a section (Brāhmaṇa) treating of the rite called 'Putra-Mantha' ensuring the birth of a son endowed with certain desirable characteristics. After the birth of a son (\$B 14. 9. 4 23), rites similar to those described in our text follow and 14 9 26 reads 'athainam abhimṛśati| (he then touches him with the mantra) 'Aśmā bhava' etc a mantra very nearly the same as in our text. The only variations are 'asiutam' (the reading I prefer and found in PG. also) for our 'astṛtam' in pāda (b) and 'ātmā' for our 'putro' in (c).

The word 'Vedaḥ' is puzzle! Prof Oldenberg suggests (p. 182) that it might be the nominative either of 'veda' or of 'vedas', (property). \$B\$ 14 9. 4 25, however throws light on its meaning, it reads 'Vedo'sīti guhyam nāma karoti' He gives him a secret name, namely 'Veda' KBU 2. 11 also has the same verse in a similar context, only with 'ātmā' for 'putro' in (c) All possible varying versions of the mantra are also found in SMB 1 5. 18; HG 2 3. 2, MG 1. 17 5 etc

I think the *idea* of 'aśmā bhava' (be a stone) as an address is developed from RV VI. 75.  $12^{\rm b}$  (= VS 29.  $49^{\rm b}$ , and TS. 4 6 4) = 'Aśmā bhavatu nas tanūḥ' (may our body be like a *stone*) addressed to 'arrows' as a prayer for bodily strength.

AG I. 15. 9. Pravāsād etya putrasya śirah parigyhya japati: (a) "Aṅgād aṅgāt sambhavasi, (b) hṛdayādadhijāyase | (c) Ātmā vai putranāmāsi, (d) sa jīva śaradah śatam" iti mūrdhani trir avaghrāya |

Trans . Having come back from a journey, (the father) clasps his son's head and having smelt¹ (him) on the head mutters three times: 'From every limb, art thou born , from out of the heart hast thou been produced. Thou art indeed the  $\bar{A}tm\bar{a}$  (Self) named son , so live a hundred autumns'.

The context:—From the position of the sutra, I think, the rite is here prescribed primarily for a very young child (under one year of age), this being the norm for a similar ritual in the case of a grown-up boy

Sources. The first two pädas are found in §B 14 9 4 8 where the Mantra is employed at 'cohabitation' to ensure the birth of a specially qualified son in the course of the *Putramantha* rite. Prof Stenzler compares KBU. 2 11 (where the whole verse occurs in the same context) and K\$. 4. 12 22.

The whole verse also occurs in a similar context in PG I 18. 2; HG 2 3 2,  $\overline{APMB}$  2 11 33; and MG 1. 18 6 with slight variations.

<sup>1.</sup> Prof Oldenberg's rendering of 'avaghrāya' (he kisses him) is not literal.

AG. I 16. 5: Dadhmadhughrtamiśram annam prāśayet (a) 'Annapate'nnasya no dehy (b) anamīvasya śuṣmınaḥ (c) prapradātāram tārısa (d) Ūrjam no dhehi dvipade catuspade' iti

Trans: (Such) food mixed with curds, honey and ghee, he should make (the child) eat, with the mantra 'Lord of food, give us food that causes no disease and possesses (full) strength. Advance (pra tārṣaḥ), the great giver (pradātāram); confer power on us—on (our) bipeds and quadrupeds.

The context is the ceremony of annaprāśana that takes place when the child is in its sixth month. 'Such food' (in the translation above) means any one of the three kinds of food mentioned in Sūtras 2 to 4

Sources: Prof. STENZLER compares VS. XI. 83 and when he suggests the correction of 'pra pradataram' as printed in his text into 'pra pra data ram' in the Kritische Anmerkungen (p. 49), he has probably in his mind the VS. reading. But the Mantra is found in earlier Sainhitäs like TS, MS and KS, and the reading of TS. 4. 2. 3. 1 (and TS. 5 2 2 1 which is the Brāhmana of the former passage) where the mantra occurs without a variant, is 'pra pradataram' and I have translated accordingly. TS. 4 2 3 is a section containing mantras for taking the Ukhya fire (i.e. fire in the pan) to the place of the Agnicayana and with 4 2 3. 1 (i.e our mantra), the adhvaryu puts on the fire, a piece of Udumbara wood dipped in Vrata milk. In VS 11 83 the context is identical. SB, 6 6 4 7 just quotes this same mantra from VS and gives the Brahmana thereon. It is however, in TB and PB that we meet with a context suggestive of our context. In TB 3 11 4, 1 the mantra accompanies a home with rice for the placing of bricks in the 'Naciketa-cayana' and in PB 1 8 7, the mantra accompanies the acceptance of food as Daksinā in a Soma sacrifice, which is suggestive of our context of 'annaprāśana' or first 'tasting of food'.

#### INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD \*

Βv

#### D B DIKSALKER.

#### SHIMARA

1 ?

This fragmentary inscription at present consisting of two pieces was discovered in the village Shimar near Ajār in the Ūnā Mahal of the Junagadh State. From the characters the inscription can be assigned to the 15th century of the v.s.

The inscription seems to record the digging of a well. A portion of the date viz. Thursday the fifth of the bright half of [Mā]gha is only visible.

#### Text

_			20 20 20 20
1			. भा विभागा उल्लोलकीर्णः प्रतिमल्लगूर्तिः।
2			. ह्रकीत्तिः । ३ रमादेवी हिमादेवी जाते पुत्र्यौ
3			[क्याः] समुत्पन्ने तुष्टिपुष्टी इव स्थिरे । ४ भूपतिः
4			. वीतयोः स्थिता धात्री । पालनलालननियता
5			. च्येत । ५ कलिमलविरमायाः सारमायाः सुत
6			मालदेवी । असमकुसुमभारे भूप
7			
8			जा कापि वापिका सुखं
9			शिवः ग्रुमं भूयात् स
10			घश्रदि ५ गरी वापी जाता

#### MAHUVĀ

No. 75] v. s. 1500

123-4-1444 AD

The sub-joined inscription is engraved on a black stone slab built up in the pedestal of the god Lakṣmī-Nārāyana, whose temple is situated near the Darbargadh of the sea-port town Mahuvā on the southern coast of Kathiawad in the Bhavnagar State. But as the inscription mentions the digging of a well and makes no mention of the temple it seems that the inscribed stone was brought from elsewhere and built up in the temple. The inscribed portion, which is beautifully engraved and is well preserved measures 1'8" in length and 11" in breadth The record is both in Sanskrit poetry and prose. As regards orthography it may be noted that a consonant is sometimes doubled after r.

It was formerly published in the Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad p. 162 ff

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p. 606 of Vol. II, December 1939 issue.

- ५ १ ॥ तसुत्रोंऽतः पवित्रो हरिपरिचरणः श्रेष्ठिमल्लोऽत्र पर्व्हस्तस्माद्य्याविरासीदमितवितरणो ऽत्रस्य सत्य
- 6 स्वभावः । श्रेष्ठिश्रीरामनामा कृतसुकृतचयः संयुतो जानुसत्या सन्मत्या विष्णुमक्त्या [नि\*] वसति सदने ब्रह्मणो वेदवे
- 7 दः । ३ ॥ तद्मु जनितपूर्वाद्वप्रपुण्यप्रभावात् कल्विबलदलनेऽलं मोकलो निज्जलायां । प्रणयति वरवापीं तत्प्रती
- 8 चीनभूमी मधुरसलिलपूर्णा श्रेयसे तत्र पित्रोः ॥ ४ ॥ अनुतिष्ठेदिधिष्ठानं मृष्टायां रष्टानिर्जले । स निष्ठेदि
- 9 ष्टमुह्प्यदिष्टं शिष्टैक्षिविष्टपे । ५ ॥ नीलोद्वाह यो हिर्रमेषं सुनिपानं कुर्यात् पुत्रो गोत्रपिक्न त्रोऽभिजनेन ।
- 10 दशादश भूमिगजाश्वोभयवक्ता भूयाद्भावात् तीर्र्थस्पर्विङ्कुजभक्तः । ६ ॥ गोहिङ्कोत्तौ रणे श्ररः स्वारंगः शार्डिसे
- 11 वकः [।+] तदुर्व्या कुरते वापी धर्म्मधीम्मींडमीकळः³। ७॥ उक्तं श्रीभारते । गोमासे गोगवाकांते गोरसे गगने
- 12 गते गोमात्रं गोरसं दद्याद्गोसहस्त्रफळ ढभेत् । ८ ॥ श्रीकांतकृतदैत्यांन देव सेवक्वत्सळ त्वया विना प्र-
- 13 मु: कोऽत्र झातु कर्म कियापदे । ९ ॥ पुराणपुरुषः पायादपायात् त्वा कृपादशा । जल्झायी प्रणीतोऽत्र यो ल
- 14 क्म्या सह मोकळ । १०॥ उक्तं धम्मीरण्यपुराणे ॥ पुरा सृष्टिसमारंभे स्वयभूभेगवान् स्वयं । अस्थापयन्महास्था
- 15 निम्द मोहिब्मोहनं । ११ ॥ धम्मारण्यं कृते श्रोक्त त्रेतायां सत्यमिदरं । द्वापरे वेद्भुवनं कलो मोहेर
- 16 कं मतं । १२ ॥ स्वित्ति श्रीमनृपिविक्रमार्क्कसमयातीतसंवत् १५०० वर्षे प्रजापितनाम्नि संवत्सरे । उत्तरायणे । व
- 17 संतऋती वैशाखगुरूठपंचम्यां गुरी । श्रीमाशुमत्याः पश्चिमे प्रदेशे निजंळे । माता सती बाई जानं पिता श्रेष्ठि श्री
- 18 रामा त्रातृ श्रे॰ राघवश्रेयसे । श्रेष्ठि मोकल्डः आतृ सांटा लीवा सहितो मार्गो श्रेगाटके मृष्टोदकपूर्ण वार्पा निर्मिगीते । श्री 15

### JUNAGADH (Uparkot)

No 76]

v s. 1507

[21-1-1451.

This inscription is fixed in a wall of the fort Uparkot in Junagadh. As it was considerably disfigured most probably by the victorious Muhammedans, it cannot be completely read. Fortunately no important portion is lost. The engraver no doubt did his work excellently. The inscribed portion measures

<sup>3.</sup> Read मोऋल:

<sup>4.</sup> Read जान

<sup>5</sup> Below the words श्रेष्ठि मोकल in the line some letters are indistinctly seen They are perhaps of the name of the engraver. For the letter सू i.e., सूत्रधार can be read.

2'.8" in length and 1'.6" in breadth. It is both in prose and poetry. The language of the record is mostly Sanskrit but sometimes Piākļit forms are freely used in it, which are rather difficult to be understood

The record opens with the date, Thursday the fifth of the dark half of Māgha of v. s 1507, which is once more given in the 24th line both in figures and words. It then records that at the request of a merchant named Hāsā son of Devā, a resident of Stambha Tīrtha (i.e. modern Cambay) and of others the King Mandalika, son of Mahīpāla and grandson of Rāṇā Melagadeva of the Yādava dynasty ruling at Junagadh (Jīrṇaduiga) in the Saurāsţra country, issued orders at the time of his coronation prohibiting the slaughter of animals on the 5th, 8th and the 14th day (of the month) in addition to the 11th day and the Amāvāsyā day, when prevention of slaughter was already in observance. This is the object of the inscription. But repeated praises of Mandalika in prose and again in poetry for this kind action of his have made the inscription very long.

The inscription is interesting as it contains a few forms in old Gujarati Besides this two more inscriptions of the King Mandalika are found, which are published below. Two dates of v. s. 1512 and 1525 are found of this king from MSS. (See p. 305 of Vol. I of *Purātattva*)

#### Text.

- 1 [बों स्व] स्ति श्रीसंवत् १५०७ वर्षे माघ [विद पं]चमी दिने गुम्बा [रे] सौ[रा]ण्र देशे श्री [जीर्णदुर्गे] श्री[याद]ब्वशे राणा श्रीमेळगदेसुत[रा] उल्शीमहिपा-ळदेसुत [राव] श्रीमंडळिकप्रभुणा य
- 2 ...तापगुरुणा सर्व्वजीवकरुणाकरणतत्परेण [ओ]दार्यगां[भीयंचातुर्य]शौर्यादिगुणरत्न-रत्नाकरेण स्वराज्यपद्यभिषेकावसरे स्तांभतीर्थवास्तव्य सा० देवासुत हांसा.. गदी मध्य ? सर्वराजकुळी...
- 3 ...समस्तजीवअभयदानकरण[प्रसा]दकारकेण पचमीअष्टमीचतुर्दशीदिनेषु सर्व्वजीव अमारी कारिता। राज्या भिषेकभव[ना]नंतरं सिहासनोपविष्टेन श्रीमंडलिकराजािषपेन श्रीअमात्य
- 4 ....य लिखित स्वहस्तलिखितशीकारसिहत समिपित । पुरापि एकादशी आमावास्ये पाल्य-माने स्तः संप्रति एव शिष एतेषु पचमी अष्टर्मा एकादशी चतुर्दशी अमावास्यादिनेषु राजाधिराजशीमंडलिक[प्रसु]
- 5 णा सर्व्वेश्रेयः कल्याणकारिणी सर्व्वेदुरितदुग्गोंपसंगिनवारिणी सर्वेत्राव अमा[ति कार्यमा]णा चिरं विजयतां । प्रथमं श्री—उगिन जीवकरुणासंज्ञवीजा छोकममस्तर्जीवन-णा म... कीमार
- 6 —वडीमार सिचानका.. िष्ठ आहेंडानकरइ चोरन मारि वा। वावर खांट तुरक एहेद्या-हडे . कोई न विणा स-चि ऊदसी-ई-मीलाई कुंभका[र]पचिदन नीमी[त]न-इ। जिको
- 7 ...इतेहनी घाणं भगकारकए अ...श्रीमंडळीकनाथाप्या । आ [श्रारा] वकण [इ]-लिबा । तेहनई गुणा-सिइ । जिदो-लो मुंकइ । ए दोपते...अमा [से] प्रवत्ता वणहार श्री मंडळीकप्रभुकई आशी

- 8 ...णी इ छ इ ॥ श्लोक काव्य । सर्वज्ञ [: शि ] वमातनोतुसविता चारोग्यामिदुः श्रियं भौमः शत्रु...बुधश्व...थं धियं गीःपितः । सौभाग्य श्रृ[गुजः] शिनश्च विभुता राहुः प्रतापोद्यतां केतः कीर्ति...
- 9 [मु]खं च द[द]तां श्रीमंडलीके प्रमो ॥ श्रीभूगात् ॥ अथ प्रशस्तिकान्याति ॥ श्री [मान्] श्रीयुदुभूपतिग्रंणगणैः ख्यातः प्रभूतै [रभूत्] सर्व्वस्योपकृते कृतः कृतय [श्रो] लकारतां सं.....। त्यरमः
- 10 ...वरा जीवादिरङ्गापरा । जञ्जःपा दवीन्नयेद् गुरुतरां श्रीमंडस्ट्रीकप्रसुः [॥ १] दैत्यानां...विक्षया [त्रिसुवने दै ] त्यारिता नामतो । छेभे येन यशःप्रताप-जुषा माहात्म्य...।...श्रीपुरुषे...इदं स्थानं
- 11 ... हृष्यति । ज्ञाला मंडलीकाङ्ग्पितिहितां जीवेषु गुर्वी दयां । २ यस्माधद्वंशजातो नयविनययुतो मंडलीको नरेशः । सर्व्या स्य [-] द...जी...द्धानः [।\*] सर्व्यांगी स्र प स्रुख...
- 12 कभ्यते मूरिभाग्यै [ःः] । जुष्टः स्या...धन्यो भवतिरिपुभौरहकटैरप्यसंख्यैः । ३ । श्रीने-मिस्वामिनाथः सकल...वथः—्ग...इ...कृष्णानुज...मसुमतिर्जुषा स...पि हेतो... ५ पि प्रा १
- 13 कृतोऽयं यदुकुलतिलकः प्रौढपुण्याश्च...[च]चत्कारुण्यभाजा क्षितितलवलयं मंडलीकः
  ...। ४ ।... मभूत्..... श्रीनिमः प .. वादिभिरभदेव ... पि प्राकरः
- 14 रः प्रशस्य प्रकृतैः श्रीजीर्णदुर्गाभिषः । स...तेजावपालनकृता श्रीमंडलीकेन तत्॥ ५ नैके भूपतय-दान...त्र्या...रा. य...वाप्तस-यः...वयः स...ः । के---
- 15 बदने प...संस्तसंबधः। वि...निबसति निर्मलगुणाः श्री**मंडलीके त्रे**पे॥ ६ भूपाव.....विलसत्तेजः.....स्थं...
- 17 ... शुक्रो बलं प्रोल्बण । शोरिः केतुयुतो निरस्तिरिपुतां श्रीमंडलीके व्ययुः ॥ ८ या वेदेयु पुराणसुस्मृतिमहासिद्धांत... प्रोक्ता जीवद्........ एकरी मा... रि
- 18 ...ऽष्ठमिपंचमीप्रशृतिषु थीमंडळीकेन सा ॥ ९...शस्य प्रभावादम्रस्मृग्दशांबामुखी... तिभाऽ...साविथ...कार्येष्व...नामा.....विविध दे...
- 19 ...जीवामारिमही स्रजति नरपतिर्मेडलिशयायुक् ॥ ९० कीर्तिः स्कृतिमुपैति सहुणतिनि र्व्यानोति सर्वा दि[शः]...नि भयनि...क..घ... शिणितैः । तां श्रीजतुद्यां विचारचत्ररः श्रीमंडलीकः
- 20 [क्क]र्व्याणः स विदेषमेष रूभते पूर्वोक्तमेतसम ॥ ११ श्राव्याः श्रीमेरुगाद्याः पुनरि नितरां श्रीमहीपारु .... याद्व .. त . तो ... भूरिदानाति ... जनयति .. दानं पद्यतां म-
- 21 श्रीमंडलीको गुरुतरमहिमाप्राप्तिहेतौ निदानं ॥ १२ येन न्यायसमन्यितेन विदुषा सद्दान-शौर्यादितः ।......भिः.....क...कमौ । नीयंते स्मृतिगोचरः मुकृतिनो...या श्रिया । स श्रीमंडलिका
- 22 [ख्य] भूपतिरसून् रक्षंश्चिरं नंदताम् ॥ १३ सर्वेषां यः पश्चनाम् भयवितरणा मुख्यदानं प्रदत्ते । नृष्या भे...नानास्थल...भुवां स्वस्य राज्याभिषेके । चातुर्दस्थादि पमिभ... स्वष्टमीय......

- 23 तोः स जयित नृपति**मेंडलीकः** श्रियाट्यः ॥ १४ यत्साम्राज्याभिषेके गगनतलगतास्तारका मौतिकति । ज्योत्स्नाशाली सुधांशुः श्रितसकलकलो नालि[केरायते] च । स्थ...शाले दशविपलहरिस्तद
- 24 ...णयोय। या...थंति प्रतिदिशतु सुखं मंडळीकः प्रजानां। १५ सप्तर्षि ७ खे ०...१ मितेऽत्र वस्तरे १५०७। श्रीजीर्णदुर्गे व[दि] माधमासि वै। पारे गुरा पर्चामकादिन श्रमे। श्रीमंडळीके...सहया॥ [१६]
- 25 [यावन्] मेरुगिरः स्थिरो बहुमती यावस्थिरा (रो) वद्यमाः । सुर्योश तपित प्रताप-परितो याव—निषेः । तावजीवदयादिपुण्यनिरतः संपद्भिरत्याप्रितः । श्रीमान मंडळिक प्रमुर्वि जयते रा ]जाधिराजः [क्षितौ] इति प्रशस्तिः ॥ श्रीः ॥

#### GIRNAR

No 771

labout 1454.

This inscription is engraved on a very large slab of stone built in the wall of the Neminātha temple or as is popularly called of the 'Rā Khengāt Mahāl,' on the left of the entrance of the Devakoṭa on the famous Girnar hill. This slab does not contain the whole of the inscription but it seems that a second slab was used on which the remaining portion was engraved. But as the other slab is not discovered as yet we have to remain satisfied with this incomplete inscription. The upper left corner of the stone is broken away, otherwise the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscribed portion measures  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ' in length and 2' in breadth. The poet who composed this praéasti was no doubt a learned man, but his ideas are many times far-fetched and are difficult to be understood. Though the engraving is done in a very clear way the inscription is full of grammatical mistakes of every kind

This important inscription was first published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol I, p 64, and again in the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh, p 159, and in the Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, p 347.

It opens with an invocation to the goddess of learning (\$\tilde{a}\trac{1}{a}\trace{1}{a}\tra meaning of the second and third verses is not clear, but the second verse seems to praise the sun god. In the fourth verse the goddess Ambika is praised. Then in three more verses the Girnar mountain called both Ujiayanta and Raivata in the record is described. From the eighth verse an account is given of a family born of Har:, in which Siva, Angaja (i.e. Madana), Acyuta (1e Krsna), Bala [rāma] and others were born. In that famous family called Yadava, was born a great king named Mandalika, who built with many gold plates a temple of Nemi[nātha] His son was Navaghana, whose son Mahipāladeva built a temple of Somanlātha at Prabhāsa son was Sangāra (Khangara), whose son was Javasımhadeva The latter had a son named Mokalasımha, whose son was Melagadeva The latter's son was Mahipāladeva, who had a son named Maņdalīka From the seventeenth verse to the twenty-first this king is extravagantly praised. As the description of the royal family ends with this king it can be supposed that

the inscription belongs to his time. As we know that the last Mandalika ruled from v s 1506-1527 this inscription belongs to that period probably to v s. 1510 or (1454 A  $\rm D$ ). On the twenty-fourth line, which is the last one in this slab, description is begun of Sāna a famous merchant, but there being no sufficient space on the slab for further engraving the record is left incomplete.

This inscription gives the longest genealogy of the Cudasama kings. beginning with Mandalika who is supposed to have begun his rule in v. s. 1316 to the king Mandalika the third of the name and who was destined to be the last ruler of the family, his kingdom being seized permanently by the Muhammedans in v. s. 1527. After Navaghana Mahipāla I is said in the inscription to have come to the throne. He was in fact the younger brother of Navaghana and not the son as is wrongly stated in the inscription. It may be noted that after Jayasımha I, the names of only direct descendants in the line are given. For Jayasimha was succeeded by his elder son Mahīpāla and the latter by his younger brother Mokalasimha Similarly Mokalasimha was succeeded by Mandalika and the latter by Meliga Thirdly Meliga was succeeded by Jayasımha and the latter was succeeded by Mahipāla But our inscription which is bent upon giving the names of only direct descendants has dropped in the genealogy the names of Mahipala, Mandalika and Jayasimha, each of whom was succeeded not by his son but by his younger brother Now on the same grounds the name of Navaghana the elder son of Mandalika I, ought not to have been given. But the composer of our prasasti wrongly thought that his successor Mahipāla was his son and not younger brother For the full genealogy of the family from the first Mandalika in the inscription to the third Mandalika see the Introduction

#### Text

- मते. प्राप्तः सुभीमार्ता संबोध नयति -या भुवपरित्राणानुरागाहायः ॥ पीयूषम्ब-तवीक्षणादिजगती
- 2 .....[तो]यदा सारदा ॥ १ यथांतेः पुरतः सम[स्त]मरुचिप्रदो( खो)तनाखा अमी खयोता इव रेजिरे त्रिजगती जाग्रत्यनापा आप । दासंति स्म यदीय सस्मर
- 3 .....खयच्छ[उ]तशीश्रत् (१)। २ कि भूवध्याः प्रकटमु³कुटानील्ररलपकृप्तधितारल्व¹-जितपनिमृत (१) निमित्वेघांविदि मीडटीवर्¹ ममतरमिसि भूगेणदतापदृष्टां मृतिरिति भवे
- 4 .....तीविविव्यक्तरिणो हतुं तथा प्रार्थनासाफल्याय विभित्ति या फलति माकदजां धर्मिणां ॥ धत्तेकं सतसंयतं सत्रात्रोच्छापुर्तये कि नणां 1² तां विश्वेकिष्ट
- 5 तमाः श्रीअविकां संस्तुवे ॥ ४ ॥ श्री उज्ज्ञयंतं गिरिराजमधिप्रतीते सद्धम्मं कर्म-करणोद्यमिनां जनानां । सांनि-थमीहितममी गुरुमेद्यनादालेशाधिपप्रश्वतय<sup>9</sup>

I This line as well as some phrases in other lines are unintelligible

यत्कांतेः
 मकटा.
 रतन <sup>१</sup>

<sup>5.</sup> This and the following phrases are unintelligible 6 নিমর্নি.

<sup>7</sup> Such unnecessary strokes are common in this record

विश्वैकहिता.
 मेघनाढादेशा ?

- 6 [स्त्रि [दशा] स्रजंतु ॥ ५ ॥ अद्य च ॥ नानातीर्थोपवनतिटनीकाननै रम्यहर्म्येः ॥ पोरैर्भू-<sup>10</sup> मीपतिप्रथुकृतात्यंतसौक्यैरसंख्येः ॥ शक्षद्भषाम्टदिष<sup>11</sup> विपुळां राष्ट्रवर्थः सु
- 7 राष्ट्रा<sup>12</sup> राष्ट्रोदधेतुपमिगिरादरेवतालंकृति यः ॥ ६ ॥ मागा गर्वममर्त्यपर्वतपरां प्रीति भजंतस्वया ॥ आम्यते रविचंद्रमःप्रभृतयः के केन मुग्धाशयाः [14] एको रेवतभूष
- 8 ॥ रो विजयतां यह्शैनात्प्राणिनो । याति<sup>13</sup> श्रांतिविवर्जिताः किल महानद मुखश्रीजुषः ॥ ० ॥ तत्र च ॥ गिरि<sup>14</sup>स्कुरदुश्त्थितिर्विततभूरिशाखोदयः ॥ सुपर्व महिमास्पदं-जगति वं
- 9 ॥ श आस्ते हरेः ॥ यदुद्भवशिवांगजान्युतवलप्रमुख्या अलकृतिं ददति निर्मलामखिलसत्मु मुक्ता अपि ॥ ८ ॥ वंशेस्मिन्यदुनाम कावरपतेरम्युप्रशोर्यावलेरानीदाजकु<sup>15</sup>
- 10 ॥ लं गुणोषविषुलं श्रीयाद्व्ख्यातिमत् 16। अन्नाभुनृपमंडलीनतपदः श्रीमंडलीकः कमात् ॥ आसादं गुरुहेमपत्रतििभर्याचीकरलेमिनः ॥ ९ ॥ नवघननृपतिस्तदीयसृतु
- 11 नैवधनसिहतत्रजेिसमाद्धानः ॥ नवधनवृष्टिः प्रजावनौषे । नवधनसारसद्ययशोिमरामः ॥ १० ॥ महीमहेंद्रो मिह्नपाळदेवः पुत्रस्तदीयोजनि यनुदेवः ॥ यद्दानदास्यं
- 12 सुरचेतुरलहुमास्तदानीमगमनयल<sup>17</sup> श्रीप्रभास्ते सोमनाथप्रासादकृत् ॥ ११ पंगारनामा रिपुराज्यवृक्षेयुवगार एवाजिन भूमिजानिः ॥ गृंगारकृत्तत्कुलराज्यव्हस्या सगार [धा]
- 13 ॥ रा जगतीस्रतायाः ॥ १२ आसीत् श्रीज्ञयस्तिह्देवनृपतिस्तत्पद्दम्मामिनी भास्व-द्भोगरसालसार्द्रनयनो न्यायांबुधिश्वेतरुक् ॥ शत्रुत्रासनकृद्यतो<sup>18</sup> च मार्हिमा नम्रक्षमा-<sup>19</sup> श्वतिः
- 14 ॥ स्फूर्जन्मौलिमणीमयूषसलिलप्रक्षालितांप्रिद्धयः ॥ १३ ॥ दिद्युते तदत्र मोकलसिंहः शृत्रभूपगजभेदनसिंहः ॥ यत्प्रतापमभवद्यदि हंसः सन्मनःसरितजे
- 15 कलहंसः ॥ १४ ॥ तद्दु मेलगदेवनरेश्वरः सुकृततुष्टगरिष्व $^{21}$  सुरेश्वरः [ ।\* ] समभवद्भव [ नाथ $^{22}$  ] पदांबुजे । भ्रमरतां कलयश्रमलांगवान् ॥ १५ ॥ तत्पादोदयसातुम
- 16 खुदयक्क्स्रोधात्रतापाद्भृतो ॥ दिक्चकप्रसरत्करकमितभूभच्छेखरे भाष्ठरः ॥ आसीत् श्री-महिपास्त्रदेवन्नपतिः निर्नाशितारिक्षमापालोल्व (?)
- 17 कततिः कुनीतितिमिरप्रध्यंसनपूर्यछः<sup>24</sup> (?)॥ १६ तत्सूतुर्जयति द्विषकरिकुलत्रासौ (से) कपचाननः ॥ श्रीमन्मंडल्किकःक्षितीश्वरविरः कोटीरहीरप्रभः ॥ स्व [ःः]
- 18 सिंधूम्युंपलक्षिताक्षतगतिर्वभ्रम्यतेवापि यत् कीर्त्तिस्मत्यमतीत्यवार्षिनल्यं वर्ष्क्रंणुसार-त्यरा (?) ॥ १० ॥ नात्यं (ल)च्यः कुत जन्नतो नरपतिः कस्याः कुतो विश्वमू. ॥
- 19 स्तं<sup>25</sup> पात्रे कुस्तः किमत्र कृतिनों किं द्विट्कृतः स्वामिना । सौराष्ट्राधिपतिः सुखाय रिपुभिथकेथ कि प्रीतितः ॥ कीटक् मंडिळिकः क्षितीश्वर इह श्रीराजराजिश्रितः ॥१८
- 20 आलोनस्तभरूपो जयकलकलमस्यासुलांभोधिसेतुः ॥ केतुः शौयांषसीधे<sup>26</sup> रणद्धिमथनः सवासो (शो) प्रक्षणोक्तः पूर्वादिः <sup>27</sup>लङ्गनवश्वराकरणरुचां वैसिराजांगनाना
- 10. पैरिर्भू 11 भूषां 12. द्वराष्ट्रो 13 यांति 14 गिरि 15. नामके नरपते...शौर्याबर्क 16. यादव
- 17 The number 11 of the verse ought to be after यहा.
- 18 वतो ? 19 क्षमा 20. मयूख 21. गरिष्ठ 22 नाथ 23. तिनीनिठ
- 24 or प्रत्यलः? 25 तं पात्रे 26. शाैर्योघ 27. खङ्गचचत्वार.

- 21 <sup>28</sup>मुनेवैंघञ्यदीक्षो जयित नरपतेर्मेडलीकस्य बाहुः ॥ ९९ ॥ रे रे प्रत्यार्थिनो वः । किमिप हितवचः श्रावयेहं कृपालो<sup>29</sup> ॥ यस्याश्रीयांङ्क्रिषातोस्थलितमृदुरजोप्युत्कटशौर-तेजः ॥
- 22 हत्वा भूलोकमेन मलिनयतितमां तिकिमेतत्पुरस्ताष्ट्र। यूयं भुक्तामदश्राक् श्रयतनर्पेत-मेंडलीकस्य सेवा ॥ २० ॥ चातुर्यं व (व) त वेधसः धुरगवीरत्नद्वमान् यत्पञ्च । प्रीवाककेत्वा
- 23 ष्टबुष्टवपुषश्वकेयमाजन्मतः ॥ स चैतन्ययुजन्नपाकुरुह्दो दानैकनिष्णाततां ॥ दृष्टवा मंड-िरुक्रप्रभोत्रमवतस्तैद्याभविष्यन्कथ ॥ २१ ॥ इति श्रीराजवंशवर्णनं ॥
- 24 अथ श्रीशाणवर्णन ॥ अस्ति स्वस्तिनिधि [:\*] श्रियो निरविधिप्रेमास्पद सेविधि [:\*] श्रीधर्मस्य वर्षुधरोत्तमवधूमौलिस्फुरन्मंडनं । वापीकूपतटाककानम (न) जिनप्रासादशै वालय

#### PASNĀVDĀ

No. 781

v. s. 1514

[5-2-1458 A.D.

This slab of stone containing a bilingual (Persian and Sanskrit) inscription was found fixed in the southern wall of the Darbargadh of Pasnāvḍā a very old town in Junagadh State, at a distance of 5½ miles to the east of Sutrā-Pādā. The Sanskrit portion measures 1'.3½" by 3". The language of the record is very incorrect but the mistakes can easily be detected.

The inscription opens with the date, Sunday, the second of the dark half of Śrāvana of v.s. 1514 (7-8-1457 a.d.) and states that Sultan Malik Asad, son of Malik Muhammad, and grandson of Malik Muhārak, was then governing Devapātana (i.e. Somanātha Pātaņa) on behalf of Sultan Kutbuddin (of Gujarat). He caused very strong iron gates to be made to the fort at Pasnāvdā. This work was completed on Sunday, the sixth of the dark half of v.s. 1514 (Māha).

#### Text

- 1 ॥ संवत् १५१४ वर्षे श्रावण वदि २ रवौ सुलतान श्रीकुतवदीन विजिराज्ये श्रीदेव-पतन
- 2 ॥ तः म्ललतानप[द्वी]मिलिक श्रीः मवारक सत मिलिकश्रीमहंमदसत मिलिक श्रीअसदः
- 3 ॥ किरीयाति वजे पस्नावदं । कोटेन हपन्यात । अमारति साहाण्ड । सरवीलवाबीरासिला
- 4 सूत्र पीम्मा सूत्र छरा। सूत्र षळा। सूत्र थीणा।। १ सूत्र सूटामिहि सूत्र सळ। कायस्थ। सत सारंगदे ल्ल्यमिती। संवत्
- 5 १५१४ वर्षे माह वदि [६] रिवौ लब्यतं ॥

#### **IEGADVĀ**

No. 79] v. s. 1518

[9-4-1462 A.D.

This inscription is found in one of the deris near the Mātri Vāv in the village Jegadvā at a distance of six miles to the south-east of Dhrangadhra. It measures  $27^{\prime\prime} \times 13^{\prime\prime}$ 

<sup>28 ? 29.</sup> कुपालो

<sup>30.</sup> पतेर्म.

113.5 1463

The inscription records that Ramābai, born in the Guhila family and married to Rāna Raṇavīra of the Zālā family caused a well to be built on the 10th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1518. Ramā's sons were Rāmadāsa, Arjuna and Gajabhrama.

Four more inscriptions, recording the same object are found in four other deris in the same place. Two of them are of the same date, but the remaining two do not give any date

The expression 'chief queen' qatal used with Ramābai, wife of Rānā Ranavīra seems to be a formal one, since the Halvad inscription of v.s. 1538 published below gives the name of Līlāde of the queen of Ranavīra whose son Bhīma succeeded his father to the gādi. Ramābai built the well after the death of her husband in v.s. 1516.

	Text.								
	( )								
1	संवत्१५१८ वर्षे वैशा								
2	ष छुदि १० दिने श्रीझुछु								
3	वशे राणश्री रणवीर <sup>1</sup> राज्ञी गुहि								
4	लवंशे बाई श्रीरमादे								
5	इ वावि करावी पुत्र राण								
6	श्रीरामदास राणश्री								
7	अर्जनदे राणश्री [गज]								
8	[भ्रम] <sup>2</sup>								
9									
10									
	( २ )								
1	बाई श्रीरमया								
2	वापिका का								
3	पि कारुण्या जीवजीव								
4	नजीवना [।३] उचिता रचिता देव्या								
5	रमया समयातगा [?॥ *] १ रणवीरस्य								
6	राजर्षे [:*] पट्टराज्ञी रमाभिधा वर्त्तते नि.क								
7	लंकस्य धर्मस्य करुणा यथा [॥४] २								
	GIRNAR								
80]	v s 1519								

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a black marble image in the nijamandira of the Sampratirāja temple It consists of two lines and

No

<sup>1</sup> This word was left to be engraved in its proper place and was therefore engraved on the top of the first line

<sup>2.</sup> The further portion is worn out

<sup>3.</sup> Read. निष्क o

measures  $2'\cdot 10\frac{1}{2}''$  in length and only 3'' in breadth. It is in a good state of preservation.

It records that during the time of the king Mandalka an image of Neminātha was caused to be made by two brothers Sahasakarana and Pomasīha, sons of Sikhara and that it was consecrated by Udayavallabhasūri of the Vriddhatapā pakṣa (ie Gacha), on Friday, the 11th of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in v. s. 1519.

#### Text.

- ॥ सं १५१९ वर्षे वैशाखवदि ११ शुक्रे रायाराय श्रीमंडलिक विजयराज्ये सो० विखर-सत सो०
- 2 सहस्रकरणपोमसीहाभ्या (०) श्रीनेसिनाथविवं कारितं प्रति० वृद्धतपापक्षे श्रीउद्यवल्लम-सरिभिः

#### JEGADVĀ

No 811

v. s. 1524

[26-1-1468 AD

This inscription is engraved on a *pālio* standing on the eastern bank of the Kālāsara tank to the east of the village Jegadvā in Dhrangdhra State A camel driver is engraved between the second and the third line of the inscribed portion, which measures 1'.4" in height and 1'.1" in breadth. The concluding three lines cannot be clearly read.

The record opens with the date, viz Tuesday, the second of the bright half of Māgha of v s. 1524, and refers to the reign of a king named Mahārāṇā Varasimhadeva It seems to record the death of a person in a fight on the above mentioned date

It must be noted that the king who held sway over Jegadvā at that time must be no other than a Zālā king of Kuvā. We do not however find a king in that family who was ruling in vs 1524 and who was called Varasimhadeva. A king of that name did rule in the Zālā family but he lived in an earlier period from circa 1441 to 1448 of the Vikrama era. The date, again, can definitely be read as 1524. I am, therefore, inclined to propose that Varasimhadeva was some  $Bh\bar{a}y\bar{a}da$  of the ruling family but was given the honorific title 'Mahārāna' only in the inscription. He may be the eleventh son of Rāṇū Satrasālji of the main ruling of Kuvā

#### Text

- 1 संवत् १५२४ वर्षे माघ
- 2 मासे ग्रुक्लपक्षे द्वितीया ति
- 3 थौ भौमदिने शतिभिपान
- 4 क्षत्रे शिवनाम्नि योगे ववकरणे
- 5 एव गुणविज्ञिष्टायां पुण्यतिथौ
- 6 महाराण श्रीवरशंगदेविजयराये¹
- 7 बाई कामेलासत बाई काकाला ? 8–10

### 1. Read. वरशंगदे i.e. वरसिहदे

#### KHÄMBHAD

No. 821

#### v. s. 1531

[25-7-1474.

This inscription is engraved at the door of a small temple near the *deri* of Khāmbhadia Nāg in the village Khāmbad. The inscribed portion is round an image of Ganapati and measures 1'.7" in length and 6" in breadth.

It records that the temple was built on Monday the 12th of the first half of Śrāvana in v. s. 1531 in the village Khāmbhad by Meheta Harapal in the time of a Zālā king, whose name is illegible, but is probably Bluma

#### Text.

- संवत १५३१ वर्षे सरावण सुदि
- 2 १२ सोमे षांभडाग्रामे
- 3 झाला श्री [भीमराज्ये] महं हरपाल
- 4 ..... देरी करावी।

#### KUTIYĀNĀ

No. 831

#### v. s 1531

[5-10-1574.

This inscription was found in Kutiyānā under Junagadh State, but it is now kept in the Junagadh Museum. It is broken in its lower portion. The record is full of mistakes

It opens with the date, Wednesday, the tenth of the dark half of Asvina in v. s. 1531, and makes a mention of the Mahājanas of Kuntipur (i.e. modern Kutiyāṇā). The names of certain articles of commodity, viz., jawari, cotton, etc., are given It seems that the Mahājanas trading in the Māndvi were asked to contribute to some public purpose certain amount of gram, cotton, etc.

#### Text.

- 1 संवत् १५३१ वर्षे आश्वन¹ वदि १० बुध्येः²
- 2 श्रीकृतीपुरवास्तव्य<sup>3</sup> मांडवीन्कास्मि (१)
- 3 महाजन तलपद । त्रि ? वित्रः ।। तथा वळीआ
- 4 जोरी कलट⁵०९। तथा वछीआत<sup>6</sup> कीमति सवा
- 5 कबुलक १ प्र०६ [जो]रीक १ प्रटं० १। वंडीकः ॥ विप्र
- 6 [क]पास भा १ प्र ६ कबुलक<sup>7</sup> १ प्र०॥ नागरपुण्य वंडीक
- 7 ...। पडीकसु कपास भा १ प्र०॥ आपइ॥ पाट
- 8 ..... धनसा भा १ प्र ७९ को १ प्रट-
- 9 ... भा १ प्र. १४ जेहन पाडि
- 10 ..... ते पल
- 11 ..... नही

<sup>1.</sup> Read आश्वन 2 Read बुधे 3. Read कुंतीपुर कुंतीआणा

<sup>4</sup> and 6 and 1? 5. Read कलशी?

#### CANDRĀSAR

No. 84] v s. 1534. [9-2-1478

This inscription is found engraved on a stone fixed in the southern dam of the big lake to the south of the village Candrāsara in the Rājasitāpur mahal of the Dhrangdhra State. Its length is 5'-9" but the breadth is only 4". The average size of the letters is 2" by  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ".

It records that a farmer or a kṣatriya (ফ্রার্না) named Dīpacandra of Darbha gotra caused to be dug a beautiful tank for the comfort of beings on Monday the 7th of the bright half of Phālguna of v.s. 1534

On p 241 of the revised list of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency this inscription is read thus—

चंद्र हारं तडागं च कारितं दर्भ गोत्रिणा। वृषाणां शात्रयेन्यून चंद्रराधन क्षत्रिणा॥

and the making of the tank is attributed to the king Candrasinhaji of Halvad, But there is no doubt that the correct reading of the text is as given below. The date 1534 is quite clear. In another inscription of v.s. 1911 at the same place published below this work is attributed to Candrasinhaji and the date for that occasion is given as v.s. 1640 simply to suit to the reign of Candrasinhaji the Zālā ruler of Halvad. The present inscription tells us that the author of the tank was Dīpacandra and that his gotra was Darbha, whereas the gotra of the Zhālā family in which Candrasinha was born is known to be Mārkandeya. It is thus clear that the building of the tank is wrongly attributed to Candrasinhaji by tradition, that the writer of the inscription of v.s. 1911 simply bowed down to that tradition and stated the wrong year for that purpose, and that Burgess wrongly read the inscription in the light of the tradition, if at all the Zālā ruler might have repaired and enlarged the tank.

#### Text

1 संवत् १५३४ वर्षे फागुण सुदि  $\circ(?)$  [सोमे म]नोहरं तहागं च। कारितं दर्भगोत्रिणा

2 सत्वानां शांतये नृतं । दीपचंद्रेण क्षेत्रिणा ।

#### GOSÃ

No 85] v.s. 1536 [6-2-1480

This inscription is found in the southern part of the village Gosā. It measures  $12'' \times 11''$ .

It refers to the rule of Patshaha Mahammad and the Jethvā chief Vikamāitjī and states that on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Māgha in vs 1536 one Munjāl, son of Surā, belonging to the Nāgar Vānia community caused a well to be dug up in Gosā.

Patshaha Mahammad mentioned in the record was the powerful Gujarat Sultan Mahmud Begadā who conquered Kathiawad in vs. 1527, ended the Cūḍāsamā rule at Junagadh and enforced his claims as overlord over

<sup>\*</sup>See Limbdi Inscription of v.s. 1830 published below.

11-2-1482

the small states in Kathiawad, Rana Vikamāitji of Porbandai being one of them.

#### Text.

- 1 संवत १५३६ माघ वि
- 2 दि ११ रिवो पातसाह श्रीम
- 3 हमंदराजे जेठवा श्रीविकमा
- 4 इता गोसाम्रामांत नागरन्या
- 5 ति वाणि सरासत मंजालिओ
- 6 वाव्य कराव्यं लिपित म
- 7 जालसत भोजा

#### RAMPURA

No. 861 vs 1538

Between the villages Rämpurā and Rātbā in the Wadhwan State there is a well where the following four inscriptions of the same date are found. The letters of all are well engraved and well preserved. The first inscription measures 18" in length and 14" in breadth, the second  $17\frac{1}{2}$ " by 14", the third 17" by  $13\frac{1}{2}$ " and the fourth  $17\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $14\frac{1}{2}$ ".

All the four inscriptions bear the same date, viz, Friday, the 13th of the bright half of Magha of vs 1538 or Saka 1403. Though they are differently worded, as may be seen below, their object is the same. It is as follows:-In the time of Pādashāha MAHAMUD and during the regime of Rānā Vāgh II and when Paramāra Lakhadhir and Hādā and Alukhān were governing the locality two wives, Ranibai and Velhade of Setha Vina of Srimul community residing in JHANJHANAGAR (i.e. Jhinihuvādā) caused a well to be made in Süryapura for public use The account of the family to which Vīnā belonged is given thus-Setha Kelhana had a wife named Pomi. They had a son named Aso. His wife was Vanu, from whom he had a son named Man-The latter had two wives-Mani and Manu By Mani he got four sons-Vīņo, Dhano, Suro and Vīso. Vino had two wives-Ranibai and Velhādebai, who caused the well to be made as mentioned above. Surā had two wives-Sampu and Sobhagani; while Visā had a wife named Hadī. The names of the officers of Rāṇā Vāghji in whose time the well was dug are also given

Padshaha Mahamud mentioned in the record is the Gujarat Sultan Mahamud Begada and Rānā Vāghji is the Zala ruler of Kuvā Paramaras Lakhdhirji and Hada were governors of the part and Khan Alu Khan was the *thānādar* of Jhinjhuvada

Below is given the text of only two inscriptions, the remaining two being almost similar to these

Text (9)

- 1 ॥ ७० ॥ सवत्त १५३८ वर्षे शाके १४०३ प्रवर्त्तमाने माधमासे शु
- व क्लपक्षे १३ शुके पातसा श्रीमहिमृद राणश्री वघविजयराज्ये

- 3 परमार लपधीर परमार हा दा विजयराज्ये वानश्रीअलचा
- 4 नराज्ये महं श्रीवेणा भार्या बाई राणी, बाई वल्हादे, चलं चित्तं च
- 5 लं वित्तं चलं जीवति योवनं चलाचलस्य संसारो धर्म एको हि
- 6 नश्चल १ एकगोपदमात्रेण उदकं धारये मही षष्टिर्वर्षसह
- 7 श्राणी शिवलोके स गच्छति १ जले ब्रह्मा जले विष्णु जले संस्ता
- 8 च देवता जलं जगस्य आहार त्रैंलोक्य स चराचरं २ दशकूपसमी
- 9 वापी दशवापीसमो सरः दशसरसमो कन्या दशकन्यासमो द्वि
- 10 ज ॥ अहो प्राज्ञ सुरोत्तस सुजसे.....सर्वेषां देवदैत्या
- 11 नां मानुषाणां न संशयः जलं श्रीदं जलं रम्यं जलं आयु विवधि
- 12 नं जलं जगस्य आहारं सर्वे उदकसंभवं ॥ शुभ भवतु ॥ श्री

(२)

- 1 संवत्त १५३८ वर्षे शाके १४०३ प्रवार्त्रमाने माध
- 2 मासे ग्रुक्लपक्षे १३ शुके पातसा श्री महिसूद
- 3 राण श्रीवाघजीविजयराज्ये अदेह सूर्यपुरे झंझन
- 4 गरवास्तव्य पान श्री अलुपानराज्ये मंत्रि श्री श्री
- 5 मालज्ञातीय श्रेष्टि केल्हणभाया बाई पोमी स
- त श्रेष्टि आसा भार्या बाई वानू सुत श्रेष्टि माडण भा
- या प्रथम बाई अरघुबाई मानुबाई मनीसुत धना
- 8 मंह सूरा भार्या प्रथम वै संपू वै सोभागिणी महं
- 9 श्रीवीणा भायां बाई राणी बाई वल्हादे भात्रि महं वी
- 10 सा भायों बाई रूडी राज्यमानि महं श्री वीणा वा
- 11 पी कारापनीयाः । सुन भवतु कल्याणमस्तुः ॥

#### KHODU

No 871

v s. 1544. [17-7-1488.

Khōḍu is a very old village in Wadhwan State at a distance of 15 miles to the north-west of Wadhwan Near the temple of Phuleśvara Mahādeva a stone slab containing the following inscription is lying. The inscribed portion is in an excellent condition but being so full of mistakes cannot be well read. It measures  $5\frac{\pi}{4}$  feet in length and only  $\frac{\pi}{4}$  foot in breadth.

The purport of the record is this Vaja, son of  $R\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  Suradasa who was son of Devä died in Jhālāvād on Thursday, the eighth of the bright half of Śrāvana in vs. 1544 To commemorate his memory his mother named 'Purāde' caused a den to be made.

Vāja was evidently a bhāyāt of the main Zālā family of Kuyā.

#### Text

- 1 संवत् १५४४ वर्षे श्रावण सिदि ८ गुरू रांण श्री सूरदास्त देवास्त वाज झाला-वाडमां ग
- 2 त्वा जानवणी १ राणा श्री सूरदासनी देहेरी माता श्रीपुरादे देहेरी करावी सूत्र मोटा नीपा
- 3 ई करावि जोसि प-स्त्र सारिथिः (१) स्रुत जसा (१)

#### BĀDĪ

No. 881 v.s. 1572.

[1516.

This inscription is engraved on a stone lying near the temple of Khodiyār Mātā in the village Bādī in the Gogha district. The letters are very carelessly engraved

It opens with the date, Thursday, the eleventh of the dark half of Māgasara of v.s. 1572 and seems to record that by order of the Mahāmalik Pir Muhammad and other officers Miyā Alādiyā, Dosi Shivarāja, Meheta Mankai, Patel Varajang, Brahman Nāga made a grant of a piece of land in the village Bāhadī in the possession of the Vazir Imprecatory lines are given at the end so that no Hindus and Muhammedans should violate the grant.

#### Text

- 1 संवत् १५७२ वर्षे मागसर
- 2 वदि ११ गरौ\* महामलेक
- 3 पीरमहिमद तथा समस्त वजे
- 4 दार (१) वचनात् वजीरनि बाहडीग्रा
- 5 में मीयां श्री अलादीया, दोसी
- 6 सिवराज, महं० मांका, पट० वर
- 7 जांग, ब्राहमण नागा, मटी
- 8 आनी फ़लसरी ते हलनी
- 9 भूमि मूकी ही कोलो (१) पि हीदु
- 10 मसलमान हइनि तेहनि
- 11 प्रमस्वर दोषि जाको कालि
- 12 कालि वेह लोपि तेहीनी प्रथीनं
- 13 पाप प० हरदास कणवी

#### KIIVĀ

No. 89.1

v s 1572

[207 1515

Kuvā is the chief town of a Mahal of the same name in Dhrangdhra State. It is also called Kankāvatī In its north-west quarter there is a well called Khārīvāva The present inscription is found fixed there. Its length is 3'-2" and breadth 1'-2". Being very incorrectly engraved it is doubtful if the reading of certain names is correct. The mistakes can easily be understood, so they are not given in the footnotes.

The inscription records that on Thursday the ninth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v s 1572 (śaka 1437) Patel Abu repaired the well. At that time Bādasnahā Mūzfar was ruling (over Gujarat) and Rūmā Rūma kade, evidently the Zālā ruler of Halvad was ruling as his subordinate and Tājakhān and Aman were governing as Subas. The village Patel was a Muhammedan named Muso.

<sup>\*</sup>The date does not agree.

The Bādashaha Muzfar mentioned in the record was the Gujarat Sultan Muzfar II who reigned from A.D. 1513 to 1526 at Ahmedabad.

#### Text

- 1 संवत् १५७२ वर्षे शके १४३७ प्रवमाने दक्षणायने वषारतौ महामांग्लप्रद श्राव
- 2 णमासे गुकलप्रवे नवम्ययां तथौ भगवासे रोहिणी नवत्रे पातसहा श्रीमदफर व
- 3 जिराजे महाराणश्रीराणगदेविजयराये षांनश्रीताझ (?) षांन
- 4 मी॰ श्री**अमन** न्यापारे पटलश्रीबाहाम (१) प्रहे भार्या बाई जलेषां स
- 5 त पटल आली प्रहे भार्या बाई वमी सुत पटल हाजी प्रहे भार्या बाई
- 6 जबा सत पटल मुसो प्रहे भार्या बाई ओमणां वापी अचरण सत पटलई
- 7 सप भात्र अब पटल मुसे वापी उघरण\* भात्र ब्रहाम भात्र शलमांन भात्र भा
- 8 ईआ भात्र षीहा भात्र हांसा भात्र फवीद शुभं भवतु आरोग्यकल्याणमस्तु ।

#### SARĀ

No. 901

v.s. 1579.

[20-11-1522

Sarā is a small but very old village in the Sāyalā taluka It is 18 miles to the north of Thān In the Darbargadh there is a masjid called Gebal Shah Pir There the subjoined inscription was found. It measures 1'-10" in length and 12" in breadth

The inscription records that Modhera Hājadi, resident of Sarā caused a masjid to be made on Thursday, the second of the bright half of Māgasar in vs 1579 during the rule of Pātsāhā Muzfarshah and his queen Bibi Rāṇi.

Muzfar Shah was the Gujarat Sultan who ruled from Ap. 1513 to 1526.

#### Text

- 1 ॥ संवत् १५७९ वर्षे मीगशार श्रदि २ गरू
- 2 ॥ पातसाह श्रीमुदाफरशाह बीबीश्रीराणी
- 3 ॥ विजराज्ये सरावास्तव्य हीदि मी ॰ मलकजी क
- 4 ॥ तब मोढेर आला भारज्या बीबी सत मोढेर
- 5 ॥ दाउद भारज्या षादी भात्र कासम मोढेर
- 6 ॥ भारजा वाली मसीत मोढेर हाजदि करा
- 7 ॥ वी सत मोढेर हीजी मोढेर डोसी मोढेर सलम्

To be continued

<sup>\*</sup>This word उपरण i.e. उद्धरण shows that the old well was probably repaired.

## NOTES OF THE MONTH

The Arvan Path, the premier monthly journal of Bombay, "stands for all that is noble in the East and the West alike." After a meritorious service of no less than a decade it has just entered its eleventh year as evinced by its issue for January 1940 The entire credit for running this illustrious monthly with in-(Vol. XI. No. 1) creasing popularity and international reputation must go to Mrs Sophia Wadia, who by her learning and ability has succeeded remarkably well in establishing a firm contact with thinking minds and busy pens of the foremost countries in the world. The need for such an organ maintaining a dignified but philosophic outlook on all matters of moment affecting the conflicting creeds and warring nations is greater at present than in bygone days in view of the infinite capacity for mischief generated by our so called civilization. The message of the Mahabharata "A man should practise dharma as if he is held by the hair by Death" appears to have been lost on us. The need for self-purification and self-discipline, not to say the curbing of the desire for "self-help" is also to be emphasized by all whose voices are heard by the "madding crowd" who control the machinery of the state and direct it for "ignoble strife" We feel confident that the Aryan Path with its eclectic message deeply rooted in spiritual development and strengthened by the hard work of a decade will continue to spread this beneficent message to the innermost recesses of the civilized world in the years to come. It requires no prophet to tell man that he is a brute but it certainly requires a prophet or a philosopher to point out the divine capabilities of this brute. The Aryan Path points the finger to this God in Main and we must stand by it in its uphill task of spreading this important message unmindful of all sacrifices

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The Karnatak Historical Research Society of Dharwar maugurated its Silver Jubilee celebrations on 29th May 1940 under the distinguished presidentship of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshir, MA, the Director-General of Archaeology of India On this occasion two Silver Jubilee publications of the Society were announced and the portrait of the founder Mr Venkatrao ALUR, BA, LLB, was unveiled. During the last 25 years the Society had "to rouse the political consciousness of the Kannadigas" and to recall to them their glorious past. The Society conducts an English Journal called the Karnatak Historical Review of which five volumes have been so tar published. Publications of the Society in Kanarese language, though they may possess a local appeal to the Kanarese knowing public are not likely to rouse much interest in the Society's work in other parts of India. We trust, therefore, that the Society would develop their Research Journal into a first class medium for making widely known all important results of research conducted by the members of the Society The Museum of the Society contains 457 coins, 8 stone images, 37 palm leaf manuscripts and 50 choice photographs of temple architecture in Mysore. This collection of exhibits in the Museum needs also to be increased and we have no doubt that with the sound advice of Rao Bahadur Dikshir and the ardour for research displayed by the organizers of the Society the Museum can be developed into a Model Museum of Karnatak antiquities and culture. The Karnatak territory is not lacking in well-to-do and highly educated persons and given the will to develop the Karnatak Historical Research Society into a research centre with a dynamic drive it will not fail to attract scholars from other parts of India. We congratulate the present and past organizers of this Society for the groundwork of research done by them during the last quarter of a century and wish the Society ever-increasing prosperity and success in all their endeavours to put the Karnatak Historical Research in its proper academic perspective.

# A-I. ÜRNĀVÁBHI- "SPINNE".1

By

#### ALBERT DEBRUNNER, Bern

Die Ausführungen von Otto PAUL in der Zeitschrift "Worter und Sachen" (20, 1939, 56-58) und von H GUNTHER ebenda S 247 f veranlassen mich, ein paar Bemerkungen zu veroffentlichen, die ich mir zu gelegentlicher Verwendung aufgezeichnet hatte

Von dem das Vorderglied  $\bar{u}in\bar{a}$ - "Wolle" enthaltenden Wort für "Spinne" sind durch die Petersburger Wörterbucher (einschliesslich der Nachtrage im 4 Band des grossen) folgende Bildungen bekannt geworden .

Kāṭh 8, 1 (83, 8) (Prosa)  $\bar{u}rna-v\bar{a}bhr$ , \$B 14, 5, 1, 23  $\bar{u}rv_{1}a-v\bar{a}bh_{1}$ - ist die Grundlage des Damonennamens RV. 2, 11, 18 b, 8, 32, 26 b, 8, 66 (77), 2 b  $aurnav\bar{a}bh\dot{a}$ - (eigentlich "Spinnensohn"), ist demnach die alteste bezeugte Form des Wortes;  $aurnav\bar{a}bh\dot{a}$ - und  $a\dot{u}rnav\bar{a}bh\dot{a}$ - kennt als Patronymikon das \$B 14, 7, 3, 26 (=BĀU. 4, 1), als Eigennamen Nir und Bṛhadd

Etwas junger bezeugt ist *w̄rna nābhi*. T B. 1, 1, 2, 5; BĀU. 2, 1, 20; Mund U, Kauś, BhP (*t̄rna-nābhi*- Kśurikop 9), noch jūnger *t̄rna-nābha*- : Svet U 6, 10, Lex, als Name ep und im Gana śiva zu P. 4, 1, 112 (als Grundlage des Patron auranābhā-) und im Gana rājanya zu P. 4, 2, 53 (als Grundlage von auranābhā- "vom Stamm der U. bewohnt").

Aus dem Pālı bringt Gunther a a O einige Stellen für *unnanābhi*- und eine für *unnāṇābhi*- bei

Zu diesen verbuchten Belegen kommen aus den Paralleltexten zur Käthakastelle hinzu· MS. 1, 6, 9 (101, 5)  $\vec{v}_{I}rv\bar{u}_{I}v\bar{u}bh_{I}$  und KapişthSamh 6, 6 (64, 11 Raghu Vira)  $\vec{u}rna-v\bar{a}bh_{I}$ . Damit ist das Altersvorrecht des -v- uber das -n- bestatigt

Etymologisiert wurde *ūma-nābhi-*, wie GÜNTHER zeigt, schon von indischen Kommentatoren von Pälitexten aus v. *nābhi*: "Nabel", and PAUL a. o erklart es als " (Wesen) dessen Nabe (Nabel) Wolle hat", die *v*-Varian terennt PAUL in *πynu-vā-ihi-*, wobei er begreiflicherweise für das -*bhi-* keine Entsprechung findet Beiden ist entgangen, dass schon AUFRECHT (KZ 4, 1855, 282) *ūrna-vābha-* cinleuchtend zu vφ-ανω und deutsch weben usw gestellt und als "Wollweberin" gedeutet hatte; diese Etymologie war bequem bei BÖHTLINGK-ROTH unter *ūrna-vābha-*, bei WACKERNAGEL Al Gr II 1, 11 § 3 eα (wo

<sup>1.</sup> Dieser Aufsatz war schon seit Monaten geschrieben, als ich von S. M. Katze seine Bemerkungen über dasselbe Wort im Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute I, Nos 2-4 (Marz 1940) S 153 f zugeschickt erhielt. Auch er hebt die Bedeutung des Suffixes -i und des Doppelakzents der neubelegten Wortform hervor. Da ich aber das Problem weit darüber hinaus behandelt habe, darf ich damit rechnen, dass meine Ausführungen ihren Wert behalten.

ebenso einleuchtend  $\bar{u}rna$ -n $\bar{u}bh$ - als volksetymologische Umdeutung von  $\bar{u}rna$ - $v\bar{u}bh$ - erklart ist) und bei Walde-Pokorny I 257 zu finden.

Die Bildung von ūrna-vabh- ist klar : es ist ein Kompositum mit Nomen agentis auf -2- im Hinterglied und abhangigem Nomen im Vorderglied (vgl WHITNEY Sanskr. Gr.2 § 1276 a, 1287 c, WACKERNAGEL a. a () 224 § 92 d), wie z. B. v. saho-bhári- "Kraft nahrend", AV. pathi-súdi- "am Weg sitzend", v. pád-grbhi- "-am Fuss ergreifend" (Name), SB mano-múși- "den Sinn raubend." Allerdings hat in diesen Bildungen das Hinterglied gewohnlich Tiefstufe oder Vollstufe Die Dehnstufe ist ausserst selten : ich kenne nur hamsa-saci- als Namen eines Vogels ("Ganse begleitend") in einem Mantra TS. 5, 5, 20, 1 = KāthAśv 7, 10 (181, 4); der Name puskarusādi ĀpSS ist wohl nur Verschreibung fur pauskarasādi- Bohtlingk Wb. s. v)2. Wir werden es also begrüssen, wenn uns neuerdings die Kürze in vábhi- bezeugt ist: In dem Band Krsna-Yajurveda (New edition), Part I (containing, Adhāna and Punarādhāna sections), ed by Paṇḍit Vāmanśūstii Kinjavade-KAR und Brahmaśri Rāmadiksit HANGAL (Poona 1938) ist auch die oben angefuhrte Stelle des TB. abgedruckt (S 3 Z 1 3), abei unser Wort lautet dort nicht urna-vabhayah, wie in der Ausgabe der Bibliotheca Indica, sondern űrna-vábhayah, und Katre bemerkt in der Uebersetzung, die er zu dem genannten Buch beigesteuert hat, mit Recht . "The word has not so far been recorded either in PW or pw" (S 4 f. Anm 6). Ich zweifle nicht, dass dieses ûrnā-vábhi- die ursprungliche Form des Wortes ist : die Vollstuse -vábhientspricht der Norm weit besser als die Dehnstufe vabhi-. Da die Wurzel vabh- sonst verschwunden war, suchte man "volksetymologisch" Anknupfung und fand sie zuerst wohl in dem Synonymen  $v\bar{a}$ - "weben" (daher die Umgestaltung zu vábhi-), dann an nábhi-, und schliesslich wurde -nābhinach der Regel angúri-: daśāngulá- (WACKERN. a. a. O. 118 f § 51 a) zu -nābha-.

Die Beibehaltung des a von  $\bar{u}r\eta\bar{a}$ - im Vorderglied entspricht der Regel (Wackern. a a O. 49 § 21 a $\alpha$ ), wenn auch Eisetzung des  $\bar{a}$  durch a in solchen Fällen vorklassisch haufig ist (ebenda  $\beta$ ). So heisst es VS SB. SänkhSS  $\bar{u}m\bar{a}$ -s $\bar{u}tr\bar{a}$ - "Wollfaden", AB. AśvGS  $\bar{u}r\eta\bar{a}$ -stuk $\bar{u}$ - "Wollbuschel", TB 3, 7, 4, 10; 6, 5  $\bar{u}rn\bar{a}$ -mrdu- "wollenweich", dagegen (wohl wegen der zweifachen Konsonanz) v.  $\bar{u}rna$ -mradas- "wollenweich"; von andem Verbaldeterminativen vergleiche man etwa v.  $sen\bar{a}$ - $n\bar{i}$ - und ep.  $p_1tan\bar{a}$ - $n\bar{i}$ - "Heerfuhrer"

Der Doppelakzent der neuen Bezeugung des Wortes ist ebenfalls eine Altertumlichkeit Katre a. a O erinnert mit Recht an v brähmanas-päti-, śūnah-śépa- u dgl (Wackern a. a O 262 f § 103 a); zu bemerken ist jedoch, dass diese und alle andern Falle von Doppelakzent (ebenda 41 § 17 b) andern Kompositionstypen angehoren ūrnā-vābhi- ist meines Wissens das einzinge Beispiel für Doppelakzent in einem Kompositum mit regierendem

<sup>2</sup> Uber P. 6, 2, 40, 41 -sādı(n)- -vāmī- s Wackern, a a O 220 § 91f α A

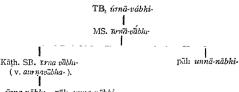
<sup>3.</sup> Seine Kenntnis verdanke ich der freundlichen Zusendung durch Prof S. M. Katre in Poona.

verbalem Hinterglied! Das gibt uns aber nicht etwa ein Recht, dieses Beispiel anzuzweiseln; denn die von Katre angeführten Bemerkungen der Kommentatoren zeigen deutlich, dass auch ihnen der Doppelakzent vorlag

Es gibt übrigens noch andere Worter, die an die behandelten anklingen. So schreibt die Ausgabe der Anandasr. Sanscrit Series in der Svetasvatara Upanisad 6, 10 tantu-nābha- gegenuber ūrna-nābha- dei Ausgabe der Bibliotheca Indica: das kleine Peterburger Worterbuch belegt dieses tantu-nābhaauch aus Sank, zu Bädar, 2, 1, 25. Ferner gibt es kl. tantu-vāya- "Weber", nach den Lex. und Gramm auch "Spinne" nach den Lex. auch tantra-väya-"Weber, Spinne" und tantu-vāba- "Weber, das Weben", endlich tantu-vāna-"das Weben" Das Hinterglied -vāyá- von der Wurzel vā- "weben" (vgl TB. -dāyá- "gebend" von dā-, v. uba sthayam "das Herantreten" von sthā; P 3, 1. 141) kennt schon der RV: vāso-vāya- "Gewand webend" 10, 26, 6 c; dann AB 8, 12, 3 und 8, 17, 2 tiraścīna-vāya- "Querband" (eig. "Ouerweber"), ep kl tunna-vāya- "Schneider" ("Gestochenes webend"); also tantu-vāya- tantra-vāya- "Faden webend". Daraus ist umgestaltet tantuvāpa durch Anschluss an vap- "hinstreuen" und tantu-nābha- durch Kontamination mit ūrna-nābha- (tantu-vāna- enthalt naturlich ein Nomen actionis auf - (a)na

Zum Schluss ein Wort über das Geschlecht dieser Wörter für die Spinne. Es ware nicht notig wenn nicht Paul a a O 57 ürnanäbhi- als Femininum von ürnanäbha- bezeichnete weil er gegen die geschichtliche Folge der Worter im Ai, aber seiner Etymologie ürnanäbha- = aw\* vannanäwa- varnava- zuliebe, ürnanäbha- für die alteste Form halt (in den Zitaten aus dem PW. setzt er S, 56 richtig das Maskulinum an') Die Lexika geben aber für alle diese Worter männliches Gaschlecht an, und mit vollem Recht; schon der Kompositionstypus ürnä-vábh- beweist das Mask, natürlich auch für die Umgestaltungen des Wortes; auch spricht in den Belegen rein nichts für Femininum, wohl aber manches für ein Maskulinum, z. B Käth so 'yam ürnaväbhih, MS yé 'dhare ta ünnäväbhayah, SB 14, 5, 1, 23 sá yátho 'rnavábhis tántuno 'ccáret' "wie diese Spinne vermittelst des Fadens aus sich herauskommt".

Der Stammbaum der Bildungen ist also so herzustellen:



TB. BAU ūrna-nābhi-, pālı unna-nābhi. Svet U ūrna-nābha- + kl tantu-vāya-

Svet U. tantu-nābha- kl. tantu-vāpa-

# ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND RESEARCH WORK\*

# By P. C. DIVANJI, Bombay.

- I. Genesis of the Study of Ancient Indian History.
- II. Available Sources for that Study.
- III. Commencement of Research Work and Its Reaction on History.
- IV. Progress in Research Work and in History.
- V. Discovery of the Indus Vailey Civilization and Its Reaction on Historical Studies.
- VI. Problem Left Unsolved By Them
- VII. Ways and Means To Solve It.
- VIII. Immediate Objective Requiring Concentration
  - IX. Necessity of Active Co-operation between the Research Scholars and the Archæologists.
  - X. Suggestions for their Lines of Action
  - XI. Their Effect on the History of Indian Culture.
- XII. Way to Further Progress and Appeal to Research Scholars

#### I. Genesis of the Study of Ancient Indian Ilistory.

Although the East India Company had ceased to be a purely trading company and had begun to take an active interest in the political condition of India since about the beginning of the second half of the 18th Century, it was not until the then predominant power of the Peśwas was gradually broken by making separate subsidiary alliances with the members of the Maratha Confederacy, and was finally crushed out of existence in 1818 during the Governor-Generalship of the Marquis of Hastings that the and Company can be deemed to have laid the foundation of the British Indian Empire. Shortly after that foundation was laid the work of its consolidation and reconstruction was commenced with a view to its roots being planted as deep as possible in order to make it as permanent as human institutions, could be and as human ingenuity and foresight could make it. Amongst the various steps that were taken towards that end on getting the constitution amended by an Act of Parliament in 1833 was the ascertainment of the history of India prior to the commencement of the struggles for supremacy between the British and the other European powers, the Portuguese and the French, who had some possessions in India, in order that the mistakes of the past rulers of India may not be repeated by the British.

#### II Available Sources for that Study

2 There were ample materials for the study of that history upto the date of the first Mahomedan incursion in India headed by Mahomed of

<sup>\*</sup> This paper was read before the Archaeology Section of the Tenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati in March 1940.

Gazni<sup>1</sup>, namely the first quarter of the 11th century, because the Mahomedans had all along kept sufficient records in the Persian language of the most important events that had taken place since then. The task of ascertaining the vicissitudes through which the different provinces of India had passed prior to that date was however by no means easy for the European administrators and historians, who had undertaken the study of Indian history, because, whereas, on the one hand it could not be denied that the Indian civilization was at its zenith from a date long long prior to the commencement of what is called the mediæval period, there was, on the other, a total absence of purely historical records thereof kept in Sanskrit or in any other language and such Sanskrit works as contained materials from which the necessary dates could be ascertained were so voluminous and so mixed up with mythology that a very labourious research was required to be made for that purpose even after one acquired a workable knowledge of the language. Before Mount Stuart Elphinstone undertook to write the first History of India in 1833 such research work, so far as the Sanskrit works on law and general literature were concerned, had already been commenced by Oriental scholars like Sir William Jones and others, who founded the Bengal and Bombay Branches of the Royal Asiatic Society. But the vast mass of the Vedic, Paurānic and Prakrit literatures, from which historical materials could be garnered, had remained practically unexplored and much of it had also remained unknown to the European scholars Some Christian missionaries had dived into a portion of it but they had been led to form some fantastic and unsayoury notions about the character of the Indian civilization Elphinstone therefore stigmatized that source as unreliable and set down 326 B.C., the date of the incursion of Alexander the Great of Macedonia according to the Greek writers, as the earliest date from which the past history of India could be re-constructed.

#### III. Commencement of Research Work and Its Reaction on History.

3 Such evaluation of the known indigenous sources rendered it necessary to make scientific researches for more reliable ones. Towards that end, the authorities turned their attention to the collection of such other historical evidence as it was possible to procure on searching for epigraphs, coins, plates, tablets, relics of artistic works, grants and literary records. In order to carry out that plan, they created the posts of the Director of Archæology in India and of the Superintendents of Circles for the Scarch of Sanskrit Mss, all over India. Thus, while on the one hand Cunningham, Burgess, Cousens, Fergusson, Princep and others carried out archæological researches, Peterson, Bhandarkar, Rajendralal Mitra, Stein and others carried on the

Technically speaking the first Mahomedan invading army that had entered India from the north-west was that of Mahomed Kasim and it had done that in the last quarter of the 8th century but it had touched only the border-province of Sind, and the principal Hindu States then in existence in the interior and along the other borders had remained unaffected by it.

search for Sanskrit Mss, all over India. The former brought to light many hidden inscriptions, coins and relics and led to the development of the sciences of palæography, epigraphy, numismatics and archæology on which Cunning-Ham, Princep, Peterson, Bhandarkar, Bhau Daji, Bhagwanlal Indraji and others worked very hard and the latter aided further by the researches of the representatives of learned societies here and in Europe like Bhau Daji, Buhler and others led to the establishment of Mss libraries at important centres in India like Poona, Calcutta, Benares, Jammu, Bikaner and Madras and in Europe like London, Paris, St Petersburg, Rome &c., and to the application of the method of historical research to the interpretation of the Indian religious works.

- 4 While this spade-work was in progress for nearly four decades Henry Beveridge published his Comprehensive History of India in 1862, Sii H M Elliot brought out his History of India in 8 volumes commencing from 1867 and Cowell revised Elphinstone's History of India. The two former had not indeed sufficient materials before them because research work had been commenced shortly before they composed their works. But even Cowell, who had some pre-historic materials before him did not think it worth his while to collect and sift them with a view to arrange them chronologically and give them a place in a chapter on the history of a period prior to the date of Alexander's incursion.<sup>2</sup>
- 5. The British Indian Government, however, made use of the results of the researches so far made by getting the volumes of the Imperial and Provincial Gazetteers composed and published for the benefit of its administrative officers The Oxford University too decided to start independently litelary research work and inaugurated the Sacred Books of the East Series, in which were published English translations of important works in Sanskiit and other ancient eastern languages with critical notes, introductions &c Indian Universities too had by that time begun to turn out able Indian Dr. Max MULLER, the general editor of the said series, therefore availed himself of the co-operation of some of those scholars like K T. TELANG in addition to the European oriental scholars like BUHLER, JOLLY, A historical study of the Vedic literature was pursued also at and others other centres of learning in Europe and notably thereout in Germany by ROTH, SCHLEGEL, GOLDSTUCKER, WEBER and others. As the result of all this literary activity of the European linguists, who already knew Greek and Latin, the Science of Comparative Philology was founded, the theory was established that the Indo-Aryan civilization was a sub-branch of the Indo-Iranian civilization, which itself was a branch of the Indo-European civilization and it was placed beyond the possibility of a doubt that the Jain and Buddhist works in Prakrit contained unmistakable data for the re-construction of the political history of India from the foundation of the Saiśunāga dynasty at Girivraja in Magadha by King Sisunaga in about 602 B c. to the accession of Candiagupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha, on extirpating the line of the

<sup>2</sup> V A. SMITH'S Early History of India, Third Edition, Ch. I, p. 1

Nandas between 323 and 321 B c. with the assistance of the well-known statesman Cānākya ahas Visņugupta Moreover the Histories of Sanskrit Literature by Weber, Max Muller, and Macdonell, Buddhist India by Rhys Davids, Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan, and Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kah Age had also shown the way to re-construct Indian history from the indigenous sources

These were results so definite and based on such solid foundations that even the strictest votary of truth, sitting solemnly to weigh facts like a jury-man, which was the ideal of a historian set up by Goethe and adopted by Vincent Smith,3 could not shut his eyes against them Accordingly when the latter published the third edition of his Early History of India, which is the earliest edition which seems to have come down to India, he recognised "literary tradition" as a source of history buttressed by as much corroboration as could be drawn from the works of the Greek travellers and ambassadors4 and devoted the first about 50 pages of the book containing 475 pages to a discussion as to the nature and reliability of the sources of information with regard thereto and the reliable facts which could be gathered theirfrom So far as political history was concerned, he pushed back its commencement to 602 BC, relying for that purpose on the conclusions drawn from the Buddhist and Jain Prakrit works and as regards the condition prior to that date he made the following remarks, namely "Modern research has brought to light innumerable facts of the highest scientific value concerning pre-historic India but the impossibility of assigning dates to the phenomena discovered excludes them from the domain of the historian whose vision cannot pass the line which separates the dated from the undated,"5 although the latter may be invaluable for the purposes of ethnology, philology and other sciences The great Sanskrit epics, he looked upon as "of value as traditional pictures of social life in the heroic age" but as not containing "matter illustrating the political relations of states during the historical period "6

#### IV Progress in Research Work and in History

7 A decade before that standard work on history appeared Lord Curzon had begun to take an unusual interest in the archæological department. He had got a special Act passed by the Indian legislature in order to empower it to take the necessary step towards the preservation of the ancient

<sup>3</sup> SMITH quotes in support of his view the following definition of the duty of a historian from the *Maxims and Reflections of Goethe* namely —"The historian's duty is to separate the true from the false, the certain from the uncertain and the doubtful from that which cannot be accepted. Every investigator must, before all things, look upon himself as one who is summoned to serve on a jury. He has only to consider how far the statement of the case is complete and clearly set forth in the evidence. Then he draws his conclusion and gives his vote, whether it be that his opinion coincides with that of the foreman or not" (*Early History of India*, Third edition, Introduction pp. 3.4.)

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit, Ch I, p 10

<sup>5</sup> Op. Cit. Ch II, p 27.

<sup>6.</sup> Op. Cit., Ch I, p 10,

monuments throughout the Indian Empire He also 16-organised the department and expanded it by appointing Superintendents of Circles under its Director-General and provided for a handsome recurring grant being placed at his disposal for enabling him to carry out the necessary repairs to the existing monuments, to make airangements for their preservation and also so far as may be possible to excavate new sites selected on the strength of reliable evidence. This gave an unusual impetus to the officers of the department to strive to assist the historians in their attempt to place the ancient history of India on a more solid basis than that of mere literary tradition. The discovery of the fort-wall of Rājagrha and Janāsandha's Akhadā in Bihai was But for one reason or another it was not follow the outcome of this impetus ed up by excavations in the surroundings of those sites which might most probably have brought to light unmistakeable positive evidence of the statements of facts contained in the literary works. The consequence was that archæology remained what it had hitherto been, a hand-maid of history and could not become its guide along an untrodden path. And since the seances of epigraphy and numismatics depend for the supply of the necessary materials for their advancement on archæology, and since the votaries of that science limited their activity to the discovery of facts tending to confirm, correct or contradict the conclusions arrived at by historians from the literary sources or at best to fill in the gaps left by them, they too even in their highest flights could not pierce the layer of clouds at the 4th century BC, which obstructed from the vision of the denizens of earth, the bright celestial region above it peopled by the Aryans of the Vedic and Epic ages.

8. Therefore although literary research continued to progress, history remained static between the years 1914-19, as can be seen from the second impression of the Early History of India by Vincent Smith published in 1919 and the second chapter of the Ancient History of India by D. R. Bhandarkar published by the Calcutta University in the same year. From the fact that the second edition of The Hindu History of A. K. Mazumdar of Dacca was published in 1920 it appears that its first edition must have been published before that but as at any rate the position of the history for the period 3000 BC to 600 BC, as re-constructed by him did not receive recognition at the hands of any university authorities the above observation remains unaffected by that fact.

#### V Indus Valley Civilization and Its Reaction on Historical Studies

9 The three or four years that followed 1919, which marked the conclusion of the Great War by the Treaty of Versailles, were the years of some of the greatest upheavals not only in the contemporary political history but also in the ideas of scholars as to the ancient history of India. The great event which caused that upheaval was the accidental discovery in 1921 by the late Mr R D Bannerji of certain scals at Mohenjo-daro in the Larkhana district of Sindh while digging up certain mounds there for the purpose of locating an old Buddhist monastery. His chief, Sir J Marshall, agreed

with him that those seals, though not capable of being deciphered, pointed to the spread of a pre-historic civilization in the region of the Indus Valley since similar seals had been found also at Harappa in the Punjab and encouraged him to make a determined effort to get the relics of that civilization from the deeper layers of the earth there His effort was crowned with success beyond anybody's expectation for it led to the discovery of three cities built one over the other, by a fairly civilized race of people, according to fixed plans, and of statues, images, implements, pottery, toys and ornaments besides seals of the above nature, from the buried houses, prayer and assembly-halls, gutters, roads, by-roads, wells &c comprised in those cities On their being subjected to a most careful scrutiny they led to the unmistakeable conclusion that those cities must have been built between 3000 and 4500 BC by an Anaryan race A comparision of those relics with those found at the sites of old Sumeria and Elma in Asia Minoi led to the further conclusion that there must have been a close commercial intercourse and a cultural affinity between the Indus Valley people and the Sumerians A patient study of the seals made by scholars like Rev Father HERAS has further made it possible to infer that the said people must have belonged to the Dravidian stock whose early home was in Baluchistan and that their principal deities were Siya with or without his consort and the Mother Goddess and that even in that distant age Siva was being worshipped in the form of a Linga.7 All these conclusions stirred the historians to the very depths of their souls and set them thinking seriously whether in view of them it was right to adhere to the view that the political history of India really commenced from 600 to 650 B.C result of this convulsion in the minds of the historians many works on revised history had been published since 1921, the notable ones amongst which were the following namely —Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by F E. PARGITER, 1922, Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, by E. J. RAPSON, 1922, Early History of India, by V A SMITH, 1924, A Sketch of the History of India by Dodwell, 1925, Ancient and Mediaval Hindu India, and Downfall of Hindu India, by C V VAIDYA, between 1924-26, Hindu India, Parts 1 & 2, by S K AYYANGAR, 1927, Outlines of Ancient Indian History and Civilization, by R C MAZUMDAR, 1927, A History of India, by Sriniwas and Ayyan-GAR, 1927, Chronology of Ancient India, by S. N PRADHAN, 1927, Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization, Vols I to III, by Sir J Marshall, 1931, Dynastic History of Northern India, Vols. I & II, by Hema Chandra ROYCHAUDHARI, 1931, Political History of India, by the same author, 1932, Imperial History of India, by K. P. JAYASWAL, 1934, Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India by R D BANNERJI, 1934, and Cambridge Shorter History of India, by Allan, Haig and Dodwell, 1934. Thereout Jayaswal's work is an English translation of a Chinese version of a Sanskrit work on history commencing from 700 BC The writers of the rest of the works can be divided into two classes, the radical historians and the conservative historians. In the

<sup>7</sup> Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India, by R. D. BANNERJI, 1934, Foreword by D A. MACKENZIE, p. vii.

first class fall Pargiter, Rapson, Vaidya, S. K. Ayyangar, R. C. Muzumdar, Srinivasa and Ayyangar, Pradhan, and Bannerji and in the second V. A. Smith represented by S. M. Edwards, Dodwell, H. M. Raychaudhari and Allan, Haig and Dodwell. These two classes are distinguishable by the amount of enthusiasm and frankness with which they availed themselves of the results of the literary researches made during the period preceding the composition of the work of each although owing to the changed outlook almost all of them were compelled to devote a first few pages of their works to an account of the ancient geographical situation of the Indian Peninsula and the changes it had undergone during nearly the last 5000 years, the early and later Vedic civilization and the civilization of the epic period and the post-epic period down to about 650 b.c., when according to the Buddhist works in Pali and Jain works in Ardhamägadhī there were 16 states in Northern India 8

#### VI. Problem Left Unsolved By Them

10. In spite of this changed outlook which is no doubt due to the archæological discovery above referred to, and in spite of so many histories having been composed in the meanwhile, it cannot be denied that the only original attempts to push back the beginning of political history to a distant past were those of Pargiter and Pradhan, the others having merely summarised the conclusion arrived at by the research scholars in the meanwhile. Of these two again, Pradhan seems to have attempted to re-construct history from the later Vedic age downwards, the most outstanding personality wherein was Divodiasa, son of Vadhryasva of Kāsi and the most notable event in whose life recorded in the Reyeda is a battle with Sambara and Varci in which he had the help of one Dasaratha, who is identified with the father of Rāma-The learned doctor has arrived at the conclusion that this event must have occurred about 1514 B.C. and taking that as the starting point he has attempted to make out connected lines of contemporaricous kings of several dynasties continued upto the time of Buddha and Mahävāra establishing their contemporaneity he has made use of data obtainable from the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upanisads, the Sūtras, the Epics and also some Buddhist and Jaina canonical books. The above conclusion, though arrived at after so much extensive and intensive research, deserves to be examined seriously and carefully because the author seems to have overlooked certain data not consistent with his conclusion. And even he has not pursued the subject further and tried to give a connected history of the period between 1514 BC and 583 BC as it could be gathered from the sources which he had As for Pargiter, he seems to have relied almost exclusively on the Pauranic tradition and the result which he arrived at was such as to compel

<sup>8</sup> Eg, see History of India, by Srinivas and Aiyangar, Part 1. Hindu India, pp 1 to 36 Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India, Bk I, pp. 1-58 The Cambridge Shorter History of India by Allan, Haig, and Dodwell, pp 1 to 15.

<sup>9.</sup> Chronology of Ancient India, Ch. XV, pp 168-76.

Dr RAYCHAUDHARI to criticise it in the following words —"But the scheme of chronology proposed by them (i.e. Pargiter and other scholars of his class) on the basis of this (ie the Pauranic tradition) has not yet been thoroughly discussed and tested so that it can be safely adopted in any survey of Indian history. The earliest land-marks known for certain in Indian history are still "the approximate dates of the Achamenian invasion of India (Cir 520-18 BC), and of Alexander's irruption (Cir 326-25 BC). By calculating backward from these dates and with the assistance of the chronicles of the Brahmans, Jains and Buddhists a rough chronological frame-work has been established from about 600 BC downwards."10 ALLAN, HAIG and DODWELL writing in 1934 also deplore the lack of reliable materials for the re-construction of Ancient Indian history in the following telling phraseology namely .--"The most striking feature of the literature of Ancient India when compared with the European is the absence of historical works It has no Herodotus The early literature is entirely religious or Thucydides, no Livy or Tecitus and exegetic in origin and while the important data regarding the social life of the people can be deduced from it, it contains little reference to historical events and still less matter of chronological value" 11 They have illustrated this remark by a specific reference to the Epics while as regards the Purānas they say —"The Purānas, whose authors might in some ways be compared to our mediæval chroniclers, are mainly legendary and mythological collections; they contain a certain amount of genealogical matter, the historical significance of which it is difficult to estimate"12 Having thus dismissed the Epic and Paurānic sources they came to the Sanskrit and Pali works of the Buddhist period and iemark :—" The historical data that can be gathered from the Sanskiit and Pāli literature cannot be despised but interpretation is often difficult and there is an entire lack of chronological data. It is with the help of synchronisms given by foreign, mainly Greek and Chinese, writers that the chronology of Indian history has been built up"13 Such being their opinion, although they had some good things to say about the Indus Valley culture, they commenced Indian history proper from the date of the incursion of Alexander preceded by a short account of the Kingdom of Magadha, which existed at that time, occupying a few pages (16 to 20)

This undoubtedly means that the historians of India whose opinions carry weight with the authorities and are imbibed *ad hoc* by the university students here and abroad, are not prepared to extend the scope of ancient Indian history beyond the seventh century BC, whatever the quantity and quality of the facts deduced solely from the indigenous literary records, unless they can lay their hands on some sure data enabling them to fix up definite chronological periods in which such facts can be deemed to have occurred We

<sup>10.</sup> The Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, Introduction pp. XXXI-II.

<sup>11</sup> The Cambridge Shorter History of India, Part I Ch I, "Sources and Early History" p 1

<sup>12.</sup> Op. cit

<sup>13.</sup> Op. Cit., p. 5 ff.

cannot afford to ignore their opinions. Can we then bear to look unconcerned at the present unfortunate extrangement that has taken place between the peevish son, history and his two living parents, archæology and oriental research? Our patriotism, our love for truth and our ambition to secure for our country an honoured place in the coming new world-order by making an admirable contribution to the stock of the world's knowledge of the first appearance of human life on earth, of the different currents into which it has flown, of the forces which have impeded and those which have invivorated their flow during their long journey in the plains of time and of the occasional conflicts between the mutually meconcilable ones amongst them such as the one we are witnessing to-day and to the foresight and resourcefulness required in determining the future course or courses of those currents, would not allow us to do that. What then shall we do to bring about an amicable settlement of that family dispute?

#### VII Ways and Means To Solve It

The easiest way that readily suggests itself to anyone interested in this affair is that individual scholars should in right carnest sit down to work on the available materials in order to supply the want of history. That it is not however the surest way is already proved by the experience we have had during the last quarter of a century. There has been no dearth of enthusiastic individual scholars in India We have seen that some such have already worked hard on the materials brought to light upto the time that they concieved the idea of making a substantial contribution to the re-construction of ancient Indian history and produced historical works commencing from the Vedic period But we have also seen that they have failed to impress the cool thinkers who are at the helm of affairs at the leading universities. They would apparently nod their heads only if something tangible is discovered in support of what the Indian literary works lead us to believe The officers of the Archæological Department now fortunately headed by the Indian scholar of the calibre and established reputation of R B K N DIKSIIII and the leading lights of certain private institutions here and in the West have not been slow to realize their duty in the matter. The latest reports to hand 14 show that certain sites situated in the Ranchi and Singhbhum districts of Bihar have been dug up departmentally and relics of the palæolithic or at least the neolithic age were discovered therein, that excavations carried on by Di K A A Ansarı at Bijnor, Dehra Dun and other places outside the Indus Valley have confirmed the belief held by some scholars that the kind of civilization which was prevalent in the parts of Sindh, and Punjab watered by the Indus in pre-historic times was not confined to that region but had extended to the Ganges delta as well15 and that the department had also sought the guidance of a British archæologist named Sir Leonard Wooley on getting its activities

<sup>14 &</sup>quot;Times of India," dated October 5th, 1939

<sup>15</sup> Annual Bibliography of Indian Archwology, (1936), published by the Kern Institute, Leyden, Poona Orientalist, IV, 1 & 2, p 91

during the last few years critically examined by him 16 We also learn that an American school of Iranian and Indic Studies has been taking an active interest in the re-construction of the cultural history of India on scientific lines and had in 1935 sent to India a deputation headed by Dr Earnest Mackay charged with the duty of gauging by experimental field-work the extent of the Mohenjo-daro civilization and that its labour and outlay were amply rewarded by the recovery of such an unusually large number of such antiquities from a sife near Chanu-daro in the Nawabshah district in Sindh, as throw "a new light on the problem of the successive cultures that flourished in the Indus Valley in the third millennium BiC 17 These discoveries striking as they are, have, instead of solving the riddle of the Mohenjo-daro civilization, added yet another to it, namely that of the chronological sequence or the co-existence of different types of civilizations, Āryan and Anāryan, in the same area. In view of that can we hope that the formation of Field Clubs for conducting excavations at several places in the United Provinces, Bihar. Gujarat, Kathiawad, Karnatak and other provinces which the learned Director-General has advised in order that the efforts of the Government department may be supplemented by non-official ones backed up by financial support from philanthrophic resourceful gentlemen would tend to an early solution of the riddle? I believe, not, so long as the stray inferences suggested by the relics that have been and may hereafter be discovered remain unsupplemented by other corroborative evidence which would enable the historians to make out a connected and dated account of the period or periods to which the relics relate Where shall we search for such evidence?

The answer to that question is that archæological research is only one of the wheels of the slowly-moving cart of our political history another wheel, namely that of literary research. An impatient listener is likely to murmur at once that it has already been tried and found wanting I appeal to bear with me for a while I agree that there are no such contemporary foreign records as the historians are accustomed to rely on for the period commencing from the incursion of Alexander of Macedonia They do not, however, exhaust all the available materials. It cannot be denied by any honest and open-hearted thinker that such of the Indian literature as has been preserved for our generation by the much-maligned Brahman community and the conservative Sannyasis and Sadhus is still considerably extensive and valuable even from the purely secular stand-point. It is true that our country had produced no Herodotus or Thucydides, no Livy or Tacitus, but that is due to the predominently religious character of the civilization which has survived in a modified form through several thousands of years and it is due to that very character that this country can boast of having admirably preserved at considerable risk and sacrifice and with infinite and unpartalleled reverence the records not only of events which occurred ever since the development of human

<sup>16</sup> Report on the work of the Archwological Survey of India, by Sir Leonard Wooley, 1938.

<sup>17</sup> A.B.I A., Leyden, (1936), Poona, IV, 1 & 2, pp. 90-91.

life on earth but also of those which some of the seers had in their ecstatic visions witnessed just as they had occurred ever since the idea of "being mainfold" arose in the mind of "The One." Thus in India history becomes a branch of anthropology, anthropology that of cosmology and cosmology that of metaphysics generally and of its two branches epistemology and ontology in particular. The names of those great seers and sages who contributed to the development of these records from eon to eon are so numerous that a mere mention thereof instead of occupying a line or a page would occupy several pages. I can anticipate being confionted with the fact that the great European and Indian savants of the 19th and the first three decades of the 20th century had explored all the available Vedic literature and brought to light all the best points therein. But let me remind this audience that in recent years even European scholars have begun to realize that the way in which the said literature has been interpreted by the Oriental scholars so far, is not the only possible way of interpreting it and that one of the alternate ways is the one in which the great Smrtikaras, amongst whom I include the authors of the epics also, understood it and interpreted it in their works in the age succeeding the Vedic after some upheaval, whose effect must have been so extensive and deeprooted as to make re-organization of the social fabric, on keeping in view the changed circumstances, necessary and to embody its scheme in a language which the majority of those for whose benefit it was meant could easily understand, as distinguished from the old Vedic But considerable progress will have to be made before the necessity to interpret the Vedic literature would arise. Our immediate purpose can be served by the Itihāsas and Purānas and to some extent the Brahmanas including the Aiyanyakas and the Upanisads I agree that in the mixed and somewhat exaggerated forms in which the accounts of the races which inhabited this country according to tradition, appear in the Itihasas and Puranas they can be of no use to a secular historian. But that is exactly where the oriental scholars can help the historians. As made out by me in my paper on the Historical Value of Puranic Works<sup>19</sup> the facts that can be gathered from them can be scientifically tested by comparison with similar facts relating to the same period gathered from another independent source, e.g. the Jain Puranas in the case of the Mahabharata period<sup>20</sup> and

<sup>18. &</sup>quot;It willed .—I am one, let me be manifold" Chāndogya Upanishat, VI, 2-3.

<sup>19</sup> Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, I, 4, pp 102-25

<sup>20</sup> The reason which makes these Purāṇas available for the collection of historical facts of the above-mentioned period is that the history of the Indian religion contains to my mind clear evidence of the Jain and Bhāgavat sects being the offshoots of a single sect started by way of protest against the doctrine that the highest goal of man was to secure happiness in this world and in the Swarga ruled over by India by the performance of animal sacrifices and of their having held in reverence several important personages of the pre-Mahābhārata period and preserved their memories in literary compositions made in a Prākṛt dialect and traditionally handed down till committed to writing—It is therefore desirable for the Hindu writers to shake off their prejudice that the Jain accounts are only perverted versions of stories borrowed from the Hindu literature

those which pass that test can be safely pressed into the service of secular history. It is no doubt true of them too that the facts of history are at times mixed with legends or twisted for the purpose of exalting the dogma of their own sect in the eyes of their readers Great and minute circumspection would therefore be required in selecting facts from them also as in selecting them from the orthodox Purānas It would be necessary in some cases to remove the sectarian varnish which may be found applied to them in order to suit the particular purpose their writers had in view. Once this is done in the case of both the sets of facts they become ready for comparison and out of them that can be taken to answer the purpose of the historian which in view of his knowledge of the other relevant circumstances appears to him more rational. In forming that judgment, however, it must be borne in mind that mutability is the inherent characteristic of all the products of nature, that the heart and head of man are susceptible of development in several other directions than those known to us in this age, that human thoughts are capable of being expressed in other ways besides that in which we are habituated to express them and that nature could have revealed her secrets to the human beings of a far distant age as the result of a method of approach different from that with which we have become familiar for the last 3} centuries. If these truths are borne in mind while working on the above materials I feel sure that we would be able to get several important facts which would serve as landmarks on the road which we have to traverse and supply many of the missing links which the research workers are striving to get.

(To be Continued)

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŠVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA: THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION\*

#### By V M APTE, Poona.

ĀG I 17 6 Paścāt kārayısyamānasyāvasthāya šītoṣnā apah samānīya "Usnena Vāya udakenehi" iti

Trans (The father) taking his position to the west of (the boy) for whom the ceremony is being performed, pours cold and hot water together with the mantra 'With hot water, O Vāyu, come hither'

The context is the ceremony of Caula [or forming the (hair-) crest] per formed in the boy's third year

Sources AV. VI. 68 1<sup>ab</sup>=(a) Ayamagan savitā kṣurena (b) Usuena vāya udakenehi | (=Saviti has come here with the razor), clause (b) as will be seen, is identical with our formula. The hymni AV 68 in its liturgical employment accompanies the act of shaving.

PG 2 1 6 has the identical formula and variants of it are found in other Sūtra texts such as SMB, APMB, MG, GG., etc

ĀG I. 17. 7 Tāsām grhitvā navanītam dadhidrapsān vā, pradakşinam sīras trīr undatī (a) 'Adītih kešān vapatu,' (b) 'Āpa undantu varcasc' itī.

Trans Taking (some water) out of those (i.e., the mixture of hot and cold water referred to in the preceding sūtia) and fiesh butter or globules of dadhi (curds), (the father) moistens (the boy's) head three times from the left to the right, with the mantra "May Aditi cut (thy) hair, may the waters moisten (thee) for glory"

Sources The first two pādas of the verse AV VI 68 2 [immediately following the one (AV VI 68 1<sup>nb</sup>) quoted under the preceding sūtra] are (a) "Advih śmaśru vapatu (b) Āpa undantu varcasā [" This part is identical with our mantra except for the word śmaśru instead of our keśān but this does not make it a different mantra for the following reason. Our text while describing the Godāna ceremony later prescribes in ĀG I 18 3 the employment of the same mantras that are employed here for the Caula ceremony with the modification that the word 'śmaśru' is to be substituted for the word 'keśa'! So the AV Mantra above (AV VI 68 2) is exactly the mantra prescribed in our texts for the 'godāna' ceremony as the Ūha '(modified form) of the mantra cited under this sūtra. The AV verse, then, is definitely the source of our mantra

It is interesting to find out in what sacrificial context, such mantias

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<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p 110 of Vol III

(treating of hair-dressing) were possibly employed in other Samhitās! TS 1. 2 1 1 reads 'Āpa undantu (jīvase dīrghāyutvāya) varcase' The part outside the brackets is identical with our (b) The two formulas immediately following TS 1. 2 1 1 are identical with those that follow in our text! Evidently then these TS formulas stand in a close relation to the formulas cited in this Kandikā The TS context is the shaving of the whiskers of the sacrificer, which is part of his bath etc as a preparation for his initiation into the Soma-sacrifice

 $\overline{A}G$  I 17 8 and 9 Daksine keśapakse  $t_1\overline{i}ni$   $tr\overline{i}ni$  kuśapińjūlāny abhyātmāgrānī nidadhāti (a) 'Osadhe trāyasvainam' iti || 8 || (b) 'Svadhite mainam himsīh' iti mspīdya lauhena ksurena || 9 ||

Trans (8) Into the right part of the hair, he inserts three (and again) three Kuśa bunches with the ends pointing towards (the boy) himself (1e, three each time before cutting the hair) with the formula 'O Herb! protect him' (9) "With the mantra 'O Axe! do not injuie him," he presses a copper razor (on the kuśa bunches)

Sources As pointed out under the preceding Sūtra, TS 1 2. 1 1 has both the formulas (a) and (b) in an identical form VS 4 1 also has them in exactly the same context as in the TS (which has been described already). But these two formulas occur also in these two Samhitās elsewhere and in other Samhitās and Biāhmanas, so frequently that the contexts in which they are employed may be classified as follows (1) Shaving of the whiskers of the Soma-sacrificer, as in TS 1. 2 1. 1 (mentioned already). (2) The cutting of the ' $Y\bar{u}pa$ ' by the adhvaryu with the aid of a carpenter. The address 'Osadhe' in this case is appropriate because darbha grass is placed on the  $Y\bar{u}pa$  (just as Kuśa grass is inserted into the hair) before cutting it; compare TS 1.3.5 1 and VS 5 42 (pointed out by Stenzler on p 43) (3) Cutting of the Omentum in an animal sacrifice, 'Osadhe' in this case being addressed to a grass-blade placed on the navel of the victim, Compare TS 1.3.9.2, and VS. 6 15 mentioned by Stenzler p 431.

The two formulas are also met with in the ŚB and the Śrauta Sūtras of Kātyāyana, Āpastamba and Mānava, in one or the other of these three contexts, the first one (the shaving of the whiskers of the Soma-sacrificer) being almost an exact Śrauta counterpart of our Grhya ceremony!

ĀG I 17 10 Pracchinattı · (a) 'Yenāvapat savitā ksurena (b) Somasya rājño Varunasya vidvān | (c) tena brahmāno vapatedamasya (d) āyuşmāñ jaradastir yathāsat' iti.

Trans: He then cuts [(the hair) and the Kuśa bunches laid thereon] with the mantra:—

"That lazor by which Savitr, the knowing one, shaved (the hair) of Soma the King and of Varuna, with that, ye Brāhmaṇas, shave now his (hair), so that he may be long-lived and reach old age.

Sources · For Clauses (a), (b) and (c), Prof Stenzler refers to AV. VI. 68.3. The first three padas of this verse are identical with our (a) to

(c) and appear to be their sources, particularly as AV VI 68 1 and 2 are responsible for the formulas cited in the preceding sub as AG 1. 17. 6 and 7 as shown above. The first three pädas are also traced to TB 2.7 17.2 which is interesting as revealing another sacrificial context for formulae of this type viz. the shaving of the king before mounting the chariot in the 'Coronation' ceremony. The three pädas are also traced to APS 22 28 6 and parallel Sūtra-texts with slight variations. (d) The fourth pada is fraced in an identical form to AV VIII 21a occurring in a hymn directed against witchcraft. It is also found in RV. Khila X. 128 9 and VS 31 52a with 'yathāsam' for our 'yathāsad'. This pāda is a general prayer for long life, easily detachable from the first three pādas, to which it seems to have been tacked on here, by our text

ĀG. I 17 12: (a) 'Yena dhātā bihaspalei (b) agnei indiasva edyuşe' vapat [ (c) tena ta āyuşe vapāmi (d) suslokyāya svastaye' iti dvilīyam [

Trans: (He cuts the han) a second time with the mantia "that with which Dhātr has shaven (the head) of Bihaspati, Agin and India, (to ensure) long life, with that I shave (thy head), (to secure) for you, long life, fame and welfare

Sources: The mantia is traced to VSK. III 9.5 (a) Yena dhata brhaspater (b) indrasya cayuşe'vapat, (c) tena te vapami brahmana (d) jivatave jivanaya || The first two padas are identical, save for the omission of the superfluous 'agneh' at the beginning of our (b); the general sense of the verse is the same and the variations in the last two padas are such as occur in the different versions of the same Grhya-mantia in the different sakhas.

Prof STENZLER (p. 44) thinks that in the first line against is probably a later addition but I think that against is wanted in both the hemisticular for the parallelism of the acts. human and divine Probably, Sii NZLER thought so, because the second pada is metrically faulty, being too long and would be improved by the omission of some superfluous word which according to him was aguse. But VSK, III 9 5 the source of our mantra suggests that it is the word 'agneh' that is superfluous in our mantra and the VSK-pada which omits it is metrically faultless. Nor does the sense of the verse suffer by the omission of 'agneh'

ĀG I. 17 13 (a) 'Yena bhūyaśca rätryām (b) zyok ca paśyāti sūryam (c) tena ta āyuse vapāmı (d) suślokyāya 'iii tṛtīyam |

Trans · (That) whereby, further, during the night and for long, he may see the sun,—with that I shave thy (head) for thine long life, fame and welfare

Pāda (a) The literal translation above, which closely follows the order of the words shows that the first two pādas as they stand hardly make any good sense, 'he may see the sun at night' being the puzzle!

Prof. Stenzler whose work was published in 1865, remarks (p. 44) that he reads the  $p\bar{a}da$  (a), as given above, because all the MSS and the Prayoga-ratna agree in giving that version although it is on the face of it,

corrupt and that Pāraskara II. 1 16 gives it in a better form. Prof Oldenberg also follows the above version and draws attention to Pāraskara's variant in a footnote (p 185)

It is surprising that the reading of the Bibliotheca Indica edition, (published in 1866-69) 'Yena bhūyaś carātyayam' of the first pāda which gives an excellent sense has not been noticed by Prof Oldenberg whose translation appeared in 1886. The Trivandrum edition (since published) has the same reading. The parallel passage ĀPMB 2. 1. 5' has the same pāda MG. 1 21 6° is also the same pāda with only the variation, 'caratyayam' for 'carātyayam'. So the reading of Stenzler's MSS should be corrected into 'yena bhūyaś carātyayam' which could easily be corrupted into 'bhūyaś ca rātryām'. The reading of PG II 1 16° 'yena bhūriś carā divam' cannot be adopted as Stenzler's reading is too remote from it to be supposed to have been a possible corruption of it

 $P\bar{a}da$  (b):—This pāda is found in APMB 2 15b, in PG II 1 16a with 'paśyāsi' for 'paśyāti' and in MG 1 21 6 with 'paśyati' for paśyāti, which are unimportant variations and has not suffered corruption like Pāda (a) Compare—RV IX 4 6 b = 'Jyok pasyema sūryam'

 $P\bar{a}das$  (c) and (d) —These are the same as the last two padas of the mantra cited in the preceding sutra, which shows that the mantra is a perfectly legitimate makeshift composition of the sutra period as, besides, it is traced to no early vedic text.

The translation of the first two padas (adopting the reading of the Bibliotheca Indica edition for the first pada) would be 'That whereby he may further live and see the sun long' etc

 $\bar{A}G$ .—I 17 16. Ksuratejo nimijet: (a) "Yat ksurena marcayalā supešasā (b) Vaptā vapasi kešān (c) šunddhi širo (d) māsyāyuh pramoṣīr" iti.

Trans He wipes off the edge of the razor (with the Mantra):—'In that with a harmful (though) well-sharpened razor, (thou) a shaver, shavest (his) hair, clean his head but do not steal away his life

Sources Profs Stenzler and Oldenberg compare AV VIII 2 17 (APMB, PG, HG and MG, also have parallel verses) This AV, verse is the same as our verse with the following variations:—

In (a) AV reads 'sutejasā' (which is also the reading of MG 1 21 7a) for our 'supeśasā' (found in PG 2 1 19a, HG 1 9 16a, and ĀPMB 2 1 7a) In (b) AV has 'Keśaśmaśiu' (found in ĀPMB and HG) for our 'Keśān' (found in PG and MG) That this latter is no variation really, as our text prescribes this same mantra in ĀG I 18. 3 with the AV. variant in the Godāna ceremony has been already noted. The reading 'Vaptar' (O Shaver') in HG and MG, is better (as agreeing well with 'vapasi' the verb in the 2nd person singular) than our 'Vaptā' though it is also found in AV and PG In pāda (c) our 'Šunddhi' (also found in ĀPMB, PG MG) is a much better reading than the puzzling AV. reading 'Šumbhan' or 'Sumbham'. The reading 'Mukham' in AV, and HG for our 'Šīro' does

not constitute a variation as it makes the pada parallel to our AG 4, 18, 5 which is a modification of this pada to suit the Godana ceremony

It may be noted that 'shaving' as the business of a professional harber is mentioned through a simile in RV X 142 14 - Vapteve smasric vapus prabhūma" | addressed to Agm

ÄG I. 17 17 Nāpītam sisyāt "Sītosnabhrī adbhrī atmitham kurvano" ksanvan kusalīkuru" iti.

Trans He instructs the barber 'Doing whatever is done with water, with (this mixture of) hot and cold waters, arrange in order ('Kusahkuru' is a euphemism for 'vapa' = shave) the hair

Sources: The mantra (technically a piaisa), has parallels in PG II 1. 21 = 'Aksanvan parivapa' (pointed out by Stenzier) and in Isan. 54 1 'aksanvan vapa keśaśmaśruroma parivapa, nakhām ca kuru' which explains and amplifies our 'kuśalīkuru'

AG I. 18 5 'Sunddhi stromukham masväyuh pramosti' iti

Trans. (The mantra cited in I 17, to for the 'Gaula' eventiony reappears in a modified form here in the Godana ceremony) 'Clean his head and face, do not steal away his life'.

Context. I. 18 1 lays down that the rules for the Godana ecremony are the same as for the 'Caula' ceremony described in the Section I 17. Now I 18. 3 says that the mantras employed in both the rules are also the same with the modification that for the 'Godana' ceremony the word 'Smasiu' is to be substituted for the word 'Keśa' wherever it occurs in the Mantras of the 'Caula' rite. In this Sūtra, our text actually gives an illustration of this rule for the modification of mantras. The maintra cited here is, for example the modification (technically called 'Cha') of the latter part of the mantra cited in I 17 16. in connection with an exactly parallel ritual act in the 'Caula' ceremony

The significance of the use of 'Snah' as well as 'mukham' in the main that is as follows 'Clean the face (mukham)' is appropriate in the ceremony of 'Godāna' (shaving the beard) but the addition of 'snah' (Clean the head and the face) is explained by the practice prevalent among orthodox persons in India of shaving the head along with the beard and never shaving the beard only, leaving the han on the head untouched

Sources: These have been pointed out under AG I 17 16 where it has been shown that AV VIII, 2 17 with its reading 'Mukham' is parallel to this mantra.

ĀG I 18 6 "Keśaśmaśrulomanakhāny udaksamsthani kuru" iti sampresyati

Trans. (In this ceremony) he instructs (the barber) 'Cut ('kuru' do. is a euphemism for 'vapa' like 'kuśalīkuru') the hair on his head (keśa), face (lśmaśru) and body (loma) finishing (them) in the north'

Prof Oldenberg states (p 186) what according to Natayana, is the full formula. The fact is that our text implies that the formula given in 1 17 17.

for the 'Caula' ceremony is to be employed in the Godāna ceremony also with the necessary modifications which only are given in this sūtra, the rest being taken over from I 17 17

Sources · Kauś 54 1 quoted above under I 17 17 is a formula parallel to this one Kauś 53 19 = 'Yat ksurenety' udakpatrena ksurena iti [= the razor is held so that its blade points towards the north] furnishes an explanation of 'Udaksamsthläni kuru' in our formula. When the razor blade points towards the north, the hair on the north side only of the youth's head and face can be cut. As the youth must face the east, the hair are cut so that they end ic the hair cut last are those on the north or his left side.

AG I 18 7. Āplutya vāgyatah sthīvāhahsesam ācāryasakāse vācam visrzeta 'Varam dadāmi' iti

Trans After bathing and remaining silent (lit controlled in speech) for the rest of the day, he should release speech (i.e break the silence) with the formula 'I give a vara (i.e. a fice gift)'

Context This maiks the end of the godiana ceremony

Sources Not only the formula but the words ('vācam visrjeta') of this sūtra also, seem to be based on the passage (8 9 5 7) of the AB which runs "Atha vad 'varam dadāmi jityā abhijityai, vijityai, samijityā' iti vācam visrjata etad vai vāco jitam yad dadāmītyāha" (when he breaks his silence with the words 'I give a free gift for victory etc' that indeed is the victory of speech that he says 'I give') The context is the placing of a kindling-stick on the Āhavanīya fire in the Punarabhiseka ceremony. In \$B 13 4 1. 10 also, we have Varena vācam visrjata "varam dadāmi brahmane" = He releases speech with (the announcement of) a 'Vara' or free gift etc With these words uttered at the time of the morning oblation to the fire, the sacrificer and his wives break the silence observed during the previous night which they have spent in the sacrificial hall. This \$B context is very suggestive of the context in our text.

 $ar{AG}$  I 20 4 —. (Devasya tvā savituh prasave' śvinor  $b\bar{a}hubhy\bar{a}m$   $p\bar{u}sno$  hastābhyām) hastam grhnāmyasau' iti tasya pāninā pānim sāṅgustham grhnīyāt |

Trans with the mantia "(At the inspiration of god Savitr, with the arms of the two Asvins, with the hands of Pūsan) I grasp thy hand, O, so and so!" the ācāiya should grasp with his (own) hand, the (pupil's) hand along with the thumb

Context This is done in the Upanayana ceremony after the lacarya has emptied his joined hands full of water over the pupil's joined hands (which) also (are) full of water

That the bracketed part above constitutes the mantra proper and the part outside, the improvised additions suiting the 'Upanayana' context is clear from the fact that the same part occurs again in  $\bar{A}G$  I 24 15 with the addition 'pratigrhnāmi' [=I accept (thee) i.e. the Madhuparka, as the context there is the acceptance by the guest with his joined hands, of the Madhuparka offered

to him]. A survey of the sources of this mantra reveals (as shown below) that the Madhuparka context is the more original context of the mantra in early texts, and it is intimately related to and follows the mantra cited in I. 24, 15 'Mitrasya tvā caksusā pratīkse' | I observe thee (re the Madhuparka while it is being brought to him by the host) with the eye of Mitra | I therefore discuss these mantras together here in the following order | I shall take up the mantra in ĀG I. 24–14 (a) 'Mitrasya tvā' etc first; then the Mantra in I. 24, 15 (b) "Devasya tvā" etc which is the same as the bracketed part in our present Sūtra I. 20–4 with 'pratigilinūmi' added as the mantra is addressed to the 'Madhuparka' and the Mantra in our pre-ent Sūtra I. 20, 4 last ''Devasya tvā' etc (re-the bracketed part) with 'hastem gihnāmi' added, the Mantra being addressed to the boy who is being initiated

Sources (a) and (b) are found in VSK, 2-3 and 4 respectively; (a) is employed in VSK-2-3 when the Prāśitra (the Brahman's pertion consisting of yava or pippala) is being gazed at and (b) in VSK-2-4 while it is being eaten. Our text seems however to have derived these maintra, from the Kausītaki Brāhmana which is closely related to our text as belonging to the Rgveda. KB-6, 14 has both the maptias in a context similar to that in VSK as described above. TS-2-6-8, 6 has maintra, almost identical with our (a) and (b) [only 'pickse' occurs for 'piatikoe' in (a) in a similar (i.e. Prāṣtra) context].

This shows that these mantias employed in early Vedic texts in connection with the eating of the 'Prāsitra,' were trunsferred to the madhuparka context in the Sūtra texts. SS IV 21.6 actually makes a statement to this effect. SS IV. 21 is a section dealing with the madhuparka offering (the Kandikā I. 24 in our text is modelled on this section). SS IV 21.6 says, 'Madhuparka' ityukto yathā prāsitram taihā pratīksva. [1.6] when the madhuparka is announced to the guest, he looks at it in the same manner (i.e. repeating the same mantras) as when he looks at the Prīsitra!

The next transfer of the mantia from the madhuparka to the hasta-grahana context in the Initiation ceremony as in 1–20–1 was an easy step for the following reasons—(1) The words 'hastabhyām' and 'bhhubhyām' in the mantra are suggestive of 'hasta-grahana' (hand-clasping), (2) God Savitr whose inspiration is referred to in the mantra is the predominant deity of the Upanayana rite and its mantras as seen from the important part played by the Sāvitrā verse (sacred to Savitr) in that ceremony

ĀG I 20 5 'Savītā te hastam agrahīd asau' iti dvilīyam

Trans With the mantra 'Savītr has grasped thy hand, () so and so '"

(he grasps the pupil's hand) a second time

Sources AV XIV 1 51b reads 'Savitā te hastam agrahīt' which is identical with our formula save for the more modern form 'agrahīt' instead of our 'agrabhīt' above AV XIV 1 is a marriage-hymn and the ' $P\bar{a}m$ -grahana' context in the marriage-ceremony is exactly parallel to the 'hasta-grahana' context in the Upanayana ceremony!

ĀG I 20 6 · 'Agnīrācāryastavāsāv' iti trtīyam |

Trans With the formula 'Agni is thine acarya O, so and so!' (he grasps the boy's hand) a third time

Sources ŚB 11 5 4 2 reads 'athlasya hastam gihnati | Indrasya brahmacaryasi | agnir ācāryastava | aham ācaryastavasau' iti | [He (i.e. the Ācarya) takes his (right) hand with (the formula) 'Indra's disciple art thou, Agni is thy teacher, I am thy teacher so and soi]. The context is the same as in our text, namely, 'entry into Brahmacarya' (which is the description of the Upanayana ceremony in the early texts).

ĀG I 20 7 Ādītyam īksayet. (a) 'deva Savītar esa te brahmacārī tam gopāya, (b) sa mā mrta' ityācāryah |

Trans He should make him look at the sun while the ācārya says 'God Sayitr! this is thy Brahmacārin, protect him; (b) let him not die'

Sources. The formulas cannot be traced to any early vedic text. (a) appears to be an echo of \$B 11 5 4 3 'Devāya Savitie paridadāmi' (I hand thee over to god Savitr) said by the ācārya with reference to the pupil

Clause (b) which looks a bit abrupt, becomes intelligible in the light of SB 11 5 4 5 where the ācārya while instructing the pupil in the various vows of brahmacarya says "Mā susupthā iti 'Mā mrthā' ityevainam tadāha" [When he says "Do not sleep (during the day)", 'do not die' is what he virtually says to him]

ĀG I 20 8: (a) 'Kasya brahmacāryasi (b) prānasya brahmacāryasi (c) Kastvā kamupanayate (d) Kāya tvā pandadāmi' iti |

Trans (The teacher further says) Whose (or of ka—1.e Prajāpati)¹ brahmacārın art thou? Thou art the brahmacārın of Prāna Who initiates thee to whom² (or 'Ka' initiates thee to 'Ka') To whom do I give thee over? [or 'I give thee over to Ka')]

Sources This same quibble on the word 'Ka' is found in \$B 11.5 4.1 (Upanayana context) 'Athanamāha, ko nāmāsīti, prajāpatir vai kah | prājāpatyamevamam tat krtvopanayate' [He i.e. the Ācārya says 'Ka' (or what) is thy name? Now 'Ka' is Prajāpati! He thus initiates him after making him one belonging to Prajāpati! \$B. 11 5 4 3 ' athanam bhūtebhyah paridadāti | prajāpataye tvā paridadāmi | 'etc will be a parallel to our (d), if 'Ka' is definitely understood (as I think it should be) in the sense of Prajāpati! The part 'Kāya tvā' only of (d) is also traced to VS 20 4 with the same play on the word 'Ka' the formula being addressed to the Āsandī (seat) by the sacrificer before sitting on it in the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice

I think that the alternative translation given in brackets is the correct one as the quibble on 'Ka' in the double sense of 'who' and 'Prajāpati', starting as early as or very soon after the days of the RV.X 121 had, by the time of the Sūtras, become definitely established.

<sup>2.</sup> I understand 'Kam' (accusative) as referring to the person or deity to whom the boy is initiated or introduced and not as referring to the boy who is so introduced as Oldenberg takes it, because that unnecessarily splits up (c) into two incomplete halves.

AG. I. 20 11: agnim parısamulya brahamacarı tüsnəm samıdlam adadhyāt; (a) 'tüsnim var prājapatyam, (b) prajāpatyo brahmacarı bhavatı'tı vijnāyate.'

Trans. The Brahmacarm, after wiping the ground round the tire, should put on fuel silently, (because) it is known (from the Sruti). (What is done) silently belongs to Prajapati, the Brahmacum belongs to Prajapati.

The argument here is that since the Brahmacium belones to Prajāpati and 'Silence' also belongs to Prajāpati, therefore the Brahmacium hould observe silence while putting on the fuel.

OLDENBERG'S translation (p. 189) 'the student becomes belonging to Prajāpati' represents a different argument viz. Since the Brahmae um observes silence (and silence belongs to Prajāpati) therefore, by virtue of his observance of silence he becomes one belonging to Prajāpati. This, I think, is not correct as the quotation is brought in to show why silence is observed.

Sources (a) 'Iti vijūūyate' generally introduces a quotation (or the gist of a quotation) from a Biāhmana text but (a) is not traced anywhere. \$B 7 3 2 2 praises silence in the words: 'annuktam var tad, yat tū;nīm; sarvam vā aniruktam' (what is done silently is undefined and Undefined is All)

For (b), may be compared SB 11 5 4 1 already quoted under 1, 20, 8 above 'Prājāpatyam evainam kitvopanayate. (He initiates him after making him one belonging to Prajapati).

ĀG I 21 1 Mantrena haike (a) 'agnaye samıdham aharşam, (b) brhate jātavedase (c) tayā tvam agne vardhasva (d) samıdha hrahmanā vayam; svāheti (

Trans - Some (however) do so (re put fuel on the fire, the reference being to I 20 11 the immediately preceding sūtra) with the mantra 'To Agni have I brought fuel, to the mighty Jūtavedas Through that fuel do thou increase O Agni ' and through (this) prayer (Brahman), (may) we (increase)

Sources (a) and (b) AV 19 64. In the same as our first two padas except for 'agne' instead of our 'agnaye' in the first pada. All the sutra-texts that have parallel passages (PG 114-3, HG 1-7-2, APMB 1-6, 32) read as in our text 'agnaye' which seems to be a deliberate modification of the AV 'agne' in order that the word might agree with 'Jütavedase' and Agni may not be distinguished from 'Jütavedas' Kaus 57-26 employs the AV verse exactly as in our text

Pādas (c) and (d) There is a general resemblance to the words and sense of these two pādas in AV. 19 64 2 'Idhmena tvā jātavedah samidhī vardhayāmasi | tathā tvam asmān vardhaya prajayā ca dhanena ca' || (With wood, O Jātavedas, with fuel, do we increase thee, so do thou increase its, with progeny and riches) The Pādas can also be compared to VS. II. 14

<sup>1</sup> OLDENBERG's rendering of 'tūsnīm' (an adverb), as 'silence' (a noun) is inexplicable to me!

"Esā te | agne samit,  $tay\bar{a}$  vardhasva—vardhisīmahi ca vayam" etc. (where also the consecration of a samidh is the context) "This is fuel for you, O Agni, increase thou with it and may we also increase"

ĀG. I 21 2 and 3 Samidham ādhāyāgnim upaspīšya mukham nimārstī 'trīstejasā mā samanajmī'tī ||2|| 'tejasā hyovātmānam samanktītī vijñāyate ||3||

Trans · (2) After putting the fuel (on the fire) and touching the fire (reverently), he wipes off his face three times (with the hand warmed up at the fire while it was touched) with the formula · I amoint myself with lustre, (3) (for), it is known (from the siuti) 'With lustre indeed, does he amoint himself.'

Sources. The nearest approach in words and sense to our mantra is SB 11 5 4 5.— 'Samidham ādhehīti samintsvātmānam tejasā brahmavarcasenetyevainam tadāha | [When the teacher (while instructing the pupil in the vows of brahmacarya) says 'put on fuel', he (in effect) says 'enkindle thyself with splendour, with holy lustre']

- ĀG I 21. 4 (a) mayı medhām mayı prajām mayyagnıs tejo dhadhātu | mayi medhām mayı prajām mayindra ındrıyam dadhātu |
  - mayı medhām mayı prajām *mayi sūryo bhrājo da-dhātu* |
  - (b) yatte agne tejas tenāham tejasvī bhūyāsam | yatte agne varcas tenāham varcasvī bhūyāsam | yatte agne haras tenāham harasvī bhūyāsam |

ıtyupasthāya · · : . | | 4 | |

Trans Having waited upon (i.e. done homage to) the fire with the mantia (a) 'On me, intelligence, on me progeny, on me, may Agni confei lustre. On me,—(etc as above),—on me may India confer power of the senses On me etc (as above), may Sūrya confer brilliance (b) What thy lustre is, O Agni, may I, through that, be lustrous What thy radiance is, O Agni, may I through that, be radiant What thy power is, O Agni, may I through that, be powerful

Sources: (a) is found in TS 3 3.1 2 in an identical form, the context being the supplementary cups to Agni, Indra and Sūrya [the three derties invoked in the three sentences of (a)] in the Āgrayana sacrifice. The three clauses of (a) are also found in TA 4 42 2 in a different context.

(b) The three clauses of (b) are found without variation in TS 3 5. 3 2 where they accompany the offering of the Manthin cup in the 'Visnvatikrama'—a supplement to the Soma sacrifice. Parts of (b) are also found (though with considerable variations) in AV II 19 2 and 5 (in a hymn to Agni directed against enemies) in the form (II. 19. 2=) 'Agne yatte haras tena tam prati-hara yo'smān dvesti etc | (5) 'Agne yat te tejas' etc as above [Whatever your (driving) power, O Agni, with that drive him who hates us' etc ]

ĀG. I. 21. 5: Tasya vāsasā pāņībhyam ca pāņī samgrhya "sāvitrīm anvāha paccho' rdharcasah sarvām"

Trans: The Ācārya grasping the (student's) hands with the (student's) garment and his own hands, recites the sāvitrī, pāda by pāda, hemistich by hemistich (and finally) the whole verse

Sources. The part within inverted commas is not a mantia but is so closely allied to \$B\$. 11 5 4 6 that it is quite clear that the sections in our text dealing with the Upanayana are modelled on these corresponding sections in \$B\$. Our text like other Grhyasūtias in fact is a compilation rather than a composition, which draws not only its mantras from the RV and other earlier texts but also a number of its rules from earlier sources. \$B\$ 11 5 4.6 reads 'Athāsma sāvitrīm anvāha ||6|| — tām vai paccho' nvāha | tiayo vai Prānā — | athārdharcaso, dvau vā imau prānau — | atha kitsusīm | ' where the same rule regarding the three modes of recitation of the savitrī verse is found interwoven with fanciful explanation in the familiar Biālimana style

ĀG, I. 21. 7: Hṛdayadeśc'syordhväṅgulim panim uḥadadhati. (1)
"Mama vrate hṛdayan te dadhāmi, (b) mama cittam anu cittam te astu [
(c) Mama vācam ekavrato jusasva (d) bṛhaspatiṣ[vā myunaktu mahyam"
iti.

Trans The Ācārya places his hand with the images upwards on the region of his (i.e. the student's) heart with the mantia: (a) 'Into my vow (or service) I hold thy heart; (b) after fny mind, let thy mind be; (c) my words thou shalt welcome single-minded (lit. single-vowed). (d) May Bihaspati ordain thee for me.

Context. This follows the teaching of the Savitri verse.

Sources. The mantral is traced to a Khila-hymn of the RV mentioned in the Brhad-devatā and given by Scheftelowitz' but not found in the editions of Aufrecht or Muller

BrhD VIII 117hed read:-

(b) param yattu 'mama vrate' | (c) tadāsīrvādabahulam (d) Stauti visvān divaukasah []

Prof Macdonell's note to his translation of the verse (II O S vol 6 p 281) is as follows 'this (i.e. the Khila-sūkta beginning with the words 'Mama vrate') is the first of the two Khilas which, in the Kashmu collection, come between RV X 84 and 85. It consists of thirty-two stanzas chiefly in the Anustubh metre'. The Anukramanī accompanying the hymn quoted in the same note describes it as made up of mainage-formulas. This context of our mantra in the RV Khila as well as its occurrence in SMB, 1.2. 15 among marriage-formulas are further evidence of a parallelism between marriage and Upanayana ceremonies in the intimate relationship newly established between husband and wife in the one case and between preceptor and pupil in the other. In Scheftelowitz, the first verse of the Khila hymn agrees almost entirely with our Mantra, the only variation being 'Ekaviatā'

<sup>1</sup> Die Apokryphen des Rg-Veda (Breslau. 1906) p 100.

for our 'Ekavrato' in Pāda c—a variation explained by the marriage context in the former place—"Ekavratā' being addressed to a bride, our 'Ekavrato' to the pupil.

ĀG. I. 22. 2 (a) Brahmadāryası, (b) apo'sāna; (c) Karma kuru; (d) dıvā mā svāpsīh; (e) lādāryādhīno vedamadhīsvetı' |

Trans: With the words: (a) 'Thou art a Brahmacārin; (b) sip (lit eat) water; (c) do the service; (d) do not sleep by day, (e) dependent on the teacher, study the Veda

Context. These are the vows inculcated on the pupil as part of his Brahmacarya by the teacher after having tied a girdle round him and given him a staff (I 22 1).

Sources: SB 11. 5. 4 (a section dealing with Initiation) has exactly these rules! SB 11. 5. 4 5 reads:—'Brahmacāryasītyāha [parallel to our (a)]. A fanciful explanation of why this is said, then follows in the Brāhmana manner and then comes 'apo'śāna' [identical with our (b)] 'Karma kuru' [identical with our (c)] and 'Mā susupthā' iti [do not sleep (during the day)—which is similar, if not identical with our (d)]. The rule in our clause (e) is found in different words in SB. 11. 3. 3. 6 = "Atha yad ācāryavacasam karoti] yad ādāryāya karma karoti."

ĀG I 22. 4-8: Sāyam prātar bhikseta | 4 | Sāyam prātah samidham ādadhyāt | 5 | Apratyākhyāyinam agre bhikṣeta | 6 | Apratyākhyāyinīm vā | 7 | "Bhavān bhiksām datātv" iti | 8 |

Trans: 4 In the evening and in the morning let him beg (food) 5. In the evening and in the morning, let him put fuel-sticks (on the fire). 6 First, he should beg of a man who will not turn him away 7 Or of a woman who will not turn him away. 8. (Let him beg with the words), "Your honour may (please) give food"

The purport of the passage is: Let him beg unashamed imagining himself to be poverty-stricken as it were. He should beg food of a woman whom he holds in the highest esteem. If he finds none such, let him beg of the wife of his Ācārya and even of his own mother.

The passage reads like an extract from a Grhya text!

# A NOTE ON TWO HOARDS OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS FOUND AT TAXILA

By

#### D. D. KOSAMBI, Poona

Memoir no. 59 of the Memoirs of The Archæological Survey of India, by Mr E. H. C Walsh, c.s.i, Ma [Retd ICS.], [1939, pp. iv | 164, with XLVIII Plates] deals with punch-marked coins found at Tavila I approached this work with a view to seeing what systems of coinage-weights existed in ancient India, and of determining them by statistical analysis in case no such determination had been given in the memoir cited. In fact, I had made a certain amount of progress in the statistical work when it became evident that the report written by Mr Walsh contained an astounding number of oversights and mis-statements which might completely invalidate the work I had undertaken. I publish this criticism (by no nicans comprehensive) of the Archæological Survey Memoir No. 59 because others might take all its statements—backed as they are by official sanction and by Mi. Walsii's reputation as a numismatist—as consistent and authoritative.

The frontispiece reads "An Examination of a Hoard of 1171 Silver Punch-marked Coins of the Older Class, Long-Bar Coins and Minute Coins found in the Bhir-Mound at Taxila in 1924 and a Hoard of 167 Debased Silver Punch-marked Coins of the Later Class found in the Bhir-Mound at Taxila in 1912." The description is repeated on p i of the preface, but on p ii, the second and smaller hoard becomes 176. On the first page of the text proper, the first hoard is reduced to 1167, and the second continues as 176. Turning to the tables themselves, we find Appendix XI headed on every page [pp 100-153] as "List of 1,167 Coins". But on p 153, the final number actually tabulated is, after all, 1171. This is the same number that appears in the plates. App. XII, the list of the later coins, has a sub-heading "The Hoard of 176 Silver Punch-Marked Coins". but the actual number tabulated as well as represented in the plates is 167.

This sovereign contempt for mere authmetic characterists the entire work. We read on p. 15: "Class C, 'Bull-Hill Area contains 101 coins.", but the table on p. 46 gives a total of 102 in that class. On p. 32, we again find 167 coins in the later hoard, of which, omitting five of a separate coinage, weights of 162 are given for various ranges. But the coins so given add up to 163, and on my own tabulation from App. XII, the 52-53 grain range contains one coin less, 53-54 two coins less, 54-55 two coins more than given by the memoir.

Either the proof-reading has been faulty, or there is an unexplained notation P 141, the weight of coin 935 is entered in Clarendon type;

weights of 936, 944-5, 948, 956 are entered in italics. Serial number 1098 [p 146] is itself entered in italics; weights of 1110, 1114 [p. 147] have just one of the three figures for the weights in Clarendon Coin 1167, which seems a Double Observe coin from the plates and is labelled as such in Table A [p 39] is boldly labelled Double Reverse in App. XI, [p. 153] for my purpose, the typography of the description of the coins is quite insignificant, if only the weights have been accurately found and entered I have grave doubts even about this Coin 839 weighs 52 2 gr in Table A [p 37] But it has lost a grain to become 51.2 gr. in App XI, [p 127]. The weights of most of the coins have been given to 1/10 gr. only, which is not at all objectionable, were it not for the fact that the weights of some have been given to 1/100 gi. Of the 33 Long-bar coins [p. 100], just one, i.e. no. 12, has a weight in the hundledths, it would seem unlikely that all the remaining 32 came out exactly to 1/10 gr Of the 1059 coins tabulated on pp 102-153 only 268 have weights given to 1/100 gr Of these again, as many as 229 have the last figure 6; 32 have weights that end in 3, three have weights ending in 9, one each has a weight ending in 1, 5, 8, 2. No coin that has the hundredth grain given in the column of weights has the figure 4 or 7 I obtain these on a quick count, and a coin or two might have been miscounted, but the classification is substantially correct, and the overwhelming preponderance of the figure 6 in the last place inexplicable. One would like to know the system of weights used, the approximate errors of the experiment, and the methods used for checking At least, this is the procedure demanded from the average science student in the laboratory, and there seems to be no reason why the Archaeological Survey should not adopt that standard

There are some other discrepancies in the tables that add to the reasonable doubt that-I hope-has been cast upon the reliability of the memoir. I fail to see that Appendix VII, Table G [p 90] is a table at all in any sense of the word, perhaps, a similar remark might be made, with less force, of Appendix VIII, Table H [p. 91]. App. X, Table J, coin 302 has not been mentioned at all [p 99] But it is shown on Plates X, XI, and Table J is supposed to contain only reference to Plates. In Table C [p 47], we find two classes E, F, with the extraordinary statement, "There is no Class The coins at first entered under those classes, were found to belong to other classes, under which they have been entered" To one who does not claim to be a numismatist, it would have seemed obvious that these classes, having no existence, should have been omitted altogether, and the later classes re-lettered accordingly Coin 320 [p 108] is described as having a blank reverse, with 1 indistinct mark, which seems a contradiction Coin 1149 [p 150] shows an extra, unmatched entry in the column headed "Number of Marks" The descriptions of reverse marks on coin 831 [p 126] and 675 [p 120] seem highly questionable to me I should, however, again like to remind the reader that I am not a numismatist, and that this is just a cursory examination

Apart from the fact that one does not expect such discrepancies in a work so sumptiously printed, priced at Rs 24-10 [or 38 s.,], it is curious that the amount of time spent on the work should not have sufficed for a thorough checking. The preface, dated 10th February 1938 says [p i] that the work was begun in 1928.

I have a few remarks to offer about the theoretical conclusions of the paper We find [[p. 32]] about the later coins:

"The coins are an alloy of silver and copper—The metallic composition of two of the coins, taken as example have been determined by the Archæological Chemist in India, who 'is of the opinion that they are composed of an alloy of silver and copper and contain 40 3 and 75 3 per cent of silver and copper respectively. It is obvious that their composition is very integular." It may be due to this fact that the weights of some of these coins vary so much from the usual weight of the Punch-Marked coins." It is difficult to understand how the extreme variability of 162 coins was determined by assaying just two of them, in addition, the quotation about percentages of silver and copper is very difficult to interpret, showing that whatever the composition of the coins, the English composition of the source of the quotation has been even more irregular.

On p. 16. Mr Walsh comes to the conclusion that masmuch as the heaviest seeds of the Abrus precatorius [rati or gunja] average 1.86 grains the kārsāpana [he calls it karshāpana p 15] of 32 raktikā's would have been much heavier than the coins actually found. This statement has an air of verisimilitude, as the weights of coins 113-1171 average about 52.4 grains on my calculation. But the average of the gunjā seeds of 1.86 grains comes from CUNNINGHAM'S experimental determination, checked by the current Indian goldsmiths' guñjā's, as well as by picking out the largest seeds of the sample obtained by our author [p 16]. But we find on the same page that the author obtained an average weight of 168 gr for the 1att "after excluding all small seeds" On the basis of his own experiments, he would have obtained the weight of the coin of 32 rati's as 53 76 grains, and had the small seeds not been excluded, it is a safe guess that 32 times that average rati would have tallied very closely with the average weight of the Taxila coins, allowing for loss of weight by circulation; in fact, even now, the two are quite close Nevertheless, we find at the end of the third paragraph on p 16 "It is, therefore, clear, that at the present time only the largest seeds are used as weights, and Cunningham's 'full weight' is correct, and, on present practice the theoretical and actual weights of these coins cannot be reconciled" The statement is quite true, but hardly to the point. It is wellknown [cf Report of the Weights and Measures Committee 1913-14, Simla, 1914] that at present, the weight most commonly used for the  $tol\bar{a}$  is the current British-Indian rupee of 180 grains. But masmuch as the  $tol\bar{a}$  is to be 96  $gu\tilde{n}_1\bar{a}$  in weight, the largest seeds would have to be used by a goldsmith or jeweller to give anything like a 180 [or 183.75] grain tolā.

I take it that the weight of the Abrus precatorius seeds, as well as the weight of any group of coins struck at any one place under the same system. would tend to vary according to the normal [Gaussian] law, about a given mean value The average is the only quantity we ever find in general reports, but what is of the utmost importance is the variance, though no numismatist seems to have heard of the term. It was my intention to test the variance of the Abrus precatorius seeds by experiment, calculate the variances for the groups of coins given in this and other memoirs and to see whether any evidence exists for non-homogeneity. This can be done by modern methods developed by statisticians, particularly R A FISHER, in connection with the theory of small samples The t test and the z test would be immedlately applicable, and I hope to publish, in another paper, my results on the system of weights used in our ancient coinage 
Inasmuch as the work would be highly technical, I publish as a separate note this criticism of one of my main sources The errors pointed out here need not affect the statistical work provided the weights as entered are substantially correct classification is sure to cause difficulties, if I have to rely on the authority of such numismatists for the actual classes, without any confidence in their data.

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#### NOTES OF THE MONTH

The Bhandarkar Ottental Research Institute, Poona, celebrated its 23rd Foundation day on 6th July 1940 On this occasion Dewan Bahadur K M JHAVLRI MA, LLB ex-Judge, High Court of Judicature, Bombay, presided and addressed the gathering. consisting of distinguished scholars from Poona, on "The Ethic Discourses of Bhisma" The chief item in the programme of this function was the announcement by the Institute of its publication of the Udyogaparvan of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata and its presentation to Shrimant Balasaheb PANI Piatinidhi, B.A., the Raja of Aundh and the patron of the Mahābhārata project, work on which is being carried on by the B O R Institute since 1919 Before the volume of the Udyogaparvan was presented to the Rajasaheb, Dr V S SUKTHANKAR, MA, PhD the General Editor of the Mahābhārata Edition acquainted the audience with the progress of the Edition in a brief but lucid statement which dealt with such points as (1) the special features of the Edition, (2) the history of the project, (3) the methods followed in the preparation of the several volumes, (4) appreciation of the work by competent scholars and learned bodies of status and standing like the British Academy, London and others and (5) the stimulus given by the Edition to the study of Epic linguistics by scholars like by Dr Jose CANEDO, a Spanish professor and by some students at the Dacca University and by professors and students of the Linguistics Department of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona Towards the conclusion of his statement Dr SUKTHANKAR briefly outlined the financial side of the whole project with special reference to the present difficulties but expressed the hope that when the war clouds have passed away better days will dawn for this monumental work of international cultural value. The appeal made by Dr Sukthankar for more financial help to complete this gigantic project had a good augury in view of the announcement made on this occasion by Dr R N DANDEKAR, MA, PhD the secretary of the Institute to the effect that the Trustees of Sii Dorabji Tata Charities have sanctioned a grant of Rs 5,000 for the Mahābhārata and that the chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji and the Rajasaheb of Phaltan have been pleased to continue their patronage We feel confident that the Indian public, the Government of India, the Provincial Governments and the Rulers of Indian States will readily come forward to render liberal help to this important undertaking and thus save it from a financial crisis consequent upon the present international situation

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### ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND RESEARCH WORK\*

### By P C DIVANJI, Bombay

#### VIII Immediate Objective Requiring Concentration

A word of caution is also necessary against pitching our aim too high 14 Our starting-point at present is the commencement of the 7th century BC, when a few years before the births of Buddha and Mahavira the adventurer Sisunāga coming from Kāsī founded a small kingdom at Girivraja ın Magadha, which in the times of his successors Bimbisara and Ajātaśatru grew into an empire. The materials for a progress upwaids from that stage, which are easily available and afford ample scope for the application of the above comparative method, are those relating to the Age of the Mahābhārata War and some years before it Our immediate objective must, therefore, be to trace the history of Magadha as far back as we can We can do that easily because the Mahābhārata has recorded that 13 to 15 years prior to the Kuru-Pāndu war Yudhıştıra had commenced to perform a Rājasūya sacrıfice, that he desired that all the known contemporary ruling sovereigns should come to his capital Indraprastha and take part in it, that whereas all the others could be persuaded to do that, Janasandha of Girivraja, who had commenced to perform a Rudra Yajña, in which he intended to saciifice 100 crowned human heads and had towards that end already kept in confinement 86 sovereigns, could not be persuaded by the Pāndavas to give up that intention, that Yudhışthıra, therefore sent a message to Śıī Kṛṣṇa at Dwārakā ın Saurāṣtıa, where he had settled down with other Yādava families to come to his succour, that the latter thereupon went to Indraprastha, held a consultation with those whose counsel be valued and went to Girivraja with Bhīma and Arjuna in the garb of a mendicant to beg for a duel with Jarasandha, that a duel took place near that city between Bhīma and that sovereign and the latter was ultimately killed, that thereafter his son Sahadeva surrendered himself to Krsna and agreed to take part in that sacrifice and that thereupon Krsna took him under his protection and installed him on his father's throne 21. The Jaina account agrees with this in the main particulars 22 The Mahābhārata further records

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p 143 of Vol III

<sup>21</sup> Mahābhārata, II 17 to 24

<sup>22</sup> The Jama Purānas in which both Krsna and Jarāsandha figure as Ardhacakravartins and as therefore 2 of 63 Salākāpuruşas give a different version of the way in which Jarāsandha had met his death. According to them a pitched battle had taken place between his force and those of the Yādavas and the Vidyādharas (mountain chiefs) on a plain in Saurāstra near the village Sinapalli where later on a new city named Ānandapura was founded and Krsna himself had killed Jarāsandha with the latter's own Cakra. The two sources, however, agree so far that Jarāsandha

that this Sahadeva had joined the Pāndavas in fighting against the Kurus on the field of Kuruksetra. Our first step towards the desired goal should, therefore, be to fill up the gaps between the two temini, one the age in which Ginvraja was the capital of Jarāsandha and Sahadeva and the other in which Siśunāga settled and founded a small kingdom there. The works of Par-GITER and PRADHAN above referred to would be very helpful in doing so, though for filling up the details of the events between those dates patient work has to be undertaken.

## IX. Necessity of Active Co-operation between the Oriental Scholars and the Archwologists

This can be done satisfactorily if the workers in the literary and archæological fields put their heads together and draw out a scheme of mutual co-operation towards the end in view 23 There are enough materials in the orthodox Itihāsas and Purānas and even in the Brāhmanas and in the Iain and Buddhist story-literature from which the necessary facts for bridging the gulf between the two outposts can be gathered and they can therefore be chronologically arranged R. B. Dikshit, the present Director-General of Archæology in India had, while lecturing at the annual meeting of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in August 1939, already suggested a more extensive and intensive study of the Pauranic literature. In order that the results of this kind of study on the part of individual scholars may not be the subject of controversy but may become co-ordinated with a view to yield results acceptable to the majority of scholars and the educational authorities here and abroad, I venture to suggest that the Oriental Conference should appoint a Committee of both research scholars and archæologists, select scholars for such study, allot them definite works for study and after they have

was a contemporary and an inveterate foe of Krsna, that the enmity between them was due to Krsna having killed Kamsa, son-in-law of Jarāsandha, that the latter had attacked Mathurā 17 times without success but that when he attacked it for the 18th time with the help of Kālayavana and his non-Āryan followers Krsna and the other Yādavas consisting of 18 families had migrated to Saurāstra and settled there, that on the expiry of some years after they had done so, the enmity was again revived, that Jarāsandha was killed and his son Sahadeva was placed by Kiṣṇa on the thione of Magadha but his powers were considerably curtailed (*Trisasthisalākāpiniusacarīta*, by Hemacandra, VIII, 8, Bhavnagar edition, p 126, *Harīvamśa Purāna* by Jinasenācārya, Calcutta edition, p 537)

<sup>23</sup> I happened to read in the "Times of India" of October 9th, that the Allahabad Session of the Indian Historical Congress had already taken a step in that direction and that its session at Calcutta was likely to consider a scheme submitted by Dr S K Ayangar of Madras and to appoint an editorial board for the re-construction and publication of a History of India on scientific lines. That is gratifying news indeed. But I am of opinion that the work of the historians as such will begin after useful results have been arrived at by the co-operation of the archaeologists and the research scholars. The above attempt must therefore be held to be premature. The said Congress can get an authoritative history written from the existing materials only but that would not mean any progress.

collected valuable historical facts, discuss them and fix upon those which in their view should find a place in the history of our country These works would also supply definite information for the selection of ancient sites suitable for excavation by the archæologists. If excavations are made at depths more than at least 25 feet below the surface of the adjoining grounds, I feel sure that sufficient evidence tending to confirm most of the facts gathered from the literary records would be forthcoming The formation of field clubs suggested by R B DIKSHIT is no doubt necessary as the Government of India cannot be expected to allot from year to year such large grants as would be required to carry out the necessary programme But I fear that the efforts to be made by such clubs would not be productive of satisfactory results unless they are backed up by the Aıchæological Departments of the Government of India and the Indian States in whose territories the sites may have been situated and unless they are made under the guidance of the Director-General of Archæological Survey of the Government of India

#### X. Suggestions for their Lines of Action.

It is not necessary however for either the scholars or the archæologists to wait till concerted action has been decided upon and planned by an authoritative body. The Purānas, distinctly so named, have as yet been explored by scholars like PARGITER only with a view to make out the dynasties of kings No attempt has yet been made to ascertain the principal events in the reigns of any particular line of kings of a particular dynasty and to arrange them chronologically. Nor has any been made systematically to study the different stages in the cultural history of India This inactivity is due not to the total absence of any evidence of historical value concerning such events and stages but to the dieaded difficulty of separating the secular from the The Mahābhārata is religious elements in the sources of our information again a mine of information as to the political, economic, social and religious conditions of India in the age in which the principal characters of the epic lived and in a few years before and after it. Those who like Allen, Haig and Dodwell see in it nothing of value for a political history must be held to be ignorant of its contents or not to possess that open mind which is required for the evaluation of a past record There is also evidence in that work of the conditions of things in the age in which the work was expanded and transformed into a fifth Veda, a treatise on Dharma for the benefit of the masses who had no access to the old Vedic literature. It may be that between that event and the recitation of the work by Sauti before Sunaka and others some accretions may have been made therein. We might also concede that even after the work received its present form i.e. its division into 18 Parvas with the Harivaméa as a Khila Parva, which could not have been later than the 4th century AD 24 some interpolations had been made therein. Still

<sup>24</sup> History of Indian Literature by Winternitz, Vol. I, (Cal. Edition), pp. 321, 462-67.

I believe that with some patient effort it is possible to gather sufficient materials for the purpose of history of the Age of Krsna For doing that we need not and cannot afford to wait till the Bhandarkar Research Institute has critically edited all its Parvas as suggested by Dr. WINTERNITZ. Moreover we can check the information so collected by references to other works speaking of the personages and events of the same period such as the Brāhmanas, Sūtras, &c The Jam Purānas too might prove to be of considerable assistance in this attempt because many of their Tirthankaias, Cakiavartins, Aidhacakravartins. Pratyardhacakrayartins and Baladevas were men whom the orthodox sects also held in reverence and who were contemporaneous with the principal characters in the Mahābhārata It would therefore be a right application of energy for the research scholars to study those Puranas from a historian's point of view and gather materials for comparison with those found in the orthodox Paurānic works in which I include the Mahābhārata Such spadework done by individual scholars would much facilitate the work of the authoritative committee above suggested The archæologist too need not wait till such a committee is set up From the investigations made by the previous generations of scholars and archæologists they can very easily select several sites for making similar spade-work by digging trial-pits at the necessary depths Such for instance are those of  $R\bar{a}_1 a g r h a$ , where an old fort-wall has already been partly opened out, Jarāsandha's akhādā, where a duel between him and Bhīma is believed to have taken place, Taxila<sup>26</sup> which was a flourishing city at the time of Alexander's invasion and which had a big university where even men like Pānini and Cāniākya are believed to have been educated, Mathurā of the Yādava period, which must be very near the northern bank of Yamunā on the road from modern Mathurā to Gokul, Old Gokul on the opposite bank of the said river, old Vrndavan which must be very near the old ghats and temples to the south or to the west where there are several mounds and growths of wild plants, Sauryapur, which according to the Jain traditions was within a short distance of Mathura and was the capital of Samudravijaya, uncle of Kisna and father of Aristanemi, the 22nd Tiithankara and a feudatory of Jarasandha,  $Pr\bar{a}gjyotisa$ , most probably in Assam<sup>27</sup> where Bhauma or Narakāsura, whom Krsna is believed to have killed some years before the Mahabharata war and after whom Bhagadatta, a powerful warrior who had fought in that war on the side of the Kurus, had been ruling, Somtapur in the Gadhwal district, where Banasura, father of Uṣā, whom Aniruddha had secretly married and whose superfluous hands (i.e. I believe, powers in excess of those of a feudatory) where cuitailed by Krsna after

<sup>25.</sup> It is gratifying to note that the site of *Mamyar Math* has been excavated at Rājgir (*Poona Orientalist*, IV, 1 & 2, p 91), but what I suggest is the digging of pits below the Buddhistic level.

<sup>26</sup> This site though excavated extensively has not been excavated at sufficient depths to yield results useful for a re-construction of the history of the pre-Buddhistic age

<sup>27</sup> Vide, "The Kalitas of Assam" by B KAKATI, in NIA II, 5 (Aug. 1939), pp. 332-39.

defeating him in a pitched battle, Dwärāvatī28 the pleasure-resort (Vihārabhūmi) of King Revata, who subsequently became the father-in-law of brother of Krsna, a place in the littoral Balarāma, elder the sea-coast at a short distance from Mount Raivataka (modern Girnar) where Krsna with 18 Yadava families had, according to the Harivamśa encamped before Dwaraka was built on an island, Kundmabur. the capital of Bhīsmaka, father of Rukmini, the pet queen of Krsna, that of Bhojakata in the Berars which Rukmi had built after he was defeated and dishonoured by Kısna when he was pursued while eloping with his sister Rukmını,29 the capital of the Cedi province where Sisupala, an ally of Jarasandha, who was killed by Krsna at the Rajasuya sacrifice of the Pandavas, Karavīrapur in the Southern Maharastra country where Krsna and Baladeva had, according to the Harwainsa, an encounter with Srgala Vasudeva and Krauñcapur, which must be at a short distance from the last town and somewhere near Badami in the Bijapur district. If trial-pits at the necessary depths, determined in each case according to scientific calculations are made, I feel confident that relics leading to a definite conclusion as to a particular outstanding event of the Age of Krsna will be found at some of those places And once that terminus ad quem is fixed it would not be difficult to fill up the gap between it and the terminus a quo, the probable date of the foundation of the Sausunaga dynasty in Magadha, for the Makabharata itself, some of the old Purānas such as the Bhavisya, Matsya and Vāyu and the Jain Purānas contain ample materials for that purpose It is true that in the matter of chronology we cannot rely much on the Puranas but the Mahabharata is quite free from the fault of making such hyperbolical statements with regard thereto as the Punānas 30 After these details are collected it will be the task of the proposed committee of the Oriental Conference to examine them critically and sanction such of them as satisfy an agreed test for incorporation in the political history of the period between the above two termini. It would be then only that the necessity to revise the whole history of our country would arise The cry for doing so raised on the discovery of the Mohenjodaro relics was premature.

<sup>28.</sup> Harwamśa Parva, 1 56

<sup>29</sup> Op cit, I 60

<sup>30.</sup> For instance it is not open to suspicion that 12 years had elapsed during the peregrinations of the Pāndavas after the second dice-game at Hastināpur, that one year had elapsed between the termination of that period and that of the reclamation of the herds of cows of Virāṭnagar by Arjuna on defeating the Kauravas, that Dhṛta-rāṣṭra had lived with the Pāndavas peacefully for 15 years after the war and the pre-formance of the obsequial ceremonies of the dead relatives (Mbh XV I 6), that the cataclysm at Dwārakā and the fratricidal conflict at Prabhāsa between the young Yādavas and the death of Kṛṣṇa had taken place after the lapse of 36 years from the date of accession by Yudhiṣṭhira on the throne of Hastināpur (Mbh XVI 2 20-21) Even some of the Purāṇas are likely to furnish some reliable clues such as that according to the Bhāgawata XI. 25 Kṛṣṇa was 125 years old at the time of the fratricidal conflict.

#### XI. Their Effect on the History of Indian Culture.

This kind of re-construction work, if assiduously carried out, can also be hoped to provide a satisfactory solution of the 11ddle of the Indus and Gangetic Valley civilizations for various leasons. Thus some of the relics found at Mohenjo-daro point to the buried cities there having been inhabited by a non-Aryan race most probably of the Diavidian stock whose principal tribal deity was Rudra During the Mahabharata period, Jayadratha, a Ksatriya son-in-law of Dhrtarastra, was ruling over some portion of Sindh 91 One of the notable feats of Krsna for which he was identified with Visnu was the freeing of Bharatavarsa from the pest of several impious and tyrannical kings like Kamsa, Janāsandha, Sisupāla, Bhauma, Bānāsura, Kālayavana, Sālva and Srgāla-Vāsudeva, some of whom were Kstriyas and others non-Aryans and most of whom were the worshippers of Rudra This does not however mean that there was no social intercourse between the Aryans and the Anlaryans On the contrary there are numerous instances of inter-marriages between them, in each of which the male was an Aryan and the female Anaryan. Thus Arjuna, Bhīma and Krsna himself had married the daughters of several Anāryan chiefs, called Nagas, Raksasas, &c. Some of the well-known sages like Dyaipāyana owed their birth to a sexual intercourse between Brahmans and lowcaste girls, Santanu, grand-father of the Kauravas and Pandavas had married the very girl Satyavatī or Matsyagandhā, who had given birth to Dvaipāyana during her maidenhood The Drona Parva of the Mbh contains a very detailed account of a fierce battle that had taken place after mid-night between the Rāksasas headed by Ghatotkaca, son of Bhīma and Hedarnbā, and Alambuşa and Alāyudha, other Rāksasas, who had come to assist the Kauravas with contingents of several Anāryan tribes such as the Kāmbojas, Kirātas, Daradas, Barbaras, Yavanas, Sabaras, Bhīlas and others This account also makes it crystal clear that whereas Aryan warriors depended upon weapons made of iron, and bows and arrows, the use whereof presupposed a knowledge of some science, some of the Anaryan warriors fought with stone-weapons (Sılāyuddha) while others made use of their knowledge of some sciences stigmatised by the Aryans as Rāksasī and Asurī Māylās, which enabled them to rise up in the air, become invisible and fight unseen by the adversary, to put the latter on a wrong track and weakening the morale of his army by spreading false rumours and creating false evidence in support of them &c  $^{92}$  The Aryans had their own code of honour to be observed even in war-times just as the European nations now have their international law relating to war-times. Thus for instance, we find it discussed in the  $Mak\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$  at several places whether a particular act of the one party or other was or was not in accordance

<sup>31</sup> It has been discovered that the descendants of this Jayadratha had migrated to Kāthiawād at the time of the invasion of Sindh by Mahomed Kasim and were ruling over parts of it in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries (*Rājasthana* for July 1939, pp 2-9)

<sup>32</sup> Mbh VII 108 to 192

with Dharma, which both being Āryans were bound to observe. The Rāksasas and Asuras did not feel themselves bound by any such code and "everything is fair in love and war" was their motto. All this goes to establish that the Āryans, who had made considerable progress on the spiritual side of life and the Anāryans, who had made such on its material side, had been living side by side in the age in which Śrī Krsna, his relatives like Vasudeva, Balarāma, Aristanemi, Akrūra, and Ugrasena, and adversaries like Jarāsandha of Magadha, Śiśupāla of Cedi, Kamsa of Śūrasena and Bhauma of Prāgjyotişa and the sons of Dhrtarāstra and Pāndu and others lived and had been mixing socially with each other and influencing each other's thoughts and actions to a considerable extent.

It further seems to me highly probable that if we get a success in solving the above tangle we shall also be able to ascertain the exact relations between the Vedic and the Bhāgawata or Pāñcailātra religions, the Vedic and the Pāsupata religions, the Vedic and the Sakta religions, the Vedic and the Buddhist and Jaina religions and also those between the non-Vedic religions inter se because all those religions whether orthodox or heterodox, have some beliefs and mythologies in common and some of them e.g the Bhāgavatas and the Jains share some common traditions also 33

#### XII The Line of Further Progress and Appeal to the Research Scholars.

The above are only the immediate results of the proposed line of It has its remote results as well Once we are on stable ground as research to the history of about a century before the Mahabharata war we can make further progress also along this purely Indian line because our literatures also have the potentiality of affording clues to the re-construction of our history, in the age next prior to the above namely, the age in which Rāmacandra, son of Dasaratha was the predominant personality and the most notable event wherein was a war between Rāmacandra and Laxmana sons of Dasaratha on the one hand and Ravana and Kumbhakarna, grandsons of the sage Pulastya on the other at Lanka, a city on an island in the midst of the southern ocean whose northern shore appears to have been situated far to the north of Dhanuşkodı and Kanyā Kumārī. The sons of Dalsaratha were assisted in their invasion of Lanka by the chiefs of Anaryan tribes, which though described as Vanaras (apes) and Rksas (bears) and though living in subterranean or mountain caves and fighting with stones and trees had some sort of social and political organizations of their own, which by the time of Krsna had become almost extinct The grandsons of Pulustya had also their own army of mighty warriors who were experts in the science of archery and had amassed immense wealth collected from all the quarters and particularly from the region north of the Himalayas Since however they were epicureans in their outlook on life and as such knew no Dharma and were cannibalistic ın habit they were stigmatised as Rāksasas The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, the

<sup>33</sup> WINTERNITZ, HIL. I pp. 320, 407 et III. seq pp 113-14, 484 et seq.

Rāmopākhyāna in the Mahābhārata, the Paūmacarīya of Vimala Suri and some of the Buddhist tales now obtainable only in Chinese and Tibetan translations, <sup>34</sup> can serve as the sources from which the history of this age can be re-constructed Vālmīki's Rāmāyana also contains in the subsequently added 1st and 7th Kānḍas a description of the dynasties of the kings of the Solar race prior to Daśaratha and some important events in the lives of some of them and references to the foundation of several cities, whose sites can, after some research, be located with some amount of certainty. If excavations are made at those sites at appropriate depths, archæology can be helpful to purely literary research with regard to this period also

- 20 The Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata contain evidence of an age earlier even than that of Rāmacandra, in which the predominant personality was Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagni and the most outstanding event wherein was a long-continued bitter struggle for supremacy between the Brahmans headed by him and the Kṣatriyas headed by Sahasnārjuna of Māhiṣmati. The Purānas too, if critically examined, might be helpful in ascertaining the dates of some of the important events of that age
- 21 The age of the Veduc Rsis was still earlier than that The most outstanding event in that age was the struggle for supremacy between the Brahmans headed by Vasistha and the Kṣatriyas headed by Viśvāmitra, which is described in details in both the said Epics Although in this respect this age resembles the previous one it differs from it also in that Vasistha did not fight with weapons but with his spiritual powers and Viśvāmitra was the Rṣi to whom is ascribed the origin of the first-known work on Dhanurveda 35 We read also of his having taken the assistance of several Anāryan tribes while trying to suppress the power of Vasistha.
- 22 The history of the human races in India having two different kinds of ideals of life and therefore two different kinds of civilization, one spiritual, and the other material, struggling for supremacy over each other, thus seems to go back to very remote times. The early beginning of that struggle is found recorded in the Indra-Virocana story in the Chāndogya Upanishat<sup>36</sup> wherein Indra is the king of the gods and Virocana that of the demons and according to which whereas the latter was satisfied with the knowledge that the self was identical with the physical body and spread the materialistic doctrine amongst his followers that happiness in this world and the next could be attained by adoring that body with clothes, ornaments, food, etc., which was very similar to that of the ancient Egyptians, Indra persisted in his inquiry assiduously and learnt the doctrine, that the real self was neither identical with the body nor with the mind, was not affected by pleasures and pains and was not subject to changes of states but was identical with the one immutable essence which pervaded the whole universe and became re-joined to it and merged in it

<sup>34</sup> Op cit I. 513

Vide Madhusūdana's remarks on 'Dhanurveda' in the Prasthānabheda.
 Chā Upa, VIII. 1 et sea.

when divested of the body.<sup>37</sup> If thus the Indian records are approached and studied in the right spirit they will lead to the solution of many other riddles which the European anthropologists have been striving to solve without their assistance. Their potentiality lies deeper still and extends to the solution of even the riddle of the evolution of the universe in different cycles, *i e to say*, the gradual formation of the planets, the constellations, the signs of the zodiac, etc. In fact they would acquaint man with everything which he wants to know and strives to know.

That is, however, a far far distant cry It would not be a small achievement even if the history of the Indian races, their civilizations and their action and re-action on each other are investigated and placed on a stable The first step towards that objective, as I have said, is to trace the history of India upto the Age of Krsna, for doing which there are, as stated above, very ample materials on the surface of this land and very probably be-If it is to be taken seriously, we can no longer afford to wait till some western institution leads the way to it It is high time we learnt to stand on our own legs and go our own way. It cannot be denied that there is the danger of our faltering and even losing our way at times That danger should not, however, deter us from taking courage in both hands and making a beginning It is well-known that those only succeed in all walks of life who are enterprising, self-reliant, frank-hearted enough to acknowledge mistakes, sincere enough to correct them whenever pointed out by others and resolute enough to overcome all the difficulties as they arise during the pursuit of their high ideals and to rest only after the settled objective is reached. This land which has produced a poet like Dr. Rabindranath TAGORE, a plant-physiologist like the late Sir J C Bose, Chemists like Dr P C. RAY and Sir C V RAMAN, a philosopher like Sir S RADHAKRISHNAN and a historian of the Moghul and Maratha periods like Sir Jadunath Sarkar, is not wanting in research scholars with the above qualifications Already some individual scholars have put forth their best efforts in the field of ancient history But in that subject there is too much room for differences of opinion What is, therefore, wanted is a joint action commenced under the auspices of an authoritative body like the All-India Oriental Conference in collaboration with the authorities of the archæological department of the Government of India R. B. Dikshit, who at present leads them, is not only highly sympathetic towards the movement for a substantial progress in the ancient Indian history of our country and has not only been doing all that he can do from his high position to push on that movement but has also as above-stated taken several opportunities to throw out suggestions for the line of future work on the part of societies of research scholars and archæological investigators, which in his view is likely to lead to the attainment of the desired goal The Indian Historical Congress too has been taking steps towards the same end But historians as such are in the position of judges whose proper function is to weigh the evidence placed before them and

<sup>37</sup> Op cet VIII 12-14,

pass a judgment as to whether that evidence does or does not satisfy a recognized test. Those whose views cannot be ignored have already weighed the evidence till now collected and passed their judgment which points out several lacuna in the evidence. It therefore now behoves the advocates first to bestir themselves to search for materials which would enable them to fill in those lacuna and if any satisfactory ones are found out to apply for a review of that judgment on the ground of the discovery of new and important matter or evidence. Out of the advocates the archæologists have already been doing their bit. Will the group of research scholars, organised as the All-India Oriental Conference realize their responsibility in the matter, settle their differences, take concerted action for doing their part and place before the judges such fresh evidence as they would consider satisfactory for justifying them in reviewing their previous judgment and passing a re-considered one allowing their claim on behalf of the Indian civilization? Let us hope and pray that they will 38

<sup>38</sup> The Council of the Oriental Conference at its meeting held at the same place after the sectional meeting was over, passed, at the instance of the President of the Archæology section, a resolution drawing the attention of the Executive Committee to the scheme set forth in this paper and recommending the consideration thereof with a view to determine whether it was possible to give effect to the said or any other modified scheme for the attainment of the object the writer of the paper had in view and if so, what steps should be taken towards that end. It also brought to the notice of the said Committee that Mr Divanji had offered to subscribe Rs. 1,000 to any fund that may be started in order to meet the expenses that may be incurred in taking such steps.

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA: THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION\*

# By V. M. APTE, Poona.

ĀG. I. 22 21, Anındıtāyāni diśyekamūlam palāśam kuśastambhani vā palāśāpacāre pradaksınam udakumbhena trih parişiñcantam vācayatı. (a) Suśravah suśravā ası, (b) Yathā tvani suśravah suśravā asyevam māni suśravaḥ sauśravasani kuru, (c) Yathā tvani devānām yajňasya nidhipo'sy, (d) evamaham manusyāṇām vedasya nidhipo bhūyāsam' iti

Trans: While the student is sprinkling a Palāśa tree with a single root (or a Kuśa bunch in the absence of a Palāśa) in an unobjectionable direction (i.e. neither south nor south-east nor south-west) from the left to the right, with a water-pot, the ācārya makes him repeat the following mantra: (a) Suśravas (good listener) thou art famous (a play on the word 'suśravas' meaning 'hearing well' as well as 'well heard of' is intended). (b) As thou, O Suśravas, art famous, so do thou, O Suśravas, make me endowed with fame (c) As thou art the guardian of the treasures of sacrifices for the gods, (d) so may I become the guardian of Vedic learning for men.

Context: This is the medhājanana ceremony (for the production of 'Intelligence') which is performed for the student when he has completed his yows.

Sources. The mantra is an address to the Palāśa tree and though it cannot be traced as a whole, the story alluded to in it (which explains the epithet 'Suśravas' as applied to the Palāśa) is found in TS. 3. 5. 7. 2— 'Devā vai brahmann avadanta | tat parna upāśrnot | suśravā vai nāma, yasya parnamayī juhur bhavati, na sa pāpam ślokam śrnoti | [The gods discussed regarding holy power (brahman) and the Parna (a name of the Palāśa tree) overheard it; he whose ladle is made of Parna (wood) is called Suśravas (famous); he hears no scandal] TBR 1. 2. 1. 6 is even more explicit "Brahmavādam vadatām yad upāśrnoh suśravā vai śruto'si, [Since thou didst overhear the (gods) discussing Brahma, thou art known as Suśravas] tato māmāviśatu brahma-varcasam" (May holy lustre therefore enter into me) This last clause is very suggestive of our Medhājanana rite.

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p 155 of Vol III.

<sup>1.</sup> Prof. OLDENBERG's translation suggests (p. 192) that water is being sprinkled round the tree It is, however the tree that is being sprinkled.

<sup>2.</sup> This address to the Palāśa tree implies an allusion to the story of the part played by the Palāśa tree in over-hearing the conversation of the gods, mentioned in the next paragraph. The epithet 'Suśravas' which I have translated above in the light of this allusion, is translated by Oldenberg as "O glorious one."

Among Sūtra texts only ĀPMB 2 5. 1 has all the clauses (a) to (d) with unimportant variations MG. 1. 22. 17 has (a) and (b) without variations; PG 2. 4 2 has the same two with some variations.

ĀG. I. 23 5 'Sadasyam saptadasam kausītakınah samāmanantı, sa karmanām upadrastā bhavatīti'

Trans. The Kausītakins prescribe the 'sadasya' as the seventeenth so that he may play the part of the overseer of (all) rifes.

Context · This view is mentioned in connection with the rule that either the four chief priests or all the sixteen (who officiate at Ahīna and Ekāha sacrifices) may be chosen to officiate at a sacrifice.

Sources. Our sūtra occurs word for word in ĀPŚ. X I 10. 10-11 and this whole Kaṇḍikā (I 23) has been modelled on ĀPŚ. X I. 10 where are found many of its sūtras and quotations. Our text correctly represents this view as the peculiar view of the Kauṣītakins, because ŚB X 4. 1. 19 denounces the employment of the 'Sadasya' priest whereas KB 177 and 264 and 5 mention along with other priests the 'Sadasya' priest, whose duty it was to supervise the whole offering and call attention to any lapse, never leaveing his post (the 'Sadas' enclosure)—which explains 'Sa karmantām upadiastā bhayati' in our Sūtra

ĀG. I 23 8-14 Agnır me hotā, sa me hota, hottāran tvāmum vrna iti, hotāram |8| Candramā me brahmā, sa me brahmā, brahmānam tvāmum vrna iti brahmānam |9| Ādityo me'dhvaryun ityadhvaryum |10| parjanyo ma udgātetyudgātāram |11| Āplo me hotrā-śansinya iti hotrakān |12| raśmayo me camasādhvaryava iti camasādhvaryūn |13| Ākāśo me sadasya iti sadasyam |14|

Trans (8) "Agm is my Hotr, he is my Hotr, I choose three So and So! as my Hotr;" (with this formula he chooses) the Hoti (9) 'Candramas is my Brahman' etc as above (With this formula he chooses) the Brahman (10) 'Āditya is my adhvaryu' etc; (thus) the adhvaryu (11) 'Parjanya is my Udgātr etc', thus the Udgātr (12) 'The waters are my reciters of what belongs to the Hotrakas etc'—(thus) the Hotrakas (13) 'The rays are my Camasādhvaryus etc'—(thus) the Camasādhvaryus (14). "The lākāsa is my Sadasya etc" (thus) the Sadasya

Sources: Each Mantra consists of two parts—in the first deity Agni (Candramas etc. is) declared to be the Divine 'hotā' ('Brahmā' etc respectively) and then in the second part, the priest is declared to have been chosen as the Human hotā etc. This double address is explained by \$B II. 10 (a section dealing with the same topic) where we find mantias identical with or similar to those in our sūtras above

ȘB II 10 1-3 Davă anye rtvijo, mānusā anye | sa etān davān rtvijo vrnīta "agnir me hotā" etc. | sa etān davān rtvijo vrtvā athaitān mānusān vinīta | (Here the commentator gives the required formulas "etannādakena yajnenāham yaksye tatra me tvam hotā etc") "The divine priests are different and the human priests are different He chooses the divine priests with the

formulas 'Agnir me hotā' etc. (these formulas are identical with the first parts of our mantras in order) Having chosen the divine priests, he should then proceed to choose (the corresponding) human priests" [with formulas given by the commentator (meaning I propose to offer such and such sacrifice, be thou my 'hotā' there etc) the last parts of which are similar to the second parts of our mantras]  $\bar{A}P\bar{S}$  X 1. 14 also, has similar mantras with the same double address

AG I. 23 15. Sa vrto japen "mahan me'voco, bhargo me'voco, bhago me'voco, yaso me'vocah, stomam me'vocah klplam me'voco, bhuktim me'vocas, trptim me'vocah, sarvam me'voca" iti |

Trans The priest chosen (as above) should mutter "A great thing hast thou told me; lustre hast thou told me, 'fortune', 'fame,' 'piaise', 'success,' 'enjoyment,' 'satisfaction', hast thou told me (this last clause being repeated with each of these words); 'all' hast thou told me."

Sources · PB I 1 1 gives a formula similar to ours as the formula to be muttered by the Udgāti when chosen ('Vrtasya udgātui japa-mantrāh') because as a Brāhmana of the Sāmaveda, it was only concerned with the functions of the Udgātr PB I 1 1. omits some words like 'bhagah, klptim' etc. but is substantially the same mantra as ours ĀPS. X 1 4. gives a formula identical with ours except for the omission of 'bhagah' Somewhat similar formulas are also found in MS 5. 2 15 2, LS 1 1 10-14 and SS. 5. 1 10.

ĀG I. 23. 16-18. Japītvā "agnīste Hotā, sa te hotā hotāham te mānusa" iti hotā pratījānīte | 16 | Candramāste brahmā sa te brahmā brahmā | 17 | Evam ītare yathādešam | 18 |

Trans. (16) Having muttered (the formula given above) the hotr (loudly) declares his acceptance with the formula "Agni is thy Hotr, he is the Hotr, thy human Hotr am I"

(17) "Candramas is thy Biahman, he is thy Biahman"—(with this formula) the Brahman (18) In the same way, the other priests according to the (individual) specifications (given above such as 'Ādītya' for the 'adhvaryu' etc).

Sources These mantras are of the nature of responses by the priests to the mantras cited in sūtras 8 to 14, with just the necessary modifications e.g., 'te' for 'me' and 'hotāham te' for 'hotāram tvā' They are hardly independent mantras therefore and are not traced to any other text in this particular form

ĀG I 23 19: 'Tan māmavatu, tanmāvišatu, tena bhuksīyeti' ca yājayisyan |

Trans When he (the invitee) intends to perform the sacrifice (for the inviter), he should repeat the following formula (in addition to the one given in the preceding sūtras:) "May that protect me, may it enter into me, may I thereby enjoy (bliss)!"

The alternative (to 'yājayisyan', even after accepting the invitation) implied in this sutra according to Nārāyaṇa is that the priests may simply be

performing the Agnyādheya for him, in which case they do not recite this formula.

Sources: PB. I. 1. 1. gives an identical formula in the same context, with only 'mām' for 'mā'.  $\overline{APS}$  X. 1. 4 also gives an identical formula in an identical context.

ĀG. I. 23. 21 · Somapravākam parı-pṛcchet (a) "Ko yajñah, (b) Ka autvıjah, (c) Kā daksınā" iti

Trans: (The Rtvij chosen) should ask the Somapraväka (the representative of the Soma-sacrificer who gives the invitations on his behalf) "What sacrifice is it? Who are the (other) officiating priests? What is the fee?"

Sources: APS X 1 3 in exactly the same context, has "Tam (the commentator supplies 'Soma-pravākam' as in our text) prechanti rtvijah "Ke yājayanti, kaccinnāhīnah, kaccit kalyānyo dakṣiṇāh-"—iti chāndogabrāhmaṇam bhavati | Trans: The priests ask him 'Who are going to perform the sacrifice? [This is parallel to our (b)]. Is it an Ahīna sacrifice? [This is parallel to our (a)] Are the fees decent?" [This is parallel to our (c)]—So runs a Brāhmaṇa of the Chandogas

I do not understand why Prof. Oldenberg refers us to the commentary on the Pañca-vimsa Brāhmana for this passage when it is found in the ĀPs. itself, as shown above

ĀG. I 24 8. (a) 'Aham varşma sajātānām (b) vidyutām īva sūryah, (c) idam tam adhitīsthāmī (d) yo mā kaścābhīdāsati 'ityudagagre vīstara upavišet [

Trans He (the guest) should sit down on the seat (of daibha grass) so that the (grass-)ends point to the north (the superstition that the fringes or loose ends of a carpet or mat should not point to the south prevails even to-day in India) with the mantra "I am the summit (varşman) of my kinsmen, as the Sun is of Lightning (flashes) Here I sit on him who harasses me."

Context. The guest does so when the seat, madhuparka etc. have each been announced to him thrice, by the host.

Sources · This same verse is found in §§ IV 21 2 in an identical context (our kandikā in fact is indebted to the section §§ IV 21 dealing with the guest-reception with the madhiparka for some of the mantras quoted as well as the wording of some of its Sūtras such as ĀG I 24 1 to 7)

The variations are 'sādrśānām' a synonym of our 'sajātānām' in (a), and 'asmāñ abhidāsati' for our 'mā kaśdābhidāsati' in (d) The mantra occurs with slight variations in PG 1 3 8 and MG 1 9 8

ĀG. I 24 13. Praksālītapādo'rghyam añjalīnā pratigrhyāthācamanīyenācāmatī: (a) 'Amrtopastaranam asī' itī

Trans His feet having been washed, he takes the Arghya water in the hollow of his joined hands (and after thus signifying its acceptance, pours it

out¹) and then sips the acamanı̃ya water (intended for sipping) with the mantra. "Thou art the 'underspread' (or foundation-layer) of Amrta"

It would be convenient to consider another formula of the same type in sūtra 28, along with this.

AG. I. 24 28: (b) Athācamanīyenāvācāmati 'Amrtāpidhānam ası' iti | Trans. He then (i.e. after eating the Madhuparka) follows it (i.e. the eating) up by sipping the lācamanīya water with the formula "Thou art the 'covering-lid' of Amita.

Sources of (a) i.e the formula in I 24 13 and (b) the one in I. 24 28 The two formulas are traced to TA. 10. 32. 1 and 10 35 1 respectively where the commentator explains that they are to be employed before and after a meal respectively.

The practice of sipping water before and after a meal, with exactly these two formulas which stand, as it were, for the prologue and epilogue of the ritual drama of a dinner is in force even to this day in India!

AG. I. 24. 14-15. The mantras 'mittasya tv\(\frac{1}{2}\) etc.' in I. 24 14 and 'Devasya tv\(\frac{1}{2}\) etc.' the first mantra quoted in I. 24 15 have already been discussed under I. 20 4.

ĀG. I 24. 15-18: (a) 'Vasavastvā gāyatrena chandasā bhakṣayantu' iti purastān mmārsti | 15 | (b) 'Rudrāstvā traistubhena chandasā bhakṣayantu' iti daksmatah | 16 |. (c) 'Ādityāstvā jāgatena chandasā bhakṣayantu' iti paścāt | 17 | (d) Viśve tvā devā ānuṣṭubhena chandasā bhakṣayantu' ityuttaratah | 18 |

Trans: [(Sūtra 14): After having looked at the Madhuparka, (sūtra 15). accepted it with his joined hands, transferred it to his left hand, looked at it again with appropriate mantras for every stage, he stills the madhuparka thrice from left to right and then] wipes (what sticks to his fingers of the madhuparka) on the eastern (side)<sup>2</sup> with the mantra (a) 'May the Vasus eat thee with the Gāyatrī metre', Sūtra 16 · (b) 'May the Rudras eat thee with the Tristubh metre'—with this formula, on the south, Sūtra 17: (c) 'May the Ādityas eat thee with the Jagatī metre'—with this formula on the west; sūtra 18 · (d) 'May the Viśvedevas eat thee with the Anuşlubh metre'—with this formula on the north.

Sources: The first three mantras (a), (b) and (c) cited in sūtras 15 to 17 are found in a number of texts with various verbs (other than our 'bhakṣa-yantu') ending the sentences · e g (1) the three mantras with the variation 'parigrhnantu' for 'bhakṣayantu' are found in TS 1 1 9 3, the context being the tracing of the 'Vedi' by means of the 'sphya' (=the wooden sword). (2) They are found with the variation 'prayrhantu' for 'bhakṣa-

<sup>1</sup> This must be done before he takes up the water for sipping in his hands—a small detail not noticed either by Stenzler or by Oldenberg and ignored in the two commentaries of Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta, as too well-known probably!

<sup>2. \$\ \\$5</sup> IV 21 8 makes it clear that this wiping is done on the eastern, southern, western and northern sides of the Madhuparka vessel.

yantu' in TS 333.1, the context being the offerings of 'Amśu' and 'Adābhya' cups in a Soma sacrifice. (3) They are found with the change 'Kinvantu āngirasvat' for 'Bhakṣyantu' in TS. 4.1 5.3 VS 11 58 and \$B 6.5 2 3 the context being the making of the fire-pan while the adhvaryu or the sacrificer repeats the mantras (4) They are found with 'dhūpayantu' for our 'bhakṣayantu' in TS. 4.1 6 1 and VS. 11. 60 the context being the fumigating of the fire-pan (5) 'Samañjantu' appears instead of 'bhakṣayantu' in TS. 4.1 63 and VS 11. 60, the context being the filling of the fire-pan with goat's milk and (6) Añjantu is the variant for 'bhakṣayantu' in TS 7 4. 20. 1, the context being the anointing of the aśvamedha horse.

Our text, then, has derived (1) the ending 'bhakṣayantu' (2) a suggestion of the context and (3) the addition of the fourth category in (d) of the 'Viśvedevas' from Śś. IV. 21 8-12 where the Vasus, Pitṛs, Ādityas, Rudras and Viśvedevas are associated with the wipings on the eastern, southern, western, northern and central sides (respectively) of the vessel LS 1. 10 17 also has four similar mantras for wiping the four sides of the 'dionakalaśa' There is a certæin propriety in the association of the metres with the decities e.g the Gāyatrī metre with 8 syllables in a pāda goes with the eight Vasus, the Triştubh metre with eleven syllables in a pāda goes with eleven Rudias and the jagatī metre with 12 syllables, with the 12 Ādityas Perhaps the Anuṣṭubh metre as the common Śloka metre was associated with Viśvedevas.

AG. I 24 19: 'Bhūtebhyastvā' iti madhyāt trirudgrhya |

Trans With the formula 'To the beings (I offer) thee', he three times takes some (of the madhuparka) out of the middle of it.

Sources In TS 1. 2 12 3, the Sruc (ladle) is picked up with this formula in the marking out of the high altar (Uttara-vedi) and in VS 5 12 the centre of the altar is anointed with butter with this formula after the four corners have been anointed with suitable mantras. In both these (TS and VS) passages, the guest offering to Soma (the early model for the 'Madhu-parka offering) precedes the formulas. The idea of 'taking up a little of the madhuparka from the middle' may have been suggested by §§ IV 21. 12—where we read. 'Viśe tvā devā bhaksayantu iti madhyādūrdhvam.'

ĀG, I 24 20-22 (a) 'Virājo doho'si' ili prathamam prāśnīyāt | 20 | (b) 'Virājo doham aśīya' ili dvitiyam | 2 | (c) 'Mayı dohah padyāyaı virājah' ili trtīyam | 22 |

Trans. (20) = (a) 'Thou art the milking of the Shining One (Virajo)'—with this formula, he eats of it, for the first time (21) = (b) 'The milking of the Shining One, may I attain' with this formula (he eats) a second time (22) = (c). 'In me, may the milking of the Shining One (the Earth-Cow) endowed with feet', dwell'—with this formula a third time.

Sources: The formulas are found without variation in \$\$ IV 21 3, the context being that the guest accepts the water for washing the feet, with these

<sup>1</sup> Reasons for this translation of 'padyā Virāj' which according to OLDENBERG (p 97 on SGIII75) is the Virāj metre, are given below.

formulas—a context which brings out more clearly the play on 'padyayai' But an explanation of the puzzling phrase 'Viraio (endowed with feet) dohah' is found in SB 1.5 2 20 "Iyam vai virād | asyai vā esa doha, evam ha vā asmā 1yam virlāt sarvlān kāmān duhe | ya evam etlām virlājo doham veda" (Trans) .- This (i.e the earth represented by the altar) is verily the 'Shining One' and of her, is this milking, in this way does this Shining one (the Earth-Cow) milk forth all his desires for him who knows this milking of the Shining One' My translation of 'Virājo dohah' as 'the Milking of the Shining One' (the earth-cow) is based on this SB.-passage and the appropriateness of this phrase as applied to the madhuparka of which dadhi (curds)—a product of cow's milk-was an important ingredient is evident. The epithet 'padyāyai' also becomes significant as referring to the feet of the earth-cow. Prof OLDEN-BERG's view (p. 97) that 'padyā virāj' is the virāj metre in so far as it consists of feet does not explain the association of 'doha' (or milking) with 'virāj' in the formulas, besides, that meaning also may be just suggested here as part of a play on the various meanings of the words 'padyā virāj' (which is not uncommon) but it cannot be the principal or primary meaning of the phrase

ĀG. I 24 29 (a) 'Satyam yaśah śrīr, (b) mayı śrīh śrayatām' iti dvitīyam | Trans With the formula "Truth! Fame! Fortune! May Fortune rest on me!" (he sips water) a second time (It has been sipped first with the formula in the preceding sūtra discussed already under ĀG. I. 24 13, after the eating of the Madhupaika is finished).

Sources RVKh V 8710 reads "Manasah kāmam ākūtim vācah satyam asīmahı | pasūnām rūpam annasya, mayı śrīh śrayatām yasah ||

The last pāda along with the word 'satyam' in the second pāda, seems to have suggested our formulas VS 39 4 is just this (RVKh) verse with the last pāda reading as 'Yaśah śrīh śiayatām mayi' and employed as a formula to atone for defects in the Pravargya ceremony. Our text seems to have rearranged some of the words in these verses, to make up the prose formula that we have above!

ĀG I 24 31-32 (a) 'Hato me pāpmā, pāpmā me hata' iti japitvā (b) 'Om kuruta' iti kārayisyan |31| 'Mātā' etc (= RV VIII, 101 15) itī japitvā, (c) 'Om utsrjata' ityutsraksyan |32|

Trans: (31) (a) 'Destroyed is my sin; my sin is destroyed'—having muttered (this formula), he adds (b)='Om, make (her i.e. kill her and dress her flesh as food for me)', if he desires (the host) to make her for himself (32) If he desires to set her free, he should add (c) 'Om! release her!' after muttering the (RV) verse 'Mātā' etc

Context: The guest gives these instructions when the cow has been announced to him after he has sipped water.

Sources: (a) The formula identical in part with (a), is VS. 6 35 ' $P\bar{a}pm\bar{a}$  hato, na somah', where the formula is supposed to exculpate the sin of beating (and pressing) the soma (into juice) just as our formula exculpates the sin of killing the cow.

Formulas (b) and (c). §§. IV. 21. 23 24 contains both these formulas along with the same RV verse (VIII 101 15) that is quoted in our sutra I. 24 32 in exactly the same context with only the addition ' $trn\bar{a}nyattu$   $ttv\bar{a}$ ' (Let her eat grass) which is recommended as an optional formula for 'Om Utstjata'.

Similar formulas, in exactly the same context, are found in LS 1 2.12 seqq TA. 6.12 1 uses (c) along with the same RV verse, for letting loose the cow that accompanies a funeral procession, if it is decided not to kill her for being land limb by limb on the corpse.

ĀG. II. 1. 9: Kalaśāt saktūnām, darvīm pūrayıtvā prāgupanıskramya sucau deśe'povaninīya: "(a) sarpadevajanebhyah svāhā" iti hutvā namaskaroti, (b) 'ye sarpāh pārthīvā, ye antarīksyā, ye dīvyā, ye dīśyās, tebhya imam balim āhārṣam, tebhya imam balim upākaromt' iti |

Trans: He fills a ladle with (barley-)flour out of the jug (set apart at the beginning of the ceremony); goes out (of the house) eastward, pours water on a clean spot and sacrifices (i.e. deposits the barely-flour on it as a ball offering) with the formula. (a) 'To the divine host of Scrpents! Svāhā!' and makes a (reverential) bow with the formula. "The scrpents who are terrestrial, who belong to the antarikṣa, who belong to heaven and who dwell in the quarters—to them, do I bring this Bali'.

Context: This takes place in the Sravanākarma (a rite to the serpents) after the sacrifice of the sthālīpāka, puroḍāśa and besmeaied fried grains

Sources. (a) This same formula is employed again in our text in II. 1.14 at the daily (morning and evening) offerings of Balis till the ceremony of 'pratyavarohana' (or 'redescent'). VS 30: 8 has 'Saipadeva-janebhyo' pratipadam | [To the divine hosts of serpents, an untrustworthy man (is offered as a victim at the Purusamedha sacrifice)]. The same expression (as in VS) is found in TB 3.4.15 (b) The formulas nearest to (though not identical with) those in (b), are TS. 4.2.8 3 and VS 13.6 'Namostu sarpebhyo, ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu | ye'ntarikṣe, ye divi, tebhyah sarpebhyo namah | '

The context is as follows —In the Aśvamedha, the ground for the fire is being prepared. The horse advances to the Darbha-bunch spread on the ground, then a lotus-leaf is put on the horse's foot-print, and the golden image of a man put on top of the lotus-leaf, is addressed with this mantra. In the VS, the employment is similar; only it is in connection with the construction of the Āhavanīya fire-altar. These VS-Mantras are commented on in the  $\pm$ B 74.128 and are quoted by pratīkas, in PG II 14 18, in exactly the same context as in our text, as both these works belong to the VS. A comparison of our formulas with those in TS VS etc. shows that our ' $P\bar{a}r$ -thivā' etc. is a mere paraphrase of 'ye ke ca Prthivīm anu' etc. Our version is also found in  $\pm$ PMB 2 178b

AG II 1 10 Pradaksınam parītya paścād baler upaviśya (a) 'Sarpo'si, (b) sarpatām sarpānām adhipatir asi, (c) annena manusyāms trāyase' pūpena

sarpān, yajūena devāms, (d) tvayi mā santam, tvayi santah sarpā mā himsisur, (e) dhruvām¹ te paridadāmi' iti.

Trans Having gone round (the Bali), keeping his right side towards it, he sits down to the west of the Bali (and recites the mantra). (a) 'Thou art the Sarpa, (b) the lord of creeping serpents art thou; (c) thou nourishest men with food, serpents with cake and the gods by sacrifice. (d) May not the serpents living in thee, harm me who am also living in thee. (e) I give thee the ladle (dhruvā —the same as the 'Darvī' mentioned in sūtra 9).

The meaning of (a) to (d):—The passage in the  $\pm B$ . 7.4.1.25 in which Agni is invoked by 'sarpa'-names and in which the epithet 'sarpa' is applied to the fire-god as well as to all the worlds of which he is the lord (with an implied reference to the etymology of the word 'Sarpa' from  $\sqrt{\text{Srp}} = \text{to}$  creep) throws considerable light on the meaning of this mantra. I think that there is a play here on the word 'Sarpa' meaning 'serpent' as well as 'fire' (the Grhya-fire was always near at hand in all Grhya rites) and only then can (c) be properly understood as it is the fire that supports the gods by carrying oblations and human beings and serpents by means of food and cake which it helps to cook (as is mentioned in the Mantra)

The meaning of (e) Prof. Stenzler's emendation is unnecessary as 'Dhruvām te' yields excellent sense. The 'Darvī' (ladle) of sūtras 2 and 9 is deliberately referred to here by the synonym 'Dhruvā' because of its nearness in sound to 'Dhruva' the lord of serpents, referred to in the following sūtras; besides it is a pointed reference to the ladleful of barley-flour offered as Bali on the clean spot (sūtra 9th) to the west of which the performer who repeats this mantra is sitting.

Sources The formulas—(a) to (d), are only found in sütra-texts and are not traced to earlier literature MG. 2. 126. 3 has them with the following variations, it omits 'Sarpatām' in (b), 'yajñena devān' in (c), and for (d) has 'tvayi santam mayi santam māksiṣur, mā nīriṣur, mā himsiṣur, mā dānkṣuh sarpāh' which is an expansion of our (d), ĀPMB II. 17. 3 has (c) with the addition 'tinaih paśūn svadhayā pitṛn, svāhā' and to our (d) corresponds ĀPMB II 17 4ª "tvayi nah santah, tvayi sadbhyo varṣābhyo nah paridehi" which as a prayer for protection from the rains, indicates the danger of snakes in the rainy season

ĀG II 1 11-12 — Dhruvāmum te dhruvāmum te ityamātyān anupūrvam | 11 | "dhruva mām te parīdadāmīty" ātmānam antatah | 12 |

Trans "Dhruva! I give so and so, over to thee! Dhruva! I give so and so over to thee!" With these words (repeated for each member) he gives over his family members in charge to the Serpent-god, one by one and finally himself (saying) "Dhruva! Me I give over to thee!"

Meaning of 'Dhruva' TA 10 67. 1 mentions a deity called 'Dhruva'

<sup>1</sup> I adopt the reading of Prof Stenzler's MSS (see his note on p 66), his emendation 'dhruvāmum' for 'dhruvām' is quite unnecessary as shown hereafter.

along with Agni "Agnaye svāhā '—dhruvāya bhūmāya svāhā!" The character of this deity is made clear by the comment of Haradatta on the above Sūtras in our text: 'Dhruvo nāma sarpāṇām adhipatiḥ'—Dhruva is the Lord of the Serpents.

Sources. These formulas are mere improvisations dictated by the particular context and are not traced to any other text.

AG. II. 2 3. Przatakom ańjalina juhuyād: (a) 'Ūnam me pūryatām, (b) pūrnam me mopasadat, (c) pzsatakāya svāhā' iti.

Trans. With his joined hands, he should sacrifice the 'Prsātaka', (repeating the mantra): 'May whatever is deficient in me be made good; may what is full, not fall off from me. To Prsātaka svāhā!' [There is a difference of opinion as to the exact ingredients of this Prṣātaka which is admitted to be a mixture. Prof Stenzier quotes the Grhya-samgraha (p. 70) according to which it is a mixture of 'dadhi' (curds) and 'sarpih' (butter), but Nārā-yaṇa says that it is a mixture of milk and Ājya and Haradatta in support of the same view, quotes the Chandogas as saying "payasyavanayedājyam tat pṛṣātakam iti Chandogāh"].

Context: This follows the sacrifice of a Sthālīpāka to Paśupatı in the 'Āśvayujī' ceremony (in celebration of the Āśvina full-moon).

Sources. Only in one Sūtra-text viz. PG 2 16 3 are forumlas (a) and (b) traced: (a) without variation and (b) with 'mā vigāt' (which means the same thing) for our 'mopasadat' (c) is not traced anywhere; in fact 'Pṛṣātaka' as a deity appears only here and in II. 2. 2. above!

AG. II. 2.4 · (a) "Sajūr stubhsh, sajūr vidhābhih, sajūr undrāgnībhyām svāhā | (b) sajūrtubhsh, sajūr vidhābhsh, sajūr višvebhyo devebhyah svāhā | (c) sajūr stubhih, sajūr vidhābhih, sajūr dyāvā-pṛthwībhyāni svāhā" styāhtāgner āgrayaṇasthālīpākah |

Trans: The Āhntāgnı (one who has set up the three Srauta fires) offers a sthālīpāka (a mess of cooked food) at the Āgrayaṇa sacrifice [in the Āhavanīya fire—this follows from the next Sūtra which prescribes that the 'anāhitāgni' offers it in the domestic fire] with the mantra (a) 'Harmonious with the seasons, harmonious with the Modes, harmonious with Indra and Agn! Svāhā! (b) Harmonious. ... (etc. as above up to 'modes', and then) harmonious with the Viśvedevas' svāhā! (c) Harmonious etc (as above, and then) harmonious with Heaven and Earth! svāhā!

Context: This is the ceremony of Agrayana in which the first fruits of the harvest are consecrated before being partaken of This is a Stauta, rite also and is described as such in the ĀS. II 9. I agree with Nārāyaṇa's view (p 203, Oldenberg) that it is described here ie in a Grhya Sūtra for an Āhitāgni who is unable to perform it in its fuller form in the ĀS., where it is prescribed at the time of the new harvest of every season.

Sources The formulas are found in TS. 4 3 4.3 where they accompany the depositing of the 'tlavyā' bricks (a name derived from the formulas themselves beginning as they do with 'Sajūr tlubhih') in the Agnicayana cere-

mony. VS. 14. 7 seqq has the same formulas in the same context; only the bricks here are called the 'Vaiśvadevi' bricks [a name derived from 'Viśvebhyo devebhyah' the words of the mantra part (b)]. \$B 8.228 comments on this VS-passage. They are also found in AP\$. 17.1.3 and K\$. 17 8.18 etc.

AG II. 3.3: Niveśanam punar navikrtya lepanā-staranopastaranan, astamite pāyasasya juhuyur: (a) "Apa śveta padā jahi (b) pūrvena cāparena ca | (c) sapta ca vāruņīr imāh, (d) sarvāśca rājabāndhavīh svāhā || (e) na vai śvetaścābhyāgāre'sır jaghāna kiñcana | (f) śvetāya vaidārvāya namah svāhā" iti |

Trans: (In the ceremony of Pratyavarohana) having again renovated the house by coating (the walls), spreading (the roof) and levelling (the floor), they should after sunset, sacrifice oblations of milk-rice with the mantras:—
(a) "Strike off, O White One! (b) with thy fore-foot and hind-foot, (c) these seven (praylas 1e. sevenfold progeny) of Varuṇa and (d) the entire kingly fraternity. (e) In the vicinity of the White One (I read 'svetasyā-bhyācāre'—an emendation discussed below), the Serpent has killed none. (f) To the White One, the Vaidārva, adoration! Svähā!"

Sources · Prof Stenzler (p. 69) draws attention to AV. 10 4. 3. which has (a) and (b) with 'ava' for our 'apa'. He and Prof. Oldenberg (p. 204) compare PG. II 14 5 and \$G IV. 18 1. Similar verses, it may be added, occur in MG 2. 7. 1; APMB 2. 17. 26 and HG. 2.16.18.

Meaning of the Mantras:

'Sveta'? As regards the meaning of 'Śveta', Prof. Stenzler on PG. II 14 4 and 5 (p 70) says that Dr. Hillebrandt drew his attention to the 'White Horse' in the RV, dealing death to the serpents, which the Aświns gave to Pedu and that this meaning suits the second pāda well This may be accepted but why the metaphor of the 'White Horse'? The explanation, in my opinion, is found in RV V. 1 4°: 'Sveto vājī jāyate agre ahnām' | = Thie white Horse (evidently the sun) is born at the beginning of the days. The Aśvamedha-context of 'Śvetāya Svāhā' in TS 7.3.18 and TB 3.8.17 4 makes it certain that 'śveta' is 'the White Horse' and the Dictionary (Monier Williams) explains 'śveta vaidārva' occurring in our clause (f) as 'a deity connected with the sun' This double implication of 'Śveta' meaning 'White Horse' and also 'a solar deity' gives excellent sense to our clause (b) as the fore-foot and hind-foot of the 'White Horse' would then represent the eastern and western strides of the Sun

The corrupt reading in (e) · The reading 'Svetaścābhyācare' in (e) does not make good sense, so Prof Oldenberg proposes (p 204) that it should be 'śvetasyādhyācāre' in conformity with PG II. 4. 5ª but this is too great a change to admit of the possibility of the emendation being the original of which the existing reading may have been a corruption. I propose that it should be read as 'Svetasyābhyācāre' which is the reading of MG 2. 7. 1ª. Besides it is not improbable that the letter 'syā' should have been corrupted into the present 'ścā'. HG 2.16.8ª also has 'Svetasyābhyācāreṇa'.

Sapta Vārunāh? I cannot understand why Prof Oldenberg translates this phrase as "the Seven daughters of Varuna"! The patallel passages in HG.PG and APMB make it almost certain that 'Prajāh' is to be understood after the phrase giving the meaning: 'the seven-fold progeny of Varuna' The serpents are so-called because, in my opinion, Varuna is the loud of the waters and the waters of the rainy season bring out the scipents. That 'Rāja-bān-dhavīh' denotes the fratemity of King Varuna is clear from ĀG. II 9.5 'aitu Rājā varuno revatībhih'.

ĀG. II 3 5 . "Abhayam nah prājāpatychkyo bhūyat" ıtyagnimīk $\chi$ amāno japati |

 $\it Trans.$  While looking at the fire, he mutters "May there be safety to us from the progeny of Prajāpatı"

Sources A sutra text, MG 2 7 1 alone has this maintia with 'svāhā' at the end.

AG II 3 6: 'Sivo nah sumana bhava' iti hemantam manasa dhyayat | Trans. He should meditate in his mind on the Hemanta (the winterseason beginning with the month of Margasirsa, in which this ceremony is performed) repeating the mantra "Gracious to us, well-disposed be thou".

Sources . The formula is found in TS 4 5. 1.  $4^{\circ}$  and VS. 16  $51^{\circ}$  as one of the prayers addressed to Rudra in the Sataruditya hymn. In our text · IV. 8 27-28, the serpents are associated with 'Rudra' and naturally therefore a prayer to Rudra has been employed in a ceremony which signifies the end of the period of danger from snakes.

(To be continued)

# THE LATE MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE

By
N. C. GHOSE, Calcutta

BABU JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE, second son of late Babu Ananda Chandra GHOSE, was born at Baisari, a village in Bakhargunge in the year 1872. His education began at his own house in vernacular and having completed it he joined Brojamohan Institution at Barisal, where his youthful mind came to be licked into shape by the benign influence of renowned educationists like Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt and Jagadish Ch. Mukerjee who always took care to lay the real foundation of true character amongst the pupils by their own example of saintliness, love of duty and orderly habits. From this institution later he came to Calcutta and joined the B.A class of the St. Xavier's College; he had however to give up studies and seek employment. During his college days he displayed an extraordinary bent for mathematics and without graduating himself, he successfully coached many students appearing for B.A. and M.A. in higher mathematics

After leaving the college he married, and secured a clerkship in the office of I G P. in Bengal. The death of his father and his elder brother who were both in the Government employ, at this stage, threw the burden of maintaining a joint family upon him. With his small pay, he found it very hard, but took courage and improved his income by taking up insurance agencies and such other sundry works. His fellow clerks liked him very much for his honesty, integrity and independence of character.

His married life was very short. Two years after his marriage a son was born to him and when the child was only two years old, his wife died. He never married again though repeatedly requested to do so by relations, friends and well-wishers.

After some years of intense struggle he got some relief when his youngest brother joined the Bar and ultimately got employed in the Bengal judicial service.

His spirit of justice and independence was very high, and it may be mentioned that he twice tendered his resignation when his just claims to higher grades were overlooked, although he knew full well what this resignation meant for himself and for those whom he dearly loved.

<sup>\*</sup>His many valuable contributions towards historical research were published from time to time in many important journals of history both in India and abroad, such as The Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Indian Culture, The Indian Historical Quarterly, The Indian Antiquary, The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, etc.

In connection with his service he had to go to many places of Bengal and Bihar and wherever he went he utilised his off-time by gathering useful historical information about those places. His bent for antiquarian researches thus peeped through his days of bondage.

When he was transferred to Barisal, his intense desire for doing something for public utility showed itself in the establishment of a Co-operative Bank for the good of the ministerial officers in the district who often found themselves handicapped in securing loans when they were most needed. He devised the scheme, started the Bank and was himself its founder-Secretary He had to put forth a tremendous amount of labour for securing deposits, to constitute the capital of the Bank, and be it said to his credit that the Bank is now established on a sound financial basis and can be said to be the premier Bank of the district. When this venture came to a success, he turned his attention to the welfare of the general public and laid the foundation of another Bank to accommodate the public with loans to be repaid by easy instalments. He even sunk some of his slender private resources for its capital and begged from door to door for deposits and raised the working capital to Rs 40,000/- in three months. This was a labour of love but the success it attained was its reward.

During his stay at Barisal he also directed his energy to find out the genealogical tree of his family and picked up the genealogical trees of almost all the well-known Kayastha families of the district from the Ghataks and other sources.

He ransacked Government records and procured all possible information for the compilation of a complete history of the pargona of Selimabad (not yet published) of which, he had the satisfaction to discover, one of his renowned ancestors was the one time overlord.

The idea of writing out a general genealogical table of all the renowned Kayastha families of Bengal was finally given up as he found his friend Babu Bisheswar Roy Chowdhury of Idilpur engaged in the same work

After his premature retirement—due mainly to his sense of injustice done to him, he became master of his own time and was able to devote his whole time, energy and devotion towards his favourite pastime, viz the historical researches. His first excursion into this realm was at the controversial point of the origin and places of the Kayasthas of Bengal and he traced the original source to the Nagar Brahmins of Gujarat. In this connection he came in contact with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the renowned scholar and like the great connoisseur that he is, the doctor found out the genius that lay hidden in an ex-clerk of the Bengal Secretariat. The two worked together in collaboration as friends in various researches the result of which has filled the pages of the historical records. They remained friends to the last and Dr. Bhandarkar still sincerely mourns the loss of his friend's extraordinary capacity for research. During this period of useful work he came to be intimately known to many other workers in this line such as Prachyavjdya-

maharnava Nagendra Nath Bose, Dr. N. L Law, Pandit Amulya Bidyabhusan, Khan Bahadur Abdul Ali Khan and other learned professors of Calcutta and other Universities throughout India in the department of history. This intimacy ripened in many instances into mutual regard and genuine friendship.

Besides the origin of the Bengal Kayasthas the spirit of research led him to other discoveries which not only found appreciable recognition from learned circles but also secured for him the title of *Purātatīva Vicaksaṇa*.

Some of his famous articles of later days are :-

(i) His learned discourse on the theory of (Devi Ekan gashi) recognized and rewarded by the Government of Bengal, (ii) He ably controverted the theory of Aśvamedha Yajña (iii) Antiquity of Gaya (Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society Vol. XXIV Part III, Sept 1938) (Iv) His last article written in Bengali created a sensation amongst the learned scholars of Bengal He brought into his researches an analytical mind, a deeply critical and persevering brain and a complete mastery of details and strange to say an infirm body and sickly health were no hindrance to the spirit that always roved about for things anew These qualities and above all his affable personality illuminated by lustrous erudition made him loved and respected by those whom he came across.

He left behind him two brothers Babus Dinesh Ch GHOSE and Woopendra Chandra GHOSE (Rai Bahadur) and one son—(Dr. Narendra GHOSE) to mourn his loss and a host of admiring friends and relatives to revere his memory

# MISCELLANEA

# DR. SALETORE AND THE AUTHENTICITY OF MUDHOL FARMANS

In a previous issue of the New Indian Antiquary (vol. II. No I, pp. 6-24), Dr B. A. Saletore has published an article concerning the Mudhol farmans, in which, after criticizing those farmans published by Dr Balkrishna in his Shvaji the Great (vol. I, part I) and Mr. D V Apte in his মুখীত ইন্থোন্থা হাইবেছা (Appendix A), and after quoting the remarks passed by Sir Jadunath Sarkar on the spurious nature of Marāṭhī documents and farmans, found in Mahārāstra, he has questioned the authenticity of the farmans, nay, he has even tried to impress upon the minds of readers that the farmans are mere forgenes.

The other side of the issues raised by Dr Saletore ought to be put forth by Dr. Balkrishna and Mr. D V Apte It is better if they do so and I hope they will do it in the near future. But as the editing of the farmans in question, published in Mr. Apte's book, has been done by me, I think I am entitled to examine Dr. Saletore's criticism Without waiting, therefore, for the reply by the two distinguished scholars, I place before the readers the result of my examination of Dr Saletore's views concerning the Mudhol farmans

Before considering, however, the farmans individually, I wish to bring to the notice of readers some facts of a general nature regarding the farmans and the material for the history of the Bahmani and 'Adılshāhi dynasties to which the farmans pertain (1) Only photographic copies of the farmans were handed over to me from which I edited them. I did not get the advantage of examining the originals. Both the internal and external examinations of a document are equally necessary for the determination of its authenticity. (2) I am not responsible for the English translations printed in the book as they were handed over to me with the instruction that the same might be inserted in the book without any material changes. (3) I found some discrepancies in the farmans which I have noticed in the notes. (4) Dr. Saletore in his article has dealt with the farmans No 1-9, from Mr. APTE's book; all, but the last, of which pertain to the Bahmani period. Dr. SALETORE after comparing the contents of these farmans with the narrative of Firishta (F) and after finding that they cannot be reconciled to F's account, arrives at the conclusion that the farmans are not reliable. But here, I think, Dr. Saletore is mistaken Firstly, he has relied, for the meaning of the farmans, on the summanes or versions given by Dr BALKRISHNA and Mr APTE But it is possible that both may have been in the wrong. A research scholar ought not to rely on translations and versions of a document, especially when he has to raise grave objections against it. He must study the document in the original Then alone there is the possib.lity of his arriving at the truth. I am very sorry to note that Dr. SALETORE has not followed this method and consequently has committed very palpable mistakes. Secondly, Firishta is not the only Persian source for the period of the farmans as Dr SALETORE seems to assume. There are the Burhān-ı-ma'aihir (BM) of Tabātabā Taikiratu'l-mulūk ot Shīrāzī, Sirāni'l-kulūb etc. The narrative given in BM is found in many places to be superior to and more faithful than that of F That F could not even give a faithful pedigree of the Bahmani sultans has been proved by the contemporary coins and the narrative in BM Dr. SALETORE ready and willing to rely, as the only source for the Bahmani dynasty, on F's narrative and denounce all others? That he is not, as far as contemporary

inscriptions are concerned, can be easily gathered from this very article of his. Then is it logical to suppose that the Mudhol farmans which bear seals and Tughras i.e. farmans, the contemporaneity and authenticity of which cannot be questioned as far as the external evidence is concerned, are forgeries, because they are not consistent with the account of F? Especially when we know that F is full of inaccuracies and inconsistencies? Moreover as the critical examination of individual farmans, which follows, will show, the information supplied by the farmans is not so much inconsistent with the narrative of F. as the Dr supposes If the contemporary documents are to be condemned as unauthentic they ought to be compared with contemporary documents, the genuineness of which is beyond doubt. Is it logical to compare them with a narrative composed some two hundred years after the events had actually happened? (5) Dr SALETORE seems to think that the event serving as the cause of some inam, when referred to in a farman, ought to take place in the same year in which the farman is issued. But this is quite an untenable supposition. Even under the well-organised British regime, inams for bravery shown in the last great war were granted years after the treaty was signed. Why should we then be astonished if the issue of farmans of grants was delayed for a year or two in old Muhammadan courts? The above statement can be easily substantiated from Bijapur farmans and Marāthī sanads. Why should we expect a different situation under the Bahmani rule?

With these general remarks on some of the very queer assumptions of Dr. SALETORE, I now propose to examine his criticism of the farmans individually

### (I) FARMAN DATED 1352 AD.

Both Dr. BALKRISHNA and Mr. APTE have given their versions of this farman. But as the information in the farman, presumes Dr SALETORE, is in contradiction with F and Vijayanagar inscriptions, it cannot be reliable But Dr SALETORE seems not to have studied the farman in the original. It clearly states that [Dilipasimha] was given an inam in consideration of his self-sacrifice. The details of the sacrifice, however, have unfortunately disappeared owing to the lacunæ in the document Mr APTE has assumed on the evidence of the Bakhar which he has incorporated in his volume, that Dilipasimha was sent to Karnātaka about 752 H1 and was rewarded for some act of his bravery there. Dr BALKRISHNA further took Karnātaka to mean Vilayanagara and conjectured that Dilipasimha showed his bravery in a battle with a Vijayanagara king 2 But as remarked above, the text of the farman mentions neither Karnātaka nor Vijayanagara. All the same be it noted here that both F and BM refer to the Karnāṭaka expedition of Alau'd-dīn Hasan Gangū Bahmani and Dr SALETORE does not seem to question the date of this expedition which F. puts in either 752/1351 or 753/1352. Then where hes the propriety of Dr Saletore's criticism, especially when we know that the farman is dated in 753 H?

# (2) FARMAN DATED 1398 AD

Before examining Dr Saletore's views on this document it is convenient to give the gist of the farman here. It is dated in 800 H Rabi' II 25/15-1-1938 a.D. and was issued by Firūzshāh Bahmani Firūz finding that there was misgovernment due to the short-sightedness of some Amirs and the tender age of the reigning sultan [conceived of getting the throne for himself and with that object in mind] went to Sāgar. Siddhajī, the thanadar of that place received him warmly. Fīrūz, with the help of Siddhajī and other adherents, fought a battle with the army of the reigning sultan at some place in which the latter with his son showed much bravery,

but was unfortunately killed Some time after this battle Firūz succeeded to the

F gives nearly the same account but with a slight variation. For instance, according to Bricos, F. calls the *thanadar* of Sagar Suddoo, a slave of the royal family and does not mention of his death in the battle of Merkole fought before Firiz gained the throne

Now Dr Saletore raises the following points in connection with this farman

- (1) If Siddhaji died, according to Dr BALKRISHNA, in 798/1388, how could he have helped Firūz in 1397 in his struggle for the throne?
- (2) Siddhajī cannot be identified with Suddoo who may have been one of the many Abbyssinian slaves at the court of the Bahmanī ruler.
- (3) Had he helped Fırūz, F would have certainly mentioned him along with Mīr Faizullah Anjū, Mullā Issac Surhindī, Mīr Shumsu'd-dīn Muhammad Anjū and Ahmadkhān Amīru'l-umarā who helped Fīrūz on his accession to the throne
- (4) In 1397, the date of the jarman there was no misgovernment due to the short-sightedness of the Amirs but only the rebellion of Firüzkhān

I regret to note, in connection with these points, that Dr Saletore has committed blunders and had there been any layman in Dr Saletore's place, I would not have cared to answer these points But in the present case I feel I must show the mistakes and I do it here very reluctantly.

- (1) Had Dr S instead of believing in Dr. Balkrishna's conversion of the Hijra year, referred to some ephemeries, he would have found that 798 H. corresponds to 1395/1396 AD Moreover neither the farman nor the bakhar nor F mentions this date of Siddhaji's death. On the other hand both the farman and F explicitly narrate that Siddhaji or Suddoo was alive till at least the battle of Merkole. Siddhaji or Suddoo must have, therefore, died only a short time before Firūz's accession to the throne which took place by the end of 1397 AD
- (2) I do not understand how Dr S. calls Suddoo an Abbyssinan slave. In Persian mass diacritical marks are generally omitted and the name Suddoo (Saddū) can easily be read as Siddū. The Nawal Kishore edition of F. gives the reading Sidhū¹ instead of Siddū and Sidhū is quite a common corruption of names beginning with Siddha among Marāthī speaking people. Thus there is no difficulty in identifying Suddoo of Bricos' F with Siddhajī of the farman. The Nawal Kishore edition of F describes Sidhū as 'Az ghulāmān-i-ān khāndān' which has been, it seems, translated by Bricos by the phrase 'a slave of the royal family' But "slave" is not the only meaning of 'ghulām' Any Persian dictionary will give the word 'servant' as a synonym of 'ghulām' and there are a number of Persian and Marāthī documents and seals in which the word is actually used in that sense. It is not, therefore, so easy to make Suddoo of Bricos' F. an Abbyssinian slave as Dr S has done
- (3) The farman clearly states that Siddhajī died before Fīrūz could succeed in his object of getting the throne F's statements are not inconsistent with those of the farman. How can we, then, expect F to mention the services rendered by Siddhajī to Fīrūz after the latter's accession to the throne, and to refer to him along with others.
- (4) Had Dr. Saletore borne well in mind the date of the farman, he would not have dared to make the bold statement in 4. The farman was issued on 15/1/1398 AD ie some two months after Firūz ascended the throne. Could Firūz have named his own doings a rebellion and his antagonist's rule good govern-

<sup>1</sup> Vol I, p 305

ment in a farman issued by himself? I must plainly assert that what has been said by Dr Saletore about this farman is all illogical

### (3) FARMAN DATED 1424 AD.

The farman bears the Tughra of Ahmadshāh bin Ahmad Bahmanī and after referring to the service rendered by Siddhajī and Bhairavasingh and biavery shown by Ugrasena in the war with Vijayanagar, reaffirms the hereditary grant of mam to Ugrasena. Dr. Balkrishna attributes the issue of this farman to Ugrasena's saving the life of Alā-ud-din Ahmadshāh Bahmanī when the latter was surprised by a detachment of the Vijayanagar king in a hunting expedition.

Now Dr S quotes the contents of this very farman in his article and states that there is no mention of a hunting expedition in the jan man But ignoring this as well as the fact that the farman bears the tughra of Ahmadshāh bin Ahmad Bahmanī and its date falls in Ahmadshāh's reign, goes on criticizing Dr. BAL-KRISHNA'S attribution of the issue of this farman. He brings in the evidence of F. to prove that the date of the farman falls in the reign of Ahmadshāh Walī Bahmanī and not in that of Alä-ud-dīnshāh Bahmanī, that no hunting expedition worthy of special note was undertaken by Alā-ud-dīnshāh Bahmanī, and that there was a war between this sultan and the Vijayanagar king Devarāya II in 1443 AD; and finally questions as to how the Mudhol farman can be relied upon for the details relating to the war with Vijayanagar in 1424 AD. But where is the room for all these baseless and contradictory speculations? As the farman is dated in 1424 AD. and as it, instead of mentioning a hunting expedition, refers to a war with Vijayanagar you are only to see whether there was a war going on between the two powers in 1424 AD or a short time before 1424 AD By referring to F, one can easily assure oneself that there was such a war which ought to be assigned the date 1423 AD.

# (4) FARMAN DATED 1454 A.D.

Here again Dr. S. has confounded the interpretation with the contents of the The farman makes no mention of either the Sirke chief or the chief of Khelna It only refers to a battle fought in the Konkan in which Ugrasena, an ancestor of the Ghorpade chief of Mudhol was taken a captive Dr S admits that the version given by Mr. APTE is different from that given by Dr. BALKRISHNA, but then asks 'which of these scholars shall we believe?' Why should he ask such a question? If he had found the versions given by the two scholars in contradiction to each other, it was his duty to verify the statements in both the versions from the original and find out the truth. But instead of doing that, he has unnecessarily believed in the version of some one and brought in the evidence of F and Grant DUFF to prove that Sirke chief was different from the chief Khelna as against Dr B.'s identity of the two chiefs. But where was the necessity of either identifying or differentiating between the two chiefs? As they are not mentioned in the farman, neither their identity, nor their differentiation would affect the genuineness of the farman. He ought to have proved that there was no battle fought in the Konkan about the date of the farman But that is an impossible task. By the by let me tell the readers that Dr. S. seems to be quite ignorant of the fact that Sirke is a Maratha family name and not a place name. Otherwise he would not have used the phrases 'the chief of Sirka (Sirke),' 'the Raja of Sirke', and 'the ruler of Sirke' which betray his perfect ignorance about the above fact

# (5) FARMAN DATED 1471 AD

Dr S's main contention about this farman seems to be that as F does not record the information supplied by the farman, one fails to see how the statements

in the farman can ever be accepted as historically valid. But let me bring to the notice of readers that BM, records about the campaign, referred to in the farman, such details as are not to be found in F and letters of Mahmüd Gäwän, the gists of which have been published recently<sup>3</sup>, supply still more details which are to be traced neither in F. nor in BM. Does Dr. S. know this? Whom will he then discard as untrue, either F. or BM. or the letters of Mahmüd Gäwä? If he cannot reject any of the three sources why should he reject this farman which supplies still some more information?

# (6) FARMAN DATED 1522 AD

This farman which is dated in 1522 A.D. refers along with others to an episode in the life of Ismāil Ādilshāh in which he, while leading an expedition against Timrāj, the ruler of Vijayanagar had to fight a pitched battle on the bank of the Krishna. In it Ismāil was hemmed in and could not cross the river. At this juncture Mālojī Ghorpade, the son of Khelojī, came forward and at the risk of his own life, brought him out of the danger safely. In recognition of this service Mālojī was exempted from Kumisat.

Now Dr. S's main objections against this farman are (1) that the other events mentioned in the farman do not fit in with the accounts already known, (2) that Kheloji and Māloji of this farman should be identified with their name-sakes from the Bhosale family who lived only a century later (3) and that Māloji Chorpade does not figure in the account given by Firishta about the calamity which befell Ismāti 'Adilshāh

About the first point let me note that the other events mentioned in the farman are indeed referred to by F. and in the same order as the farman does. The only difference between the two is of some details and personal names. But unless we prove the jarman to be spurious by some independent evidence, how can we accept the one source and discard the other?

On the second point I may be permitted to state that Dr S's arguments are simply misleading. The farman clearly surnames Kheloji, and his son Māloji as Ghorpade and gives their title as Bahādur. As the farman is dated in 1522 AD, and its seal as well as language clearly show that it belongs to the 'Ādilshāhī sultans, Ismāīi Ādilshāh who was then reigning must be reckoned as their protege. Now those Kheloji and Mālojī with whom Dr. S identifies these Khelojī and his son Mālojī Ghorpade are surnamed Bhosale; they were not father and son but perhaps cousins; moreover they served, as a rule, the Nizāmshāhī sultans and occasionally sided with the Mughal emperor Shāhjahān, besides they lived in about loōū and no. in 1522, the date of the farman. It is, therefore simply misleading to identify the Ghorpade pair of Khelojī and Mālojī with the Bhosale pair and question the contemporaneity and the authenticity of the farman

About the third point suffice it to say that it is not proper to discard the farman only because it cannot be reconciled to F I need not go into the details of this point as it has been already dealt with

Thus it will be seen that Dr Saletore has not studied the farmans in the original, has unnecessarily believed in the versions given by others, has discarded better versions, has not cared to study and digest the existing material bearing on the subject, has given undue importance to Firishta and neglected other better sources and finally has drawn hasty conclusions based on the imperfect knowledge of the material

Poona.

G H, KHARE

# REFERENCE TO NASIR SHAH KHALJI IN A CONTEMPORARY MS.

The Oriental Manuscripts Library (Prācya-Grantha-Samgraha) of Ujjam (Gwahor) has recently procured a 431 year old MS (Accession No 5768) of the Vişnupurāna. The MS is complete and covers 136 folios of country paper of the size 11×5 inches written in dark-black ink in Devanāgarī characters The scribe's concluding colophon bears some historical interest and reads as follows.—

Folio 136<sup>4</sup> " ......दिशतु भगवानशेषपुंसां हरिरपजन्मजरादिकां स सिद्धि ॥ छ ॥

इतिश्रीविष्णुपुराणे षष्ठेंशेऽष्टमोध्यायः ॥ छ ॥ समाप्तश्चाय षष्ठोंशः ॥ एवं समाप्तं विष्णुपुराणं ॥ छुमं भवतु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

> शिवमस्तु सर्वजगतः प (र) हितानेरता भवतु भूतगणाः । दोषाः प्रयातः नाशं सर्वत्र जनः सखी भवतः ॥ छ ॥

देशे मालवके नसीरतृपते राज्ये जगीसाभिषो प्रामस्तस्य समीपवर्तिनि वरे श्रीराजपौरे तृपः । श्रीभातः किल चाहमानकुलजः श्रीजोगदेवासजो

श्रासानुः किल चाहमानकुल्जः श्राजागद्वात्मजा राज्ये तस्य मनोरमे द्विजकुलाकीर्णे प्रजापूरिते ॥

शाके चंद्रगुणाब्धिम् १४३१ परिमिते संवत्सरे त्वीक्वरे याम्ये वत्मीन वारिवाहसमये मासे नमस्येऽसिते । पक्षे रहमिते तिथौ रविदिने में ..... शीतगौ कर्कस्थे लिखति स्म पस्तकमिदं रामेश्वरः पडितः ॥

> श्रीम**द्रापुर**ज्ञातिः परोपकृतिलोलुपः । श्रीमत्पंडित**रेडा**ख्यपुत्रः परम ( घा ) र्मिकः ॥

अज्ञानभावादथ वा प्रमादा— व्यक्तिचिद्नां लिखितं मयात्र । तत्स्वर्वमार्थैः परिशोधनीयं प्रायेण महाति हि ये लिखंति ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ "

Thus the MS was copied at a village called Jagīsā by a Daśapura¹ Brāhmaṇa named Rāmeśvara-Pandita who was son of one Reda-Pandita and describes himself as extremely pious and benevolent. The village Jagīsā is described as lying in the province of Malwa of which a king named Nasīra was then the paramount sovereign and as belonging to the territories, charming, thickly-populated and thronging with the families of the twice-born, of a (feudatory) Cāhamāna (i.e. Chauhan) chief who was named Srī-Bhānu, was son of one Srī-Jogadeva and had his headquarters in a town or major village called Srī-Rājapura (i.e. Srī-Rājapura) in the vicinity of the village Jagīsā. The date on which the scribe completed the MS was Sunday the 11th day of the dark fortinght of the month of Bhādrapada in the year 1431 of the Sālivāhana era, i.e. about the close of September 1509 a.c. Other minor details, too, of the date are noted

<sup>1</sup> These Gujarati Nāgara Brāhmanas derive their clan-name from the town of Dasapura or Mandasaur in Malwa and are commonly known as Dasore Brāhmanas They are found scattered all over Malwa and belong mostly to White Yajurveda and in some cases to Rgveda.

The contemporary paramount sovereign Nasīra mentioned in the colophon is undoubtedly identical with king Nasiruddin or Nasir Shah, the 3rd Khalii Sultan of Malwa, who ruled from his capital Mandu between 1500 and 1510 A.C.2 and is said to have erected3 a number of fine buildings in Malwa, among them being also the Kaliadeh Water Palace4 on the banks of Sipra near Ujjain

This reference to king Nasir Shah is important as coming from the pen of a contemporary Hindu Pandit Although it does not convey any fresh substantial detail regarding the Sultan, it possibly does not fail to warrant the conclusion that he was held in high esteem by contemporary Sanskrit scholars. We are accustomed to read in the accounts of Mahomedan historians that Nasir Shah was a miserable sensualist, a brutal tyrant and a drunkard to the extreme Still, all the same, his relations with contemporary Sanskrit scholars appear to be quite cordial and friendly. Had it not been the case, our scribe would possibly have avoided any reference to the Sultan.

By the way, here it may be pointed out that there has already been discovered? at least one Sanskrit work that is specifically attributed to this Nasir Shah. This fact not only substantially seconds the above-stated hypothesis but takes us still further to learn that the Sultan actually extended his liberal patronage to Sanskrit authors who, on their turn, were ready to attribute their own compositions to the Sultan

I have not yet been able to identify the Chauhan chief Sri-Bhānu and the two places Jagisā and Śri-Rājapura mentioned in the colophon. As a matter of fact, at present it often becomes very difficult to identify small places of Malwa in old references, as the old province has since been split up into numerous patches, big or small, now scattered over the intermingled territories of the Maharajas of Gwalior, Indore, Dhar, Dewas and several other states. Further, it is also not very clear whether the scribe designates Srī-Rājapura as a town or only as a flourishing village Even if the place were a town, it cannot be identified with Rappur, a prominent pargana town of Barwani State in Malwa, as the same has been under the rule of a branch of the Sesodia Rajputs at least from the fourteenth century AC 6 Again, it cannot be identical with Rajpur, the capital town of Alirajpur State in Malwa, as the same has been held since 1437 AC. by the line of the present rulers who claim to be Rathors and not Chauhans7. In case, however, the place under reference is meant to be designated only as a major village, we can with fair justification identify it with the headquarters of Kheri-Rājāpur, a small estate in Malwa, which has been recorded as held to this day by Chauhan Rajputs's

 $U_{11}ain$ SADASHIVA L KÄTRE

<sup>2</sup> imperial Gazetteer of India—Central India (1908), p 126; G. YAZDANI .

Menia Tre Citv of Joy (Oxford, 1929), pp 23-25, etc
3 G. YAZDANI Mandu The City of Joy, pp 25, 93, etc
4 M. B. GARDE Archaeology in Gwalior (Gwalior, 1934), p 146.
5 P. K. Gode Date of Kankali Grantha attributed to Näsirasäha—Annals of the B. G. Institute Vol. XII, pp 289-291
6 Imperial Gazetteer of India—Central India, pp 334 and 336
7 That np 327 ff 8 Unit pp 200

Ibid, pp 337 ff. Ibid, p 290.

# INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD\*

# By D B DISKALKAR

# UNĀ

No. 911 v.s. 1582.

118-7-1526.

Unā is the chief town of a Mahāl of the same name in Junagadh State. The subjoined inscription is fixed in the eastern dam of the big tank there. It measures, 2'-5" by 1'-4". It is in a good state of preservation. Being carefully engraved there are few grammatical mistakes in it.

At the beginning of the inscription the following deities are praised Brahmā, Viṣnu, Śiva, Gaṇapati, Indra and other Dikpālas, Sūrya and other Grahas and Pārvatī Then it mentions that in old times the sage Vālmikī founded, in Valabhīpur, a Kāyastha family. In that family which was famous for learning, statesmanship, charity, specially in penmanship and was respected by the kings, was born a minister named Narasimhavara, who was devoted to Viṣnu. His son was the minister Sevā, and the latter's son was the minister Matā.

The inscription then gives an account of another Kāyastha family of equal fame. In it there was a minister named Vījā. His son was Vaśyarāja. The latter had a daughter named Kīkī. She was married to the minister Maṭā named above. The couple had a son named Patā.

Patā was made Kārbhārı by Ayāz, the Subā over Saurāṣṭra, of the Sultan Mahammad of Ahmedabad. Patā was also given a title 'Māfar-Malik' (Muzfar Malek) and a pālkhī by the Sultan.

This Patā caused a big tank to be made in UNNATADURG (i.e. Unā) on Wednesday, the 8th of the bright half of Śrāyana in v s. 1582.

In the concluding portion of the inscription the names of the three wives of Patā, named Lalimā, Dāi, and Haribāi, are given as also the name of the Nāgar Somanātha, son of Krṣnadās, who composed the praśasti and of the engraver Ratnā son of Māhāva.

The easy flow of the language full of alliterations shows that the author of the Prasastı vız. Nāgar Somanātha, son of Kriṛṣṇadāsa, was a learned and grifted poet.

- 1 ॥ ॐ नमः श्रीगणेशाय ॥ कल्याणं कमलासनः सृजतु वः क्ले
- 2 शब्ययं केशवो । गौरीशः खळु गौरवं गणपतिर्निःशेषविष्रक्षयं । सर्वा
- 3 रातिविनाशमाशु ककुमामीशाः सुरेशादयः । कुर्वंतु ध्रुवमाधिपत्य
- 4 मधिकं सर्यादयः खेचराः ॥ १ ॥ पतिः सतीत्वादिगुणैरतीव । प्रीतः स्वदेहा

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p. 127 of Vol. III, June 1940.

- 5 द्वेमदत्त यस्ये । सात्यंतसौभाग्यनिधिर्ददातु । मनोरथान् पर्वतराजपु-
- 6 त्री ॥ २ ॥ कायस्थवंशो वलभीपुरे पुरा । वाम्लीकिनान्ना मुनिना प्रतिष्ठि
- 7 तः। योऽव्याहतं सर्वकलास कौशलं। विशेषतो लेख्यकलाविधौ दधौ॥
- 8 ३ ॥ विख्यातः क्षितिमडले क्षितिभृतां संसत्य सर्वेर्गुणै । मीन्यो मंत्रि
- 9 गणाप्रणीर्ग्रणवतामग्रेसरः सोऽन्वयः । संतः शास्त्रविदः कलास्र
- 10 कुशलाः शूरा महामंत्रिणो ॥ दातारश्च दयालवश्च बहवो यस्मिन्न
- 11 भूवन्नराः ॥ ४ ॥ यस्मिन्नशेषविदुषामि माननीयो वंशे विशुद्धचरितः सु
- 12 तरामुदारः । मंत्री बभूव नरसिंहवराभिधानः श्रीपद्मनाभचरणार्चन
- 13 सावधानः ॥ ५ ॥ प्रत्रस्तस्मात्सज्जनः सज्जनानां सेवाकारी मंत्रिसेवा
- 14 भिधानः । आसीदाशीर्वादमंत्रैस्दारै । भूदेवानां भृतले भृतिमाप ॥ ६ ॥
- 15 तस्याभवज्जगति मंत्रिमटाभिथानः । ख्यातः स्तः स्रचरितः परितः पवि
- 16 त्रैः । यः कर्मभिः कुलमशेषमलंचकार । यद्वत्तर्रमेलयजो मलयं महादिं
- 17 ॥ ७॥ अथ मातृवंशः ॥ श्रीकायस्थकुलोद्भवः समभवन्मंत्रीशबीजाभिध
- 18 स्तत्पुत्रः पृथिवीशसंसदि मतः श्रीवश्यराजाभिधः । कन्यारत्नमस्
- 19 त तस्य प्रतरां सौभाग्यभाग्यास्पदं । प्रेम्णा यस्य पिताभिधानमकरो
- 20 त् कीकीति संलालयन् ॥ ८ ॥ भवं भवानीसहितं समर्च्ये । पतित्रता
- 21 सा पतिमाससाद । मटाभिधानं सचिवं यथा हि प्रभूतपुण्यं पुरुषं समृद्धिः
- 22 ॥ ९ ॥ तां वरयराजस्य सुतासुपेत्य । पत्नी स सेवात्मज आत्मयोग्यां [ ।\* ] विचारयु[क्तो]
- 23 [ब]चबार चारु। गार्हिस्थकं धर्ममधर्मभीतः ॥ १०॥ तस्माद्भूदद्भुतभाग्यभा
- 24 धरः । सतामतीवाभिमतः पताभिधः । सतः सचेता दरनेहसिद्यसौ सी
- 25 दंतमंत्रैः समजीवयज्ञनं ॥ ११ ॥ अयाजनामा यवनाधिराजः । कलास
- 26 सर्वांस विशारदोऽभूत्। प्राप्तप्रसादः स तु पातसाहात्। सौराष्ट्रदेशा
- 27 विपतामवाप ॥ १२ ॥ तेन प्रजापालनतत्परेण, विनिर्ज्ञिताजेयजनाथि
- 28 पेन। दक्षेण दक्षोयमिति प्रहृष्य। यस्मै पुरा मंत्रिपद प्रदत्तं ॥ १३ ॥ श्री
- 29 पातसाहो महमूद्साहस्त्सै ददौ मंत्रिष्ठ चामिधाय। श्रीमाफरोयं
- 30 मल्किः प्रमिद्धं । नामेति तस्मै च नृवाह्ययानं ॥ १४ ॥ स सर्वतापक्षय
- 31 कारि वारे सरो मनोहारि परोपकारी । अकारयत्तारियतुं स्वकीया
- 32 न् वलक्षपक्षद्वयपूर्वजानान् ॥ १५ ॥ संवत् १५८२ वर्षे श्रावण द्युदि
- 33 ८ बुधे श्रीउंन्नतदुर्गो श्रीवाह्नमकायस्थ ज्ञातीय महं मटासु
- 34 त पता पत्नी ३ लेलीमदाई हारेबाईतडागंउद्वारित । इयं प्रशस्ति [:]
- 35 आभ्यंतरनागरज्ञातीय । मित्र श्रीकृष्णदास स्रुत मंत्रि श्रीसोमना [ थे ]
- 36 [न कृता] ॥ सूत्रधार माहाव सुत रत्नाकेनोत्कीण्णी ॥ श्रीरस्त ॥ श्री ॥

### DHRĀSANAVEL.

No. 921

v.s. 1582.

[12-8-1526]

This inscription is copied from a Palio standing near the old temple of Siva, called Magaderu, to the east of the village Dhrāsanvel near Dwarkā in the Okhāmandal prānt, in the possession of the Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda.

<sup>1</sup> Drop the line Such unnecessary strokes are many times given in the record,

It records the death in Dhrāsanavel of Srī Dharanasena in a fight while protecting the cows on Sunday, the fifth of the bright half of Bhādrapada in v.s. 1582 or (\$. 1448).

The epithet Srī preceding the name Dharanasena, shows that the deceased was not an ordinary man but was probably a Vāḍhela or a Vāghera chieftain.

### Text.

- 1 संवत १५८२ वर्षे शा
- 2 के १४४८ वर्तमाने द
- 3 क्षणायने भाइपद
- 4 मासे शक्ते पक्षे पंच
- 5 म्यां तिथौ रवौ श्रीधर
- 6 णस्तेत संग्रामे ...
- 7 वि १ गायत्री ...
- 8 मरणं दास्मणवळि

# HALVAD

No. 931

v.s. 1583.

[28-2-1527.

This inscription is found in a well near the temple of Saraneśvara Mahādeva adjoining the tank in the town Halvad in Dhrangdhra State.

The inscription is important for the genealogy of the family of the Zālā rulers of Dhrangdhra State. It mentions that Zālā is one of the 36 royal (Kṣatriya) families and gives the following genealogy.

Rana Ranamal = Lalıāde Rana Satrusalva = Minalade Rana Jitā = Iitāde Rana Ranavīra = Līlade Rana Bhīma = Prīmalade Rana Vãgha = Nīnāde Rana Rājadhara = Ahıkarade Rana Rāniga = Kalvānade

Maharana Manasimha

The queen Kalyānade, mother of Mahārānā Mānasimha, was, it is further told, the daughter of Mahārānā Sārangde of the Vāghelā family by his wife Vīrāde. For the benefit of all creatures Kalyānade caused a well to be dug up during the time of her son Mahārānā Mānasimha on Thursday, the 13th of the dark half of Phālguna in v.s. or Ś. 1448.

# Text.

- 1 ॥ ॐ नमु श्रीगणेंसाय नमः श्रीसारस्वई नमः श्रीअंबिकाईनम गुरभ्यो नमः
- 2 ॥ स्वस्तश्रीजयो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च । श्रीमनृपिवकमाऽर्कसमयातीत संवत् १५८३ वि
- 3 ॥ षें साके १४४८ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायने शिशिकतौ फाल्युनमासे कष्णपक्षे १३ त्रयोद
- 4 ॥ स्यां तिथ्यौ गुरुवारे घेनिष्ठानक्षत्रे सिधियोगे बव करणे मीनलम वहमाने

- 5 ॥ पटत्रिशहाजकलावतंस झल्लवंशप्रदीपकराय श्रीरणम्यल भागी बाई श्री**लळीआ**देत
- 6 ॥ स्तुत रायश्री **राञ्जराल्य** भार्या बाई श्री**मीणलटे** तस्तुत रायश्री**जिता** भार्या बाई श्री जिताटेत
- 7 ॥ त्सुत रांणश्रीरणवीरभायी बाई श्रीलीलादे तत्सुत रांणश्रीभीमभायी बाईश्रीप्री
- 8 ॥ मरुदे तत्सुत राणश्रीवाघभार्या बाई श्रीनीणादे तत्सुत राणश्री राजधरभार्या बाई
- 9 ॥ श्रीअहिकारदे तत्सुत राणश्री राणिगदे भार्या बाई श्रीकल्याणदे तत्सुत मा
- 10 ॥ हाराण श्री**मानसिंह**विजिराज्ये **वाघेला**वंशोद्भव महारांण श्रीसारंगदे भा
- 11 ॥ यां वाई श्रीवीरादे तखुता वाई श्रीकल्याणदे मानसिंहमाता बाई श्रीकल्याणदे श्रीविष्ण
- 12 ॥ त्रीतये सर्वजंतूनासुपकाराय वापी कारापतं सुमं भवतु कल्याणमस्तु ॥
- 13 ॥ एक गौपदमात्रं वा उदकं धारिति मही षष्टी वरिषसहस्राणि शिवलोके च महीयंते ॥
- 14 ॥ स्नाने दाने तथा पुण्ये देवे पितरे च कर्मणि । सामान्य सर्वभूतेभ्यो मया दतिमदं जलं[॥]
- 15 ॥ वाणारशी चायशं पुण्यं तत्पुण्यं नितुदर्शनात् अथवा स्नानपूजायां गंगास्नाना
- 16 ॥ दिकं फलं॥

# VELÄVDAR

No. 94] v.s. 1584. [23-4-1528.

The following inscription is found in a well at the entrance of the village Velävdar in Wadhwan State, at a distance of 20 miles from Wadhwan in the north-east direction. It measures 5'.8" in length and only 10" in breadth. The letters which are of a big size are very incorrectly engraved. The last line of the record is unintelligible.

It opens with the date, Thursday, the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1584 (Śaka 1450) and refers to the reign of the Gujarat Sultan Bahādurshah, and of his feudatory chief Rāṇā Mānasimhaji, evidently of Halvad, the old capital of Dhrangdhra State. It then seems to record that a woman of Solanki family and resident of Valva caused to be made a well on the abovementioned date.

# Text.

- 1 संवत् १५८४ वरषे साके १४५० प्रवर्तमाने वैशाकमासे सुकलपषे पंचम्यां गुरुवासरे पातसा श्रीखद्वादर वी
- 2 जयराज्ये तथा राणश्रीमानसंग विजराये अदेह वळववास्तव सोलंकी राण सत रसल सत–दळ
- 3 सत रा॰ हाजा सत रा॰ पत्नी भाच्या बाई ससरी सत रा॰ धना भाच्या बाई धाई सत रा॰ बामा भाच्या बाई राजी
- 4 <sup>1</sup>ञ्चापी रा॰ वावितवाण अधरा रा॰ वामाना भाऊ रा॰ जाहालरा मूलरा॰ वाघा बाइ पामी भाऊ रूप रा॰ वामा
- 5 नि सत बेटा पवटी १ रा॰ वत्ता रा॰ विरा रा॰ वना रा॰ रणवीर बाइ रंगी गजधर-नाम जसा पाता करावि देसाइ² सोलंकी मेगलभाषी मगल.

<sup>1.</sup> The names are quite unintelligible.

 $<sup>2\,</sup>$  Cunously enough the  $_{\overline{z}}\,$  is expressed here by three zeroes as in ancient inscriptions.

# \$ATRUNJAYA HILL, PALITANA

No 95] v.s. 1587. [7-5-1531,

This inscription is engraved on a black stone slab fixed in the wall of the Ādīśvara temple on the famous \$atrunjaya hill near Pahtana. It is carefully engraved and is in a good condition. The inscribed portion measures 2'5" by 1'.54".

This important inscription was formerly published by Dr. BUHLER in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol II, pp 42 ff

The record mentions that Bahadur Shah, successor of Muzfar Shah, the successor of Mahamud Shah, was ruling over Gujarat in v.s. 1587. Then is mentioned the name of Majhādkhan 1e Mujāhid Khān Bhikan who, we know, was the Sultan's viceroy over Sorath Then the description of the Citrakūta hill is given, which was situated in Medapāta ie Mewād, where Ratinasinha, son of Sangrāmasinha, son of Rājamalla, son of Kumbharāja was ruling. Ratinasinha's prime minister was Karmarāj, a detailed account of whose family is next given. He went to the Satrunjaya hill on pilgrimage and there made the seventh restoration and re-built the temple of Pundarīka on the sixth day of the dark half of Vaisākha in v.s. 1587 or Saka 1453 For this he had obtained permission of Sultan Bahadur through the good offices of Rava Narasimhaka, the Sultan's prime minister. The prašasti was composed by Pandit Lāvanyasamaya

It is to be noted that in this record the names of Sikandar and Mahmud II, who ruled for a short time between Muzfar and Bahadur are omitted. The mention of the Mewād kings has added much to the importance of the inscription.

# Text.

- ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीगूर्जरथारित्र्यां पातसाहश्रीमहिस्नृदपद्यश्रमाकरपातसाहश्रीमदाफरसाह-पट्टोबोतकारक
- यातसाहश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीवाहद्रस्साहिबजयराज्ये ॥ संवत् १५८० वर्षे राज्यव्यापारश्चरंघर षानश्रीमञ्जादपानव्या
- 3 पारे श्रीशत्रुंजयिगरो श्रीचित्रकूटवास्तव्य। दी॰ करमाकृत सप्तमोद्धारसक्ता प्रशस्तिर्लि-ख्यते॥ स्वस्तिश्रीसौख्य
- 4 दो जीयात् युगादिजिननायकः। केवलङ्गानिवमलो विमलाचलमङनः॥ १ श्रीमेद्पाटे प्रगट-प्रभावे। भावेन भ
- 5 व्ये भुवनप्रसिद्धे । श्री**चित्रकूटो** मुकुटोपमानो । विराजमानोस्ति समस्तरुक्ष्म्याः ॥ २ सनदनो दातृसुरद्वमश्च तुं
- 6 गः धुवण्णोपि विद्वारसारः । जिनेश्वरस्नानपवित्रभूमिः । श्रीचित्रकूटः धुरशैलतुल्यः ॥ ३ विश्वालसालक्षिति
- 7 लोचनामो रम्यो नृणां लोचनचित्रकारी । विचित्रकूटो गिरि चित्रकूटो । लोकस्तु यत्राखिल-कूटसुक्तः ॥ ४ तत्र श्रीक्व-
- ४ भराजोऽभूत् क्वभोद्भवनिमो नृपः । वैरिवर्गः समुद्रो हि येन पीतः क्षणात् क्षितौ ॥ ५ तत्पुत्रो राजमळोभूत्राज्ञां म

- 9 ह्र इत्रोत्कटः । सुतः संत्रामसिंहोऽस्य संत्रामविजयी नृपः ॥ ६ तत्पृहभूषणमणिः सिंहंद्रवत्प-राक्तमी । रत्निसिंहाऽ
- 10 धुना राजा राजरुक्ष्म्या विराजते ॥ ७ इतश्च गोपाह्निगरौ गरिष्टः श्रीबप्पभिट्टिप्रतिबोधितश्च । श्रीआमराजोऽजनि तस्य
- 11 पत्नी काचिद्वभूव व्यवहारिपुत्री ॥ ८ तत्कुक्षिजाता [:] किल राजकोष्ठागाराह्वगोत्रे सुकृतै-कपात्रे । श्रीऊशवंशे विशवे
- 12 विशाले तस्यान्वयेऽमी पुरुषाः प्रसिद्धाः ॥ ९ श्रीसरणदेवनामा तत्पुत्रो रामदेवनामाभूत् । लक्ष्मीसिंहः पुत्रो...तत्पु
- 13 त्रो भुवनपालाख्यः॥ १० श्रीभोजराजपुत्रो [वच्छ?] रसिंहाख्य एव तत्पुत्रः। घेताक-स्तत्पुत्रो नरसिंहस्तत्प्य
- 14 [तो जात:]॥ ११ तत्युत्रस्तोलाख्यः पत्नी तस्याः (स्य) प्रभूतकुलजाता। तारादेपर नाम्नी लील्पुण्यप्रभापूर्ण॥ १२ तत्कृक्षित्तमुद्भूताः ष [ ই ]
- 15 पुत्राः कल्पपादपाकाराः [धर्मा]नुष्ठानपराः श्रीवंतः श्रीकृतोऽन्येषां ॥ १३ प्रथमो रत्नाख्य-धुतः सम्यक्लोचोनकारकः कामं ।
- शिक्तित्रकूटनगरे प्रासादः [कारितो ] येन ॥ १४ तस्याऽस्ति कोमलापाल्यवल्लीव विशदा सदा । भार्या रजमलदेवी पुत्रः श्रीरंगना
- मार्सा ॥ १५ भ्राताऽन्यः पोमाह्यः पतिभक्ता दानशीलगुणयुक्ता पद्मापाटमदेव्यौ पुत्रौ माणि-क्यहीराह्वौ ॥ १६ बंधुर्गणस्तु-
- 18 तीयो भार्या गुणरत्नराश्चि विख्याता । गडरागारतदेव्यौ पुत्रो देवाभिघो ह्रेयः ॥ १७ तुर्यो दशरथनामा भार्या तस्यास्ति देवगु
- 19 रुभक्ता । देवल[ रू.] रमदेव्यी पुत्रः केल्हाभिधो ह्रेयः ॥ १८ श्राताऽन्यो भोजाल्यः भार्या तस्यास्ति सकलगुणयुक्ता
- 20 भावलहर्षमदेल्यौ पुत्रः श्रीमंडणे जीयात् ॥ १९ सदा सदाचारिवचारचारुचारुचीर्यपैदगुणैः प्रयुक्तः श्रीकर्मराजो
- 21 भगिनी च तेषां जीयात्मदा सूह्विनामधेया ॥ २० कर्माख्यभाया प्रथमा कप्रदेवी पुनः कामलदे द्वितीया । श्रीभीषजी
- 22 कस्वकुलोदयाद्रिसूर्यप्रमः कामलदेविपुत्रः ॥ २१ श्रीतीर्थयात्राजिनविवपूजापदप्रतिष्ठादिक-वर्मध्याः । सुपात्रदानेन प
- वित्रमात्राः सर्वेदशाः सत्युरुषाः प्रतिद्धाः ॥ २२ श्रीरत्निहराज्ये राज्यव्यापारभारधौरेयः । श्रीकर्मिसिहदश्चो मुख्यो
- 24 व्यवहारिणां मध्ये ॥ २३ श्रीचाञ्चं ज्यमाहात्म्यं श्रुत्वा सद्वरुखीनियौ । तस्योद्धारकृते भावः कमराजस्य-चभ्न् ॥ २४ श्राग
- 25 त्य गौर्जरे देशे विवेकेन नरायणे। वसंति विवुधा लोकाः पुण्यश्लोका इवाऽद्धताः ॥ २५ तत्रास्ति श्रीधराधीशः श्रीमत्
- विकासित नृषः । तस्य प्राप्य स्फुरन्मानं पुंडरीके समाययौ ॥ २६ राज्यव्यापारधौरेयः पानः श्रीमान् मझादकः । तस्य गेष्ठे म
- 27 हामंत्री रवास्थो नरसिंहकः ॥ २७ तस्य सन्मानमुत्प्राप्य बहुवित्तव्ययेन च । उद्घारः सप्त-मस्तेन चक्रे शत्रुंजये गिरौ ॥ २८

- 28 श्रीपादलिप्तल्लनासरशुद्धदेशे सद्वाद्यमंगलमनोहरगीतना[दै:] श्रीकमेराजसुधिया जलयात्रि-कायां चके महोत्स
- 29 वदरः सुगुरूपदेशात् ॥ २९ चंचचंगमृदंगरंगरचनाभेरीनफेरीरवा वीणा[वंश]विशुद्धनालिक-भवासाधर्मिवात्सल्य
- 30 कं। वस्त्रालंकृतिहेमतुंगतुरगादीनां च सद्धर्षणमेवं विस्तरपूर्वकं गिरिवरे विवप्रतिष्ठापनं ॥ ३० विकाससम्यातीते ति
- 31 थिमितसंवत्सरेऽश्ववसुवर्षे । १५८७ शाके जगत्रिबाणे ५३ वैषाणे कृष्णपष्टयां च ॥ ३१

# HĀMAPAR

No. 96] v s. 1588 [20-1-1532.

Hāmapar is a small but old village in the Rājasitāpur Mahāl of the Dhrāngdhrā State at a distance of six miles to the north of the Rājasitāpur Railway Station on the Wadhwan-Dhrangdhra line. To the east of a very large well there is a Siva temple where the following two inscriptions are found engraved on the lintel of the door. Both of them together measure 22'-10" in length and 6" in breadth

Both the inscriptions are of the same date and also record the same object viz. the Siva temple was built by one Jitamāla of the Sōlanki family, on Saturday the 13th of the bright half of Māgha in v. s. 1588 or Saka 1453 when Mahāmalik Ayajavalli was the viceroy at Hāmpur, evidently of the Gujarat Sultan and Mahārānā Mānsirhhji was ruling, evidently at Halvad.

# Text

# (9)

- 1 संवत् १५८८ वर्षे शाके १४५३ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायणे श्रीसूर्ये
- ...महामांगल्यप्रदमाघमासे शुक्लपक्षे १३ त्रयोदश्यां
- 3 तिथौ शनिवासरे हामपरवास्तव्य महामलेक श्रीअयाज
- 4 व्रह्णीविजयराज्ये महाराणा श्रीमानसिंहजीविजयराज्ये
- 5 ....च्यापारे क्षत्रियज्ञातिना परोपकाराय सोलं
- 6 की रात महोजल स्रुत रात इंगर भार्या बाई मती स्रुत रात
- 7 जितमालेन ईश्वरप्रासाद उद्धरितः ।

# (२)

- 1 संवत १५८८ वर्षे शाके १४५३ प्रवर्त्तमाने
- 2 महामांगल्यप्रदमाघमासे शु
- 3 कलपषे १३ त्रयोदशायां त्यथौ सनिवासरे
- 4 हामपरवास्तव्य माहामलक श्री
- 5 असजावल वजयराजे माहाराणा
- б श्रीमानसंगवजयराजे व्यव० राजश्री

The rest of the portion is illegible.

# NAGICHANĀ

No. 971

# v. s. 1590

f14-9-1534

This inscription is engraved on a pillar of a Deri called Gosarā in the village Nagicāṇā in Mangrol State - It measures 10" by 12".

It records the death, in a fight, of Pithiā Anasā, son of Vāsanga, at Nagicānā on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Bhādaravā in vs. 1590, during the victorious reign of Bahādurshaha, evidently the Gujarat Sultan.

# Text

- संवत् १५९० वर्षे भादर
- 2 वा वदि ११ रवौ **नगन्धाणा**धा
- 3 मे पानसाहा श्रीवाहादर
- 4 साहा विजिराजे पीठीआ
- 5 वासंगस्त अणसा सं
- 6 ग्रामे मरण सूतार अमर
- 7 सी मूतार वरदेनी पाऊ

# PADA

No 981

v. s. 1594.

[1538.

This inscription is inscribed on a stone slab lying in the small village Padā near Dhokadvā, in the Junagadh State. It measures  $18'' \times 13\frac{1}{2}''$ .

It opens with the date, Sunday the fourth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1594 and mentions the names, possibly of the officers, of Sherkhan and Malik Ajijalāuddin The middle portion of the record is unintelligible. A land consisting of 31 bighas seems to have been granted to some body, whose name is not known. In the concluding portion both the Muhammedans and the Hindus are asked not to violate the grant.

- संवत १५९४ वेपें
   वईसाप सुदि ४ खौ<sup>1</sup> पि
- 3 रपाननाही मलिक श्रीअजी
- 4 जलाहोदि सहाकल (१) मांडण मौ
- 5 ज प[ड] बजरप (?)...अहव
- 6
- 7 आ सेढानु चीगत आथमणि भू
- 8 मि वीघा ३१ सेडाबंध पाव जे
- 9 साने आपू अहनो जे को वस
- 10 होअ ते अेवा भराविषे (?) पात
- 11 साहि पालित तरकाणे सूर हीद
- 12 बाणि गाय लोपि तेहनि...

<sup>1.</sup> The date does not agree.

[18-3-1548.

# BAGASRĀ

No. 99] v.s. 1604.

The following two inscriptions are engraved side by side on a yellowish stone lying at the north-west corner of the village Bagasrā (Dhed) under Junagadh State. The right hand inscription measures 6" by 9½" and the left hand one, 7½" by 9½"

Both the inscriptions are of the same date ie Sunday, the ninth of the bright half of Caitra of vs 1604 or ŝaka 1470 and refer to the rule of the Sultan Muhammad Shaha. The right hand inscription records the death at Bagasrā of Vāghelā Vāktā, son of Hībā Mālā, in a fight while protecting the cows. The left hand inscription records that the wife, named Amenā of that man became a sati. She was the daughter of Kācā Parvata of Bagasrā and his wife Ravībai.

# Text

	( 9 )		( २ )
1	॥ ११० ॥ र्ड नमः श्रीशवाय ॥ स्वस्ति श्री	1	।। ००।। ई नमः श्रीशिवायः ॥ स्व
2	नृपतिविकमा अर्के समयातीतः संव	2	स्ति श्रीनृपतिविकमाअर्कसमया
3	त १६०४ वर्षे शाके १४७० प्रवर्तमा	3	तीतः संवत् १६०४ वर्षे शाके १४
4	ने पातशा[ह] श्रीमहिमृंदशाहविजै	4	७० प्रवर्तमाने <b>पातशाह</b> श्री <b>महि</b>
5	राये अदोह श्री वगसराग्रामस्य	5	मृंद्शाह व्यजे राये अदोह श्री

6 वाघेला हीबामाला सुत वाक्ता गो 6 श्रीश्री. **दगसरा**श्रामस्य का

7 ब्रहेग्रतः चैत्र प्रदि ९ रिबीश्रीः 7 चा पर्वतः तस्य भायी बाई रबी 8 तस्य पुत्री बाई असणा साहा गम 9 न क्रला चैत्र सदि ९ रिबीः ॥

# KODĪDARĀ

No. 100] v s. 1609. [30-1-1553.

This inscription is engraved on a *pālio* found in a small village named Kodīdarā, situated near Somanātha Pātana. The inscribed portion measures 1'-6" in length and 1' in breadth.

It records that the *pālio* of Hadiāni Suraja was raised in the village Kodīdarā in the reign of Fātasāhā Mahamūd at Devapāṭana on Monday the second of the dark half of Māgha in vs 1609.

Mahamud was the Gujarat Sultan, who ruled from 1536 to 1554 AD at Ahmedabad.

- 1 संवत् १६०९ वर्षे माहा व
- 2 दि २ सोमे आदे श्रीदेवप-
- 3 तने पातसाहा श्रीमिमू
- 4 दसाहा...कोडीदरा
- 5 ग्रामे हडीआनी सुरज
- **6** पालीआ

# WADHWAN

No. 101 ] v.s. 1613. [26-7-1557.

This inscription is copied from a white stone slab discovered at Wadhwāṇ during excavations of the old palace foundations. The stone is now lying near the State stables in the Darbargadh at Wādhwāṇ. The inscribed portion, which is in a good condition, measures  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2^5/_6$ . Below it are carved a pig and an ass. Being inscribed in very incorrect Gujarati and also in an awkward manner the meaning of the inscription has to be made out with much difficulty.

The record opens with the date, Monday, the first of the bright half of Śrāvana of v.s. 1613 and refers to the reign of Pārshah Ahmad Names of several officers are then given They are: Hazrat Suleman Khan, Itimad Khan Ahodī, Mir Hazbar, Malık Ain Havāli, Malık Nusrat Phal, Malık Agadh, Meheta (?) Rangvala, Arisinha Sāngana, chief (?) of Wadhwān, Mir Abdul Halim, Bakshi of Wadhwān, Desai Āsā, Patel and Talāti. Then it is stated thus—whatever Vaje is due from the pasāitas of the abovementioned town, both Koţias and Talāvias, this shall be spent by the Talāvias on the Talav (1e. tank) and the Koṭias on the Koṭ (1e. fort). Whoever shall infringe these stipulations will be subject to the curse of the cow if he is a Hindu and that of the boar if he is a Musalman.

The Patshah Ahmed mentioned in the record is the Gujrat Sultan Ahmed II, whose Diwan, was the powerful noble Itimat Khan Zalavad, in which Wadhwan is situated was directly under him. (See Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 260.) The other names are of officers connected with the government of Wadhwan.

This inscription shows the origin of the Kotia and Talavia Kolis. They were pasāitas or landholders and were bound to work for the forts and tanks of the places, near which their holdings were situated

- 1 संवत १६१३ वरषे सावण सु[दि १ सो]
- य में श्रीदीवान शक झाळावाडि पातसाह
- 3 श्री अिहिमद् विजराजि ताञेन¹ (१) ह
- 4 जरत सेलेमान षां. श्रीअतमेतपान
- 5 अहोदि मर श्रीइजेबर, मलेक अन
- 6 हवालि, म॰ नुसत्र फल, मलेक अग
- 7 ध मं॰ श्रीरंगवलारूणगणैः ? वढवाण
- 8 णि रा० श्रीअरिसिंहजी सांगण सुपवे
- 9 मी. अबदल हलीम अषजग्रहसा जब (?)
- 10 बंक्षी वढवाण देसई असव पटिल

<sup>1.</sup> A large number of words in this inscription are unintelligible.

- 11 तलाटी जोग्य जत कसबे मजकुरना पसा
- 12 जिता कोटीआ वा तलावीमां नो वजे आ
- 13 पि तलाबीओं तलावि कोटीओं कोटि
- 14 बरचि भे वात लोपिते दापे हींदुआ
- 15 णे गाई तरकाणे सुअर अपर ग
- 16 जूर देसही जूला वू. घघजा व. जसाप?
- 17 भातरी ऐकोर्जिव लोपे तेनी गधडगालि

### DAHISARĀ

No. 1021

v.s. 1622.

130-7-1556.

This inscription is engraved on the lintel of the temple popularly known as Dhingadmalla's temple in the village Dahisarā, at a distance of three miles from Vavāṇiā in Morvi State. The lower portion of the inscription, which measures about 4½ feet in length and only 10 inchess in breadth is illegible.

It seems to record the building of the temple by the wife of Jām Śri Karanaji of Dahısarā on Tuesday, the fourteenth of the dark half of Śrāvana in v.s. 1622 or Śaka 1488

Karaṇaji was merely a  $Bh\bar{a}y\bar{a}t$  of the ruling family of Navānagar, though he is given the epithets Jāma Śrī out of respect only.

# Text

- 1 संवत् १६२२ वर्षे शाके १४८८ संवत्सर प्रवर्तमाने श्रावण वदि १४ मौमे अद्येह
- 2 श्रीदहीसरावास्तव्यजामश्रीकरणजी तस्य गृहे भार्या
- .....रणछोडजीना चरणसेवाने प्रासाद...

# GHOGHA

No. 1031

v.s. 1634.

[13-10-1577.

This inscription was discovered in the Khāri vāv at the Ghoghā port. It was published by Col. Watson in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 283, from which the following text is copied

The inscription states that on Sunday, the 2nd of the bright half of Kārtika in v s. 1634, in the glorious reign of Padishah Śri Akbar, when Rajaśri Kalyāṇarai was in charge of the port and in the reign of the king Visāji . . . . . the  $v\bar{a}v$  of Ghāyanti in the Puti garden was built. The inscription ends with an ass-curse.

The king Vısājı mentioned in the record was an ancestor of the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.

# Text

॥ संवत १६३४ वर्षे कार्तिकग्रुदि २ रवी पातशा श्री ५ **अकवर** विजयराज्ये हवाली राज्यश्री कल्याणराय श्रीलला राजाविस्ताजीआर आखं ? घायंतीती वाव्य पूतीवाही छे त्यांहा हांहु तथा जशल कोमर मझामति थइ तेहनी गथीडिगालि॥

# MANKHETRA

No. 104] v.s. 1639. [24-1-1583.

This inscription is found in a well called Khetsarā in the village Mān-khetra, 3 miles to the east of Mangrol. It is engraved on a yellow stone and measures 1' by 11".

The record opens with an invocation to Ganesa. Then it is stated that the digging of a well, etc. is more meritorious than performing a hundred sacrifices. Then a long genealogy of a family belonging to the Prägvat community is given in which the sons of Parīkṣa(?) Phakā named Parīkṣa Ramji, Devadās, Ravidās, Amidās, Acala and Sāring caused a well to be made on Thursday, the 12th of the bright half of Māgha in vs 1639 or saka 1505. In the concluding portion blessings are given to the builders of the well.

# Text

- 1 ॥ ईं। नमो भगवते श्रीमंगलेश्वराय [।\*] श्रीमत् दिव्यलक्ष्मीनृ
- सिंहाय नमः [ । क्र ] श्रीश्रीमदनगोपालाय ।। नौमीड्यतेभवप
- 3 षे तडिदंबराय गुंजावतंसपरिपिच्छलसन्मुखाय [ ।\* ] बन्यस्
- 4 जेकवरुवेत्रविषाणवेणुरुक्ष्मश्रिये मदुपदे पञ्जपां[गजा]
- 5 य ॥ १ ॥ तीर्थाधिक यज्ञशताच पावनं । जलं सदा केशवद
- 5 प्राप्त । छिनंति पापं तळसीविमिश्रितं विशेषतश्चकश्चि
- 7 लाविनिर्गतं ॥ २ ॥ श्रीवश्विश्रद्धप्रागवाटकातीयठकर सो
- 8 मसत ठकर धारशी सत ठकर मंडलिक सत ठकर काहां
- 9 न भगवती सत ठकर वरशंगसत परिक्ष जितमाल स
- 10 त परिक्ष बूटा सुत परिक्ष गांगा सुत परिक्ष फका सुत परि
- 11 क्ष रामजी देवदास रविदास अमीदास अचल सारिंग
- 12 एभिर्वाप्योद्धारः कृतः ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ संवत १६३९
- 13 वर्षे शाके १५०५ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायन (ण) गते श्रीसूर्ये शिशिर
- 14 रितौ महामांगल्यप्रदमाष्ट्रादि १२ गुरौ । यावदीचीतरंगा वहति सर
- 15 नदी जाह्नवी पुंण (पुण्य) तोया। यावचा (च्या) काशमार्गे तपति दिनकरो भास्करो लो
- 16 कपालः यावद्र!जेद्रनीलस्फटिकमणिमयं वर्त्तते मेरुश्यगं तावत्त्वं पु
- 17 त्रपात्रैः स्वजनपरिगतो जीव विष्णोः प्रसादात् ॥ श्रीरस्त ॥ कल्याणमस्त ॥

# DHROL

No. 105] vs 1647 [1-8-1591.

This inscription is engraved on one of the  $p\bar{a}li\bar{a}s$  standing to the north of the temple of Bhūtanātha Mahādeva in the place called 'Bhūtanā Mori' at a distance of a mile and a half to the south-west of Dhrol The inscribed portion measures  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ' in height but only  $10^{\prime\prime}$  in breadth.

It records the death of a warrior named Barada Gola (?) while fighting

<sup>1.</sup> Elsewhere the word used in this connection is वैद्वर्य.

together with Ajāji against Ājama Khān on Sunday, the 8th of the dark nelf of Srāvana m v.s. 1647.

This record refers to the well-known battle that took place at Bhūchar Mori between the armies of Khān Azam, the Gujarat Viceroy of the Emperor of Delhi, and the armies of the Jāmsaheb of Navānagar under Jam Satrasāla's son Ajoji and his minister Jasā Ladaka. In the fight Ajoji and Jasā were killed with considerable loss to their army.

# Text

- 1 संवत १६४७
- 2 वरषे सरा
- 3 वणवद ८
- 4 राव बारड
- 5 श्रीगोलाः
- 6 नापाणीः गो
- 7 हेडीअ कं
- 8 अरश्री आज
- 9 सथे मराण
- 10 আন গ্রী আর
- 11 मचननी हो
- 12 दमरणा ग
- 13 जधरः मेपा
- 14 पाली असक

### **SATRUÑJAYA**

No. 106]

v.s. 1650.

This inscription is engraved in the porch of the east entrance of the Adišvara temple on the left hand on the famous Satrufijaya hill. It was once published by Dr. BUHLER in the *Eps. Ind.* II, p. 50.

- 1 ओं ऊं नमः । श्रेयस्वी प्रथमः प्रशुः प्रथिमभाग् नैपुण्यपुण्यात्मनामस्तु स्वस्तिकरः धुखा-िष्यमकरः श्री आदि ]
- 2 देवः स वः पद्मोल्लासकरः करैरिव रिवर्वोम्नि कमांभोरहन्यासैर्यस्तिलकीबभूव भगवान् शत्रुजयेनेक
- 3 शः॥ १ श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेशवंशसरसीजन्माज्ञिनीवल्लभः पायाद्वः परमप्रभावभवनं श्रीवद्धमानः प्रभुः । उत्पत्तिस्थितिसं
- 4 हतिप्रकृतिवाग् यद् गौजगत्पावनी । स्वर्वापीच महात्रतिप्रणयभूरासीद् रसोल्लासिनी ॥ २ आसीदासववदवंदितपददंदः
- 5 [ पदं ] संपदा । तत्पद्दांबुधिचंद्रमा गणधरः श्रीमान् सुवम्मांभिधः । यस्यौदार्ययुता प्रदृष्ट-समना अवापि विद्यावती धते

- 6 संततिहन्नतिं भगवतो वीरप्रभोगोंरिव ॥ ३ श्रीस्रियतः स्प्रप्तिसुद्ध एतौ सूरी अभूतां तदनु-क्रमेण याभ्यां गणोऽभू
- 7 दिह कोटिकाह्वथंद्रायमभ्यासिव सुप्रकाशः ॥ ४ तत्राभद्भणिनां वंदाः श्रीवज्रार्षिगणाधिपः मूल श्रीवज्रद्वाखायाः गं
- शाया हिमवानिव ॥ ५ तत्यद्रांबरिदनमणिक्तितः श्रीवज्रसेनगुरुरासीत् । नागेंद्रचंद्रनिर्देति । विवाधर संबन्धत्र तिच्छियाः
- ९ ॥ ६ स्वस्वनामसमानानि । वेभ्यश्रत्वारि जिल्लि । कुळानि काममेतेषु कुळं चांद्रं तु दिद्युते ॥
   ৬ भास्करा इव तिमिरं । हरंतः ख्याति
- 10 भाजनं भूरयः सूर्यस्तत्र । जिल्लरे जगतां मताः ॥ ८ बभूतुः । कमतस्तत्र श्रीजगचंद्रसूर्यः । यस्तपोविस्तं लेमे । वाणसिद्धाकः
- 11 १२८५ वृत्सरे ॥ ९ क्रमेणास्मिन् गणे हेम । विमलाः सूरयोभवन् । तत्पट्टे सूरयोभूव । क्षानंदविमलाभिषाः ॥ १० साध्याचारविधिः प
- 12 थः शिथिलतः सम्यक् शियां धाम यैरुद्देप्र स्तनसिद्धिसायकप्रधारोचिर्निभे १५८२ नेहसि। जीमतीरेव यैर्जगत्प्रनिर्दे तापं
- 13 हरिद्भिर्श्व संशीकं विद्धे गवां शुन्वितमैः स्तोमैरसोल्लासिमः ॥ ११ पद्माश्रयैरलमलंकिय ते स्म तेषां। प्रीणन्मनां
- 14 ति जगतां कमलोदयेन। पटः प्रवाह इत्र निर्जारनिर्क( र्क्ष )रिण्याः । शुद्धात्मभिर्विजयदाना मृतीशहंसैः ॥ १२ सौभाग्यहरिसर्वी प ]
- 15 र्वहरणं रूपं च रंभापति: । श्रीजैत्रं शतपत्रिमत्रमहसां चौरं प्रतापं पुनः । येषां वीक्ष्य सना-तनं मधुरिपुस्वःस्वामिधम्मीशवो जाताः
- 16 काममपत्रपाभरभ्तो गोपत्वमासास्त्रयः॥ १३ तत्पद्यः प्रकटः प्रकामकलितोद्शोतस्तथ-सौधव[त्]। सस्तेहैंशंतिराज
- 17 हीरविजयस्तेहिं। श्रेशेर्तम्मे । सौभाग्यं महसां भरेण महतामत्यर्थमुल्लासिनां । विञ्राणः स यथाजनिष्ट सहशां कामञ
- 18 मोदास्पद ॥ १४ देशाद् गूर्जरतोथ सूरिष्ठषभा आंकारिताः सादरं । श्रीमत्साहि अकरञ्चरेण विषय मेवातासंत्रं श्रुभम् । शा
- 19 ...जपाणयोवतमसं सर्व हरंतो गवां । स्तोमैः सूत्रितविश्वविश्वकमलोल्लासनैभोको इव ॥ १५ चक्नः फतेपुरम
- ...[नै]भौम । ह्य् युग्मकोककुलमाससुखं स्रजंतः । अर्ध्देकपावकनृपप्रमिते १६३९ स्वगोभिः । सोल्ला
- 21 ...बुजकाननं ये ॥ १६ दामेवाखिल्रभूपमूर्देखु निजामाज्ञां सदा ऋरयथ । श्रीमान् शाहि-अकव्यरो नरवरो [ देशेष्व ]
- 22 शेषेष्वपि। षण्मासाभयदानपुष्टपटहोद्घोषानष्यंतिनः। क्रामं कारयति स्म हृष्टहृदयो यहाक्तार(रं) जितः।
- 23 ॥ १० यपु( दु) पदेशवरोन सुदं दधिनिखिलमण्डलवासिजने निजे । मृतधनं च करं च सुजीजिश्रिभियमकव्यरभूपतिरत्यजत्
- 24 ॥ १८ यद्दाचा कतकाभया विमलितस्वातांबुपूरः कृपा। पूर्णः शाहिर्गियनीतिवनिताकोडी-कृतात्मात्यज्ञत्। ग्रुल्कं त्यक्तु

- 25 [म]शक्यमन्यधरणीराजां जनप्रीतये । तद्वानीडजपुंजप्रुषपर्श्वामुमुचद्भृरिशः ॥ १९ यद्वाचां निचयैर्मुचाकृतसुधास्वादे
- 26 [र]मदैः कृता । ल्हादः श्रीमद्मकब्बरः क्षितिपतिः संतुष्टिपुष्टाशयः । त्यक्ता तत्करमर्थ-सार्थमत्त्रलं येषां मनःश्रीतये । जैनेभ्य
- 27 : प्रदरी च तीर्थतिलकं शत्रुंजयोवींघरं ॥ २० यद्वाग्मिर्मुदितश्रकार करणास्कूर्जन्मनाः पौस्तकं । भांडागारमपारवाङमय
- 28 मयं वेश्मेव वाग्दैवतं । यत्संविगभरेण भावितमतिः शाहिः पुनः प्रत्यदं । पूतासमा बहु मन्यते भगवतां सहर्शनो दर्शनम् ॥ २१
- 29 यद्वाचा तरिपालियेव कलितोल्लासं मनः पंकजं । विभ्रच्छाहि अकब्बरो व्यसनधीपाथोजिनो चहमा । जत्ते श्राद्धजनोचितैश्व सुकृतै
- 30 : सर्वेषु देशेष्वपि। ख्यतश्चार्हतभिक्तभावितमतिः श्रीश्रेणिकक्ष्मापवत्॥ १२ छुंपाकािषप-मेवजीऋविमुखा हित्वा कुमत्याग्रह ( हं )। भेजुर्येच
- 31 रणद्वयीमनुदिनं भृगा इनांभोजिनीं । उल्लासं गिमता यदीयवनौर्वेराग्यरंगोन्मुखे । ज्ञांताः स्वस्वमतं विद्वाय बहवो लोकास्तपासंज्ञका
- 32 ॥ २३ आसीबैत्यविधापनादिकुक्तक्षेत्रेषु वित्तव्ययो । भूयान् यद्वचनेन गूर्ज्जरधरामुख्येषु देशेष्वरु । यात्रां गूर्जरमाल्यादिकमहादेशो
- 33 द्भवैभूरिमिः। संवैः सार्देस्पिश्वरा विद्धिरे शृतुंजये ये गिरौ॥ २४ तत्पद्दमव्धिमिव स्यतमं सजतः। स्तोमैर्गवां सकलसंतमसं हरंतः
- 34 कामोल्लसत्कुवलयप्रणया जयंति स्फूर्जित्कला विजयतेनमुनींद्रचंद्राः॥ २५ यत्प्रतापस्य माहात्म्यं वर्ण्यते किमतः परं। अस्वप्राथिकरे येन जीवंतो
- 35 पि हि वादिनः । २६ सौभ्यायं विषमायुघात्कमिलनीकांताश्च तेजस्विना । मैश्वर्यं गिरिजा-पतेः क्रमदिनीकांताकलामालिनां । माहात्म्यं घ
- 36 रणीवरान्मखमुजां गांभीर्यमंभोनिषे। रादायांबुजमूः प्रभुः प्रविद्धे यन्मूर्तिमेतन्मयो ॥ २७ ये च श्रीमद्रकञ्चरेण विनयादाकारिताः
- 37 सादरं। श्रीमल्लाभपुरं पुरंदरपुरं व्यक्तं धुपर्वोत्करैं:। मूयोभिर्व्रमितिर्बुयैः परिवृतो वेगादरं-विकरे । सामोदं सरसं सरोरुहवनं लीलामराला
- 38 इव । २८ अर्न्हेतं परमेश्वरत्वकलितं संस्थाप्य विश्वोत्तमं । साक्षात्साहि**अकञ्चरस्य सदसि** स्तोमैर्गवामुचतैः । यैः संमीलिव (त) लोचना विद्धिरे
- 39 इ(प्र)त्यक्षग्रः श्रिया वादोन्मादस्तो द्विजाःशतिपथो मद्य निज्ञाटा इव ॥ २९ श्रीमत्साहि-अकञ्चरस्य सदसि प्रोत्सार्णिभर्भरिभर्वादैवादि
- 40 वरान् विजित्य समदान्सिहैद्विंद्वानिव । सर्वज्ञाशयतुष्टिहेतुरनघो दिश्युत्तरस्यां स्फुरन् । यैः कैलास इवोज्वलो निजयशः स्तमो
- 41 निचल्ने महान् ॥ ३० दत्तसाहसधीरहीरविजयशीसूरिराजां पुरा । यच्छ्रीशाहि**अकव्यरेण** घरणीशकेण तत्त्रीतये । तचकेखिलमप्यवालम
- 42 तिना यात्साज्जगत्साक्षिकं तत्पत्रं पुरमाणसंज्ञमनघ (घं) सर्वा दिशो व्यानशे॥ ३१ किं च गोवृषभकासरकांता। कासरा यमगृहं न हि नेयाः। मोच्य
- 43 मेव मृतवित्तमशेषं बिदनोपि हि न च प्रहणीयाः ॥ ३२ यत्कलासिळवाइविकासप्रौत-चित्तत्रणाजनतुष्टये । स्वीकृतं स्वयमकञ्बरधात्रीस्वाम-

- 44 ना सकलमेतदपीह ॥ ३३ चोळीं वेगमनंदनेन वसुवाधीशेन सन्मानिता । गुर्व्वी गूर्ज्जर-मेदिनीमनुदिनं स्वर्लोकविञ्बोकिनीं ।
- 45 सद्भृता महसां भरेण सुभगा गाढ गुणोळासिनो। ये हारा इव कंठमंबुजदशां कुर्वति शोभास्पदं॥ ३४ इतश्च। आभूरान्वय[प]
- 46 द्मपद्मसवया ऊकेशवंशेभव । च्छे (च्छ्र) धी श्रीशिवराज इत्यिभिधया सौवर्णिकः पुण्यधीः । तत्पुत्रोजिन सीधरश्च तनयस्तस्याभवत्पर्वतः ।
- 47 कालाहोजनि तत्मुतश्च तनुजस्तस्यापि वांघाभिषः ॥ ३५ तस्याभृद्विष्ठआभिषश्च तनुजः ख्यातो रजाईभव । स्तस्याभृच सुहासिणो[ति]
- 48 गृहिणी पद्मेन पद्मापतेः। इंद्राणीसुरराजयोरिन जयः पुत्रस्तयोश्वामन। त्तेजःपाल इति प्रहृष्टसुमनाः पित्रोमेनःप्रीतिकृत्॥ ३६ [का ]
- 49 मस्येव रितर्हेरेरिव रमा गौरीव गौरीपते । रासीतेजल्दे इति श्रियतमा तस्याकृतिः...। भोगशीस्रमगो गुरौ प्रणयिनौ शख्तस्यपर्वादरौ । पाँलो
- 50 मीत्रिदशेश्वराविव सुखं तौ दंपती भेजतुः ॥ ३७ वैराग्यवारिनिधपूर्णनिशाकराणां । तेषां च हीरविजयवृत्तिसिञ्जराणां । सौभाग्य [भा]
- 51 म्यपरमागविभाद्यराणां । तेषां पुनर्विजयसेनमुनीष्वराणां ॥ ३८ वाग्भिमुधाकृतसुधामिरुदं-चिचेताः । श्राद्धः स शोमनमना भज
- 52 ति स्म भावं श्रीसंवमक्तिषनदानजिनेंद्रचैत्योद्धारादिकम्पैष्ठ भृशं सुकृतिप्रियेषु ॥ ३९ विश्लेषकं । प्रहै: प्रशस्तेिक सुपार्श्वमर्त्त्र
- 53 स्तंतभर्तृश्च छुमा प्रतिष्ठा । सोऽवीकरत्यङ्युगभूप १६४६ वर्षे । हर्षेण सौवर्णिकतेजपालः । ४० आदावाधीमरत्र तीर्थतिलके शत्रुंज
- 54 येऽचीकर सैत्यं (चीकरंश्वेत्यं ) शैत्यकरं हशोमीणगणस्वर्णीदिमिमीसुरं । अत्रान्येपि भुजा-र्जितां फलवतीसुचैः सजंतः श्रियं [ प्रा ]
- 55 साद (सादं) तद्वुक्रमेण बहुवश्चाकारयन् भूभुजः ॥ ४२ तीर्थेत्र साधुकरमाभियो धनी सिद्धिसिद्धि तिथि १५८८ संख्ये । चैत्यमची
- 56 करडुक्तरानंदविमलसुनिराज्ञां ॥ ४३ तं वीक्ष्य जीर्णं भगवद्विहारं । स तेजपालः स्वहृदीति दृष्णा । भावी कदा सोऽवम
- 57 रो वरीयान् । यत्राऽत्र चैत्यं भविता नवीनं ॥ ४४ अन्येद्युः स्वगुरूपदेशशरदा कामं बळदीकृत । स्वांतांभाः स वणिग्वरः पु
- 58 रवरे श्रीस्तंभतीर्थे वसन् । तीथें श्रीमति तुंगतीर्थतिलके शत्रुंजयेहद्गृहो । द्वारं कर्तुमना अजायततमां साफल्यमिच्छन् श्रियः ॥ ४५
- 59 अत्र स्यात् सुक्रतं कृतं तनुमतां श्रेयः श्रियां कारणं मत्वायं १ निजपूर्वजन्नजमहानंदप्रमी-दाप्तये । तीर्थे श्रीविमलाचलेतिविमले
- 60 मौटेह्ती मंदिरे । जीर्णोद्धारमकारयत्स सुकृती कुंतीतन्जन्मवत् । ४६ शृंगेण भिन्नगगनां-गणमेतदुचै । थैत्य चकास्ति बि
- 61 खरस्थितहेमकुंभ । हस्तेषु ५२ हस्तिमतमुज्जमुपेति नाक । लक्ष्मी विजेतुमिव काममखर्व-गर्वा । ४७ यत्रार्हदोकसि जितारकुम्
- 62 मिकुंमाः। कुमा विभांति शरवेदकरेंदु १२४५ संख्याः। किं सेवितुं प्रभुमयुः प्रचुरप्रताप। पूरैर्जिता दिनकराः कृतनैकरुपाः। ४८

- 63 उन्मूलितप्रमदभूमिस्हानशेषान् । विश्वेषु विझकरिणो युगपन्निहंतुं । सज्जाः स्म इत्थमिन-धातुमिवेंदुनेत्राः २१ सिंहा विभौत्युप
- 64 गता जिनमामि अत्र । ४९ योगिन्यो यत्र शोभंते चतलो जिनवेश्मिन । निषेत्रितमिवाकांताः प्रतापैरागता दिशः । ५० राजंते च दि
- 65 शां पाला...यत्राऽईदालये । मूर्तिमंत×िकमायाता धम्मोत्संयिमनाममी । ५१ द्वासप्तिः श्रियमयंति जिनेद्वचंद्र । विवानि देवकुलि
- 66 कास च तावतीषु । द्वासप्ततेः श्रितजनालिकलालतानां । किं कुट्मला≍परिमलैर्भुवनं भरंतः । ५२ राजंते यत्र चत्वारो गवाक्षा जिनवे
- 67 झानि । विरंचेरिव वक्त्राणि विश्वाकारणहेतवे ॥ ५३ यत्र चैत्ये विराजते । चत्वारश्च तपोधनाः । असी धर्म्माः किमाया
- 68 ताः । भूगास्यै वपुर्श्वतः । ५४ पश्चालिकाः श्रियमयंति जिनेंद्रधाम्नि । द्वात्रिशदिद्ररमणी भरजैत्रस्याः । ज्ञाला पतीनि
- 69 ह जिने किसु लक्षणक्ष्मा । राज्ञा श्रिया निजनिजेशनिमालनोक्ताः ॥ ५५ ॥ द्वात्रिंशदुन-मतमानि च तोरणानि ॥ राजति य
- 70 त्र जिनथाग्नि मनोहराणि । कि तीर्थकृदद्रानलिक्ष्ममृगेक्षणाना । मदोलनानि सरलानि अखासनानि ॥ ५६ ॥ गनाश्चतः
- 71 विंशतिरिद्वितुंग विभाति शस्ता जिनधामि यत्र । देवाश्चतुर्विशतिरीशभक्त्ये । किमागताः क्रजरस्यमाजः ॥ ५७ ॥ स्तं
- 72 भाश्रतुस्सप्तिरिरिंदराजोतंगा विभांतीह जिनेंद्रचैत्ये । दिशामधीशैः सह सर्व इंद्रा × किमासभक्तरे सम्पेधिवांस ॥ छ
- 73 ॥ ५८ ॥ रम्यं नंदपयोधिभूपति १६४९ मिते वर्षे सुबोत्कर्षकृत् । साहाव्याद् जसुठ-करस्य सक्रतारामैकपाथोमचः ॥ प्रासा
- 74 द बिछआसुतेन सुधिया शत्रुंजये कारितं । दृष्ट्वाष्टापदतीर्थंचैत्यतुलितं केषां न चित्ते रितः ॥ ५९॥ चैत्यं चतुर्णामिव धर्म्मं
- 75 मेदिनी । भुजां गहं प्रोणितविश्वविष्टपम् ॥ शत्रुंजयो विश्चति नंदिवर्द्धनाभिधं सदा यच्छतु वांछितानि व ॥ ६० ॥
- 76 यः प्रभाभरविनिर्मितनेत्रशैत्ये । चैत्येत्र भूरिरभवद् विभवव्ययो यः । ज्ञात्वा वदंति मनुजा इति तेजपालं । क
- 77 ल्पहुमत्ययमनेन धनव्ययेन ॥ ६१ ॥ शत्रुंजये गगनवाणकला १६५० मितेऽब्दे । यात्रां चकार सक्रताय स तेजपा—
- 78 लः ॥ चैत्यस्य तस्य धुदिने गुरूभिः प्रतिष्ठां चक्रे च हीरविजयाभिधसूरिसिँहैः ॥ ६२ ॥ मार्त्तण्डमंडलभिवांबुरुहां
- 79 समूहः। पीयूषरिमिन नीरिनिधेः प्रवाहः। केकित्रजः सिल्ळिवाहिमिनािततुगं। चैत्यं निरीक्ष्य सदमिति जनः
- 80 समस्तः ॥ ६२ ॥ छ चैत्य चारु चतुर्मुख कृतसुखं श्रीरामजीकारितं । प्रोतुंगं जसुठकुरेण विहित चैत्यं द्वितीयं शुभं । रम्यं कूंअ
- 81 रजीविनिर्मित्तमभूबैत्य तृतीयं पुन । मूंळप्रेष्ठिकृतं निकामसुभगं चैत्यं चतुर्थ तथा ॥ ६४ ॥ एमिर्विश्वविसारिमिर्युतिमरेर—

- 82 त्यर्थसंसूत्रितोद् । चोतो दिश्विखास निज्झिरपितः स्वर्लोकपालैरिव । श्रीशानुंजयशैल-मौलिसुकुटं चैत्यैश्वनुर्मिर्यु
- 83 तः प्रासार्वोगिमनोविनोद्कमलाचैत्यं चिरं नंदतु ॥ ६५ ॥ वस्ताभिषस्य वरसूत्रघरस्य शिल्पं ॥ चैत्यं चिरादिदमुदीस्य
- 84 निरीक्षणीयं । शिष्यत्वमिच्छति । कछाकळितोपि विश्वकम्मीस्य शिलिपपटळे भवितुं प्रसिद्धः ॥ ६६ ॥ सदाचाराच्योनां कमळविज
- 85 याह्वानसुधियां । पदद्वंद्वांभोजभ्रमरसद्यो हेमविजयः । अलंकारेराढ्यां स्त्रियमिव शुभां यां विहितवान् । प्रशस्तिः शस्ते
- 86 षा जगति चिरकालं विजयतां ॥ ६७॥ इति सौवर्णिकसाहश्रीतेजःपालोवधृतविमलाचल पष्टनश्रीआदीरामुल्यासादप्रशस्तिः श्रेय
- 87 बुअसहजसागराणां । विनेयजयसागरोऽल्लिखद्वणैं: । बिल्पिभ्यामुत्कीणी । माधवनांनाभि-धानाभ्यां ॥ ६८ ॥

(To be continued.)

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA: THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION\*

# By V. M. APTE. Poona.

AG. II. 4. 13:-

. Vapāmutkhidya juhuyād: (a) "Vaha vapām Jātavedah pitrbhyo, (b) yatraitān, vettha nihitān parāke | (c) medasah kulyā upinānt sravantu, (d) satyā etā āśiṣah santu sarvāh svāhā" iti |

Trans. . . Scooping out the omentum, he should sacrifice it (with the mantra): (a) "Bear the omentum, O Jätavedas, to the Fathers, where thou knowest them to be settled, afar May streams of fat flow unto them; may all these wishes be fulfilled; svähä!"

Context · In the Astakā ceremony (Sūtra 13th), an animal is killed according to the ritual of the animal sacrifice, omitting, however, the sprinkling and touching of the animal and then follows the scooping out of the omentum.

Sources: As Prof. STENZLER (p. 73) points out, the verse is found in VS. 35. 20. The variations are:—In clause (b), 'enān' for our 'etān'; in (c), upa tān for our 'upamān'. The last pāda is different "satyā eṣām āśiṣaḥ sannamantām". [May their wishes, turn out (true)!]. This version of the last pāda is better as more in keeping with the spirit of the whole verse which is concerned more with the needs and wishes of the Pitrs, than with those of the sacrificer to which our pāda (d) refers.

The mantra occurs with variations in the following Sütra-texts also SG. III. 13.3; PG. 3.3.9; SMB 2 3.18; APMB. 2.20.28; Kauś. 45.14 and HG. 2.15.7.

- ĀG. II. 4. 14 : Athāvadānānām sthālīpākasya ca 'agne naya supathā rāye asmān' iti dve  $\mid$
- I (a) "Grīsmo hemanta ztavaḥ śwā no (b) varṣāh śwā abhayā śaran naḥ (c) Samvatsaro'dhipatiḥ prāṇado no, (d) ahorātre kṛṇutām dīrghamā-yuḥ svāhā |
- II (a) Sāntā pṛthivī śwamantarıkṣam, (b) dyaur no devyabhayam no astu  $\mid$  (c) śwā diśah pradiśa uddiśo na (d) āpo vidyutah paripāntu sarvatah svāhā  $\mid$
- III (a) Āpo marīcīh pravahantu no dhiyo, (b) dhātā samudro' vahantu pāpam | (c) bhūtam bhaviṣyad abhayam viśvam astu me, (d) brahmādhiguptah svārākṣarāni svāhā |
  - IV (a) Viśva ādıtyā vasavaśca devā, (b) rudrā goptāro marutah

sadantu | (c) ürjam prajām amrtam pinvamānah (d) prajāpatīr mayi paramesthī dadhātu svāhā . . . . . | 14 |

Trans: Then (are offered oblations) of 'avadāna's (cut-off portions) and the Sthālīpāka (as follows:—) two oblations with the two RV. verses beginning with) "Agni lead us" etc. (1e RV. I. 189. 1 and 2); (four oblations with the following four mantras): I (a): May summer, winter, the seasons be propitious to us, (b) propitious the rains; safe the autumn! (c) May the year be our life-giving master; (d) may days and nights make our life long, Svāhā!

- II. (a) Tranqual be the earth; propitious the sky. (b) May goddess Heaven be our (assurance of) safety. (c) Propitious be the quarters, the intermediate quarters and the upper quarters to us; (d) may the waters, the lightnings protect us from all sides, Svähä!
- III. (a): May the waters, the rays bear our prayers! (b) May the Creator, the ocean, strike down evil! (c) May the past, the future, may all be safe to me; (d) protected by Brahman, may I pour forth the 'Svāras' (i.e songs in general)!
- IV (a) May all the Ādityas, Vasus and Gods,¹ (b) the Rudras, the protectors, the Maruts sit down here! (c) Augmenting (pinvamānaḥ) vigour, progeny and immortality, (d) may Prajāpati, the highest-placed, confer (these) on me! Svāhā!

Sources of I: The nearest approach in words and sense is in TS. 5.7.2.4 (a) "Grīṣmo hemanta uta no vasantah. (b) Śarad varṣāḥ suvitaṁ no astu | eteṣām rtūnām śataśāradānāṁ (d) nivāta eṣām abhaye syāma || This mantra accompanies the depositing of the 'ĀJyānī' bricks in the structure of the fire-altar. The general sense—a prayer to the seasons—is the same. That this verse is the influence on our citation is shown by the following circumstances: PG 3 2 2 quotes a mantra the first two pādas of which are identical with the first two of our mantra and the last two of which are identical with the last two of the TS mantra! The mantra is quoted in PG. in the Pratyavarohana context and in the same context \$G\$ IV 18 1 quotes a mantra very similar to the TS mantra quoted above!

Sources of II This verse stands as the 11th in the long passage given by STENZLER in his Kristische Anmerkungen (p. 46-7) as found in some MSS at the end of Kanḍikā I 2 The nearest approach in words and sense is AV XIX 9 1. (a) Śāntā dyauh, śāntā prthivī, (b) Śāntam idam urvantarikṣam ! (c) Śāntā udanvatīrāpah, (d) Śāntā nah santvosadhīh !|—which is a prayer for appeasement and welfare to various detties PG. 3 3 6 and MG. 2 8 6 also cite similar verses

Sources of III This is not traced to any early text; among sütra-texts Prof Oldenberg compares PG III 3 6 In MG 2 8 6 is cited a similar mantra and curiously enough the agreement between the PG and MG versions is very close e.g. PG III 3 6 = (a) Apo marīcīh paripāntu sarvatah

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Devāḥ' is not an adjective (= divine) as Prof. Oldenberg takes it,

(MG. 'vıśvatah'). (b) Dhātā samudra apahantu pāpam | (MG 'abhayarin krnotu) (c) Bhūtam bhavışyadakrtadvıśvam astu me (MG. has 'uta bhadram astu me') (d) Brahmābhiguptah surakşıtah syām || [MG. reads this pāda as 'brahmābhigūrtam (approved of by Brahman) svarā kṣāṇah'].

 $Sv\bar{a}ra$  is the name of a sāman ending in a svarīta (circumflex), having no special nidhāna or finale. The chanting of a svāra sāman is prescribed to explate for any excess committed, previously, in chanting. Though the word is used in the general sense of 'songs' in our mantra, there may be a hint of this explatory character, as there is a reference to 'pāpam' in the second pāda.

Sources of IV This is traced only to Sūtra texts. MG. 2.8.6 and PG. III 3 6 have both a mantra almost identical with ours, with the following variations:—Both have 'sarve' instead of our 'devāh' in (a); have 'marutaśca santu' for our 'marutah sadantu' in (b), and have 'dīrgham āyuh' instead of our 'pinvamānah (which is rather awkward) in (c) The striking agreement of PG. and MG perhaps indicates a more faithful version of the original whatever it was.

ĀG II. 6 1-4: Rathamāroksyannānā pāmbhyām cakre abhi-mṛśed:
(a) 'Aham te pūrvapādāvārabhe,' (b) 'bṛhadrathantare te cakre' | 1 | (c)
"Vāmadevyam aksah" ttyaksādhisthāne |2| daksina-pūrvābhyām āroked, (d)
"Vāyostvā vīryenārohāmīndrasyaujasādhipatyeneti" |3 | raśmīntsammrśed
araśmikānvā dandena, (e) "brahmano vastejasā saṃgrhnāmi satyena vaḥ
saṃgrhnāmi" iti | 4 |

Trans (1) When about to mount a chariot, one should touch the two wheels separately (but simultaneously) with his two hands (repeating the formula) (a) "I touch thy two fore-feet; (b) the 'Brhat' ánd 'Rathantara' are thy two wheels; (2) (one should touch) the two (naves) which hold the axle with the formula "The 'Vāmadevya' is thy axle". (3) One should mount (the chariot) with the right foot first (with the formula) "With the power of Vāyu, I mount thee, with Indra's vigour and mastery, (I mount thee)" (4) One should reach the reins or the horses (themselves) with a staff if they have no reins, with the formula "With the lustre of Brahman I seize you; with Truth I seize you".

Sources: For formulas (b) to (e), may be compared L\$. 28.2 and 6-8. If the yajamāna makes a gift of a horse-chariot to the Udgātr (the L\$. belongs to the Sāmaveda) he accepts the gift in the following manner —2.82 = He accepts the leather-work of the chariot (by touching it) with the mantra "Vāyostvā" 2 8 6-8 = he touches the right wheel of the chariot with the words "Rathantaramasi", the adhisthāna (which is the same as our "aksādisthāna or axle-iest in sūtra 2) with the words "Vāmadevyamasi" and the left wheel with the words "Brhad asi". PB. (another Sāma-veda Brāhmana) in 1 7 3-4 employs the same formulas in the same context as in L\$ above; it quotes in full however the mantra of which only the pratīka is quoted in L\$ 282 as follows:—"Vāyostvā tejasā pratigrhnāmi, nakṣatrā-ṇām tvā rūpeṇa pratigrhnāmi sūryasya tvā yarcasā pratigrhnāmi |" This

mantra though different is highly suggestive of and parallel in purport to our mantras (d) and (e) which really constitute one mantra (in substance), expanded into two, by the two verbs 'ārohāmi' and 'samgṛḥṇāmi" to suit two different acts.

For (a) may be compared AB VIII 172 'Brhacca te Rathantararin ca, pūrvau pādau bhavatām' (Let the Brhat and Rathantara be thy forefeet). This is addressed to the Āsandī (or throne) which is set before a king in the Rājasūya sacrifice Our text appears to have taken over this formula as it is in AB., without making the necessary change viz. the dropping of 'pūrvau' (before pādau) which as applied to a chariot with two wheels is meaningless, though significant in the original (AB. passage) where it is addressed to the Āsandī which has four feet! AB. V. 30 1-4 develops the idea of 'Brhat' and 'Rathantara' being wheels by identifying the day with Brhat and the night with 'Rathantara' after declaring "Ete vai samvatsarasya cakre, yad ahorātre". (The night and day are the two wheels of the year).

AG. II. 8. 16: Athanām ucchrīyamānām anu mantrayeta: I. (a) "ihava tiṣṭha nimutā, (b) tilvilāstāmurāvatīm | (c) madhye posasva tiṣṭhantīm (d) ā tvā prapamaghāyavah || II. (a) Ā tvā kumarastaruṇa, (b) ā vasto jāyatām saha | (c) ā tvā pariṣntaḥ kumbha (d) ā dadhnah kalaṣairayann iti".

Trans. Over this (middle post) while it is being erected, he should recite the mantras, 'ihaiva' etc. (Both the mantras are translated below)

Context · The Kaṇḍikā deals with house-building

The text and interpretation of I. The verse has puzzled both Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG. The former ignores the accusative ending 'm' of 'tilvilāstāmirāvatīm' which, in his opinion, must be erased; Prof Olden-EERG separates the pada as 'tilvıla+stamıravatim' and then says (p 213) that the correction and translation of the latter word is quite uncertain. I think, however, that the verse admits of a simple and natural explanation as it stands, except that 'Posasva' must be corrected into 'Posasya' in (c) and 'ā tvā' into 'mā tvā' in (d), as Prof. STENZLER following SG III. 3 1, proposes. I may add in support of these two corrections that APMB 2.15 3 reads 'Mā tvā' like ŚG My construction is as follows ' The first pāda constitutes a complete sentence ending with 'nimitā'. "Stand just here, set up ('Nımıta'. cf. RV V. 62 7 quoted below) as you are". The remaining three padas make up one sentence. The second pada is to be separated as 'tılvilāstām + ırāvatīm' two accusatives going with 'tvā' in the fourth pāda along with the accusative 'tisthantim' in the third pada. The translation is 'May the sinful not find thee, standing in the midst of plenty (poşasya madnye), full of welfare (ırāvatīm) and fixed (astām) into holy ground (tulvila+astā) as thou art For this sense of 'tilvila' and 'nimitā' compare RV. V 627°: "Bhadre kşetre nımıtā tılvıle vā' = 'set down ın an auspicious field or holy ground (tilvila) 'describing the 'sthūnā' mentioned in RV. V. 62. 72, as in our text,—a striking parallel!

Sources of I. Among sūtra-texts \$G. III. 3. 1 has a parallel verse (as shown by Profs. Stenzler and Oldenberg), as also APMB. 2. 15. 3 and MG. 2.11.2. The readings in these parallel passages were helpful, as seen above, in correcting the slightly corrupt readings in (c) and (d). I think that the passage AV. III. 12. 2. 6 and 7 has influenced the citations in this and the following Kandikā e.g. AV. III 12. 6 and 7 correspond to the 2nd verse quoted in this sūtra (II 8.16) and the verse quoted in II. 9.2 respectively. Therefore it is quite probable, that AV. III. 12.2 which begins 'ihaiva dhruza pratitistha \$\tilde{a}le \text{if} may have given a hint regarding our 1st verse as AV. III. 12 deals with 'house-building'.

The text and interpretation of II:—This verse also is supposed to be far more corrupt than it really is, by Professors Stenzier and Oldenberg who both propose emendations. The necessity for their emendations may be examined in the light of the parallel verses that we have in AV III 12.7; SG. III.2 9 and PG.3 4.4 (as pointed out by the two scholars) and also in HG 1.27 4, MG 2.11.12 and APMB. 2 15 4.

The only correction necessary in my opinion is that of 'pariśritah' in (c), into 'parisrutah' as proposed also by the two scholars in the light of the AV SG, and PG readings, because the corruption of the latter word into the former is very likely and because the meaning 'the cup of parisrut', suits the verse better and because APMB. 2.15.4 and MG. 2.11.12 have also the same reading. But Prof Oldenberg's view that 'jāyatām saha' in (b) is a corruption and that too of 'jagadath saha' in PG III.4.4 (see his note on pp 93-94) is far-fetched and quite unnecessary! 'Jāyatām' is too far removed from ' jagadaih' to be a corruption of the latter and is moreover the reading in AV 3 12 7b. Besides, the verse yields very good sense as it is, with only one emendation 'parisrutah' as noted above I now give my translation :-"May the young boy (Kumāras tarunah), may the calf (vatsah) be together (saha) born to thee [ (tvā ājāvatām) i.e., be destined for thee, destined to live near thee, For such use of 'jana' (Jayate, to be born) with the accusative, compare our mantra in I. 5. 4 'yadıyam kumārī abhıjātā' = that to which this girl is born]. May the jar of 'Parisrut' (lit. flowing or foaming over = a kind of intoxicating liquor prepared from herbs) come to thee (the verb from the next pada being supplied after 'ā tvā'); may it come with mugs of curds."

Sources · The Sütra-texts having parallel passages have already been mentioned but the earliest version of the mantra is AV.III.12 7 (Prof. STENZ-LER compares the whole hymn AV III.12), which reads (a) "Emām kumārastaruna, (b) ā vatso jāyatām saha | (c) emām parisrutah kumbha (d) ādahnah kalaśair aguh" |. The meaning of the word 'Vatsa' and the general sense of our mantra is made clear by AV. III.12.13cd: ā tvā vatso gamed ā kumārah, ā dhenavah sāyam āsyandamānāh | (May the calf, the young boy, may the cows—come to thee in the evening) as addressed to a 'Sālā' or a house newly-built.

AG. II. 8. 2 : (a) "Rtena sthūnām adhiroha Vamśa, (b) drāghīya āyuḥ prataran dadhānah" iti |

Trans. "(a) By Rta (Law) mount over the post, O staff; (b) conferring longer life on us, hereafter".

Context. This mantra is addressed to the 'bamboo-staff' while it is being mounted (on to the middle post) in the course of the 'House-building' ceremony

Sources of (b). The part or pāda (b) is a well-known verse-pāda of the RV often repeated in the Rgveda e g in I. 53. 11<sup>d</sup>, X 18  $2^b$ ,  $3^d$ ; X 115  $8^d$ , being of the nature of a general prayer for long life. It also occurs in AV. 12. 2.  $30^b$ . Our text in taking over this pāda has changed the RV. 'dadhānāh' plural, Ātmanepada (= choosing for ourselves) into 'dadhānāh' (conferring) singular Parasmaipada as it qualifies 'Vamša'.

Sources of (a) This pāda is found in AV. III 12. 6a [III. 12 being the hymn on house-building referred to above] in close proximity to the mantra (III 12.7) parallel to the one cited in our II.8.16 So our text has taken over the first pāda from this AV. verse and joined it on to another pāda in the RV. to make up a new mantra! This is quite in keeping with the general practice of Sūtra-texts which, when not citing a mantra from their particular Vedic Samhitā, took the liberty of adapting, altering or joining verse-parts or pādas from one or many sources to make up a mantra suitable to a particular context! Clause (a) is also found in HG 1 27. 7a, APMB. 2. 15. 5a and MG. 2. 11. 14a, with the change 'Sthūnau' for 'Sthūnām' the verse being addressed to 'a staff mounted on two pillars.'

ĀG. II. 9 3-4:—Sadūrvāsu catasrsu šilāsu manikam pratisthāpayet: I. "Prthīvyā adhi sambhava" īti |3|

II. (a) "Aramgaro vāvadīti, (b) tredhā baddho varatrayā | (c) irām u ha praśamsatı (d) anırām apabādhatām" iti vā | 4 |

Trans. He should instal a water-barrel on four stones overspread with Dürvä (grass) with the mantra  $\ I$  "Arise with [this is the force of the preposition 'sam' in 'Sambhava'] (and) on the earth", or with the mantra II (a) "The aramgara chatters on, (b) thrice bound with the straps; (c) it, verily praises prosperity; (d) may it drive away adversity"

Context. After the main structure of the house has been erected, a water-parrel is given a place in the house.

Sources of I TS V 6 1. 4 has 'Prthivyā Sambhava' (be united with the earth), the reading of MS 2 13 1 being 'Pithivyāh sambhava'. The context is very suggestive. In the piling up of the fire-altar, a caru (of wild rice with milk) is deposited in the midst of the 'Kumbha' bricks with this formula. Now TS 4 1 1 14 reads "Prthivyā adhi ābharat" a formula accompanying the picking of the spade in the ceremony of placing the fire in the fire-pan. Our formula is evidently made up of parts (in italics above) of these two TS formulas.

Sources of II. Profs STENZLER and OLDENBERG compare AV XX. 135.

13. The variations are 'irām aha' instead of our 'irām u ha' in (c) and

'apasedhati' for our 'apasedhatām' in (d). I think however that the influence here is \$\$ XII. 16. 1 3, where the verse occurs with only one variation 'apasedhati' in (d), as in the AV., because \$\$5. has influenced many chapters in our text (compare our I. 24. and IV. 8).

The meaning of Arangara. Prof. Oldenberg (p 214) says that the meaning is unknown to him but that it seems to be a musical instrument. Prof. Stenzler translates it as 'schnell-schlinger' The dictionary (Monier Williams) meaning is "One who bestows praise or hymns the gods" V. S. Apte's dictionary gives the meaning "praising readily (aram)" I think that the key to the meaning of this word is to be found in RV. IV 58 3c: "tridhā baddho visabho roravīti". [=The bull (i.e. the fire-god) bound thrice, crackles loudly]. A grhya fire was always near at hand in all domestic rites, and then the term is figuratively transferred to the Manika or the metallic water-barrel (bound with straps) from which must be proceeding curious sounds, as it was being installed on the four stones. These sounds are looked upon as auspicious invocations.

AG. II. 9. 5 : Athāsminnapa āsecayet (a) "Attu rājā Varuno revatībhr (b) asmintsthāne tisthatu modamānah | (c) irām vahanto ghrtam ukṣmāṇā, (d) Mitrena sākam saha sam-viśantu" iti

Trans: He should then pour water into it with the mantra (a) "May King Varuṇa come here with the plentiful (waters); (b) may he abide rejoicing, at this place; (c) bringing prosperity and dripping with ghee (d) may they rest here with Mitra

Sources. (a) and (b) The first two pädas are found without variation in KS. 25 5 28 which is an expiatory verse recited when the *Pranītā waters* are spilt:—a context suggestive of our context.

Clause: (c) is =  $\overline{A}$ \$ 2 15 17° which occurs in the 'Gṛha-prapadana'—section which is presupposed in our text II. 10. 1 It also occurs in  $\overline{A}$ P\$ 6. 27. 3 in the same context as in  $\overline{A}$ \$ Among sūtra-texts, MG 2. 11 17 has all the first three pādas with unimportant variations. The last pāda then is the only improvisation of our text.

ĀG II 10 6. . Āyatīr, I: "Yāsām udhaścaturbılam madhoh pūrnamghrtasaya ca | tā nah santu payasvatīr bahvīr gosthe ghrtācyah | II. Upamaitu mayobhuva ūrjam caujaśca bibhratīh | duhānā akṣitam payo mayi goṣṭhe niviśadhvam yathā bhavāmyuttamah |

Trans: When they (i.e. the cows) are coming back (from the pasture-lands, after grazing), he recites over them the mantra: I "May they whose udders, each with its four holes, are full of honey and ghee, abound in milk for us, many (i.e. multiplying) in our stable, dripping with ghee II Come hither to me, giving refreshment and bearing power and vitality. Yielding inexhaustible milk, rest with me, in (my) stable, that I may become the highest one.

Sources: These two verses constitute a khila of two stanzas found neither in Aufrecht nor Muller but given in the khila collection of the Kashmir manuscript of the RV as reported by Prof. MACDONELL in his note

to the translation of the Bṛhaddevatā (verse) VIII 83 (p. 316 HOS, vol 6.):—"Between 'yenedam' (i.e. a khila preceding RV. X. 167, mentioned by him on p 312) and this (i.e. the Nejameşa khila), the Kashmir collection has one of two stanzas beginning 'yāsām ūdhaś caturbilam' and coming before RV. X. 170".

 $\overline{APS}$  7. 17 1 has a mantra the first three pādas of which are identical with the first three of (I), the fourth being 'asmin gosthe vayovrdhah'. The mantra is employed at the Nirūdhapaśu-bandha (an animal-sacrifice) after the killing of the animal

The text of the Rg-veda khila (reported by MACDONELL), has been printed on p. 129 of 'Die Apokryphen des Rg-veda' by SCHEFTELOWITZ with the following variations:—'Mayobhuvam' occurs there for our 'Mayobhuvah', a 'pipratīh' for our 'bibhratīh' and 'mama gotre' for our 'mayi gosthe' in II.

ĀG II. 10. 8: Gaṇān āsāmupatīsthetāgurugavīnām, (a) "bhūtāh stha, prašastāh stha, šobhanāh priyāh; (b) priyo vo bhūyāsam; šam mayi jānīdhvam iti |

Trans: He waits upon their herds not including (i.e. when they do not include) the cows of his preceptor with the formula (a) "You are doing well; excellent are you, beautiful, beloved. (b) May I become dear to you! May you see bliss in me"!

Sources: Only MS 4. 2. 3 has "Praśastāh stha kalyāṇyaḥ" resembling somewhat our (a), but the mantra as it is in our text is not traced to early texts or any parallel sūtra-text. I think the last sūtra (the 8th) with its mantra is an interpolation for the following reasons (1) There is nothing corresponding to this rule in any other Gṛḥya-Sūtra (2) The reference to the 'Cows of the Guru' is most surprising as from Kandikā I 23 to this Kandikā (II. 10), the duties of a house-holder are described (3) The rule itself that the cow of his Guru should be excluded from the homage which is to be paid exclusively to his own cows is amazing! To avoid this absurd suggestion, if we suppose the implication to be that a different mantra was to be employed in the case of his Guru's cows then that mantra should have followed (4) The end of a Kandikā, besides, is an easy place for interpolations and additions, generally speaking.

## Kandıkās 1 to 4, ın Adhyāya III

These Kandıkās deal with the five daily sacrifices and 'svādhyāya' in particular Prof. Oldenburg compares the Satapatha Brāhmana XI 5 6 1 seqq for III 1. 1 seqq, it may be added however that Kandıkās 1 and 4 of the IIIrd Adhyāya agree so strikingly, not only in substance but also in the wording of their Sūtras and Mantras with the Annwākas II. 10-14 of TA that the question of borrowing is hardly in doubt! That some of the citations in these kandıkās are traced only to TA will be shown later but instances of close parallels and borrowings in the wording and substance of Sūtras are

as follows:—III. 1 1-2 are parallel to TA. II. 10. 1; and III. 1. 3 to TA. II. 10 2-6. As regards Kandikā III. 2, it borrows nearly all its rules, its peculiar terms and expressions like 'darbhānām mahadupastīrya' and its quotation in Sūtra 2 from TA. II. 11. In III. 3, sūtras 2 and 3 are almost word for word identical with TA. II. 10. 7-8, except for a few unimportant changes e.g. our text substitutes 'amṛtasya kulyāḥ' and 'amṛtāhutibhiḥ' for 'medasaḥ kulyāḥ' and 'medāhutibhih' respectively in TA., the quotation in sūtra 4 is taken over bodily from TA II 12 4. In the next Kandika (III. 4) sūtras 6 and 7 are nearly identical, word for word, with the corresponding passages in TA. II 15. 3. 7 and 1 respectively!

ĀG III. 2 2 Vijňāyate "apām vā eşa osadhīnām raso yaddaībhāh, sarasameva tadbrahma karoti".

Trans It is known (from the Srutı) 'This is what darbha grass is: it is the essence of waters and herbs. In this way he makes the Brahman endowed with essence'.

Sources: The whole quotation is traced to TA II. 11. 3 where it is found word for word but to no other text.

AG III. 3 4. 'Sa yāvan manyeta tāvadadhītyaitayā paridadhāti: (a) "Namo brahmane namo astvagnaye, (b) namah pṛthwyai, nama oṣadhībhyah | (c) namo vāce namo vācaspataye, (d) namo viṣnave mahate karomi" iti

Trans: Having recited those texts (i.e. the Rcas, Yajus etc. enumerated in Sūtra 1) as far as he thinks (sufficient for the daily lesson), he concludes (by pouring oblations of water) with the mantra "Adoration to Brahman! Adoration be to Agni! Adoration to the Earth! Adoration to the Plants! Adoration to Speech! Adoration to the Lord of Speech! Adoration I bring to the great Visnu!"

Sources: TA II 12 3 and APS. 14 34 5 are identical verses except that both the texts have 'bṛhate' for 'mahate' in our (d). That an oblation is meant to be offered (as Nārāyaṇa says) with this mantra, is made clear by what follows this mantra in APS "Svāheti āhutirh hutvā" etc. TA. II 13. 4 refers to this very verse as the 'Paridhānīyā' or the 'Closing verse' of the Svādhyāya

AG. III. 4 6-7: Athāpi vijāāyate, (a) "sa yadi tisthan vrajamāšīnah sayāno vā, (b) yam yam kratum adhīte, tena tena hāsya kratunestam bhavatīti | 6 | Vijāāyate, (c) tasya dvāvanadhyāyau yadātmāśucir yaddesah | 7 |

Trans: Sütra 6th: And it is known (from the Sruti) "If he, whether standing, walking, sitting or lying, recites any particular 'sacrifice' (ie sacrificial text), a sacrifice, indeed, has been offered by him, through (the recitation of) that sacrificial text" Sutra 7 It is known (from the śruti) "There are only two cases for abstention from Vedic Study: when he is impure himself or when the place is impure".

Sources. The formula cited in Sūtra 6 where (a) and (b) make one sentence is evidently made up of two parts taken from TA. II. 15. 4 and 7

and joined together. Clause (a) is also found in TA. II 12 3 which after stating that 'Svādhyāya' should be studied in the village mentally, by day or night, or in a forest, silently or loudly adds "Uta tişthannuta vrajannutāsīna uta 'sayāno'dhīyītaiva svādhyāyam" | and TA II 15 7 says that 'svādhyāya' must be studied because 'Yam yam kratumadhīte' etc exactly as in our text. Formula (c) in Sūtra 7 is also taken from TA. II. 15. 1 "Tasya vā etasya yajñasya (the sacrifice in the form of vedic study) dvāvanadhyāyau" etc as in our text

AG. III. 6.7: Ksutvā jṛmbhıtvāmanojñam drstvā pāpakam gandhamāghrāya, akṣispandane karṇadhvanane ca, I "(a) sucaksā aham akṣībhyām bhūyāsam, (b) suvarcā mukhena suśrut karṇābhyām, II (c) mayı dakṣakartu" iti japet |

Trans. If one sneezes, yawns, sees an unpleasant sight, smells a foul smell or if there is throbbing of the eyes or noises in the ears, one should mutter the mantra:—

I. (a) 'Well-eyed may I become with my eyes, (b) resplendent with my face and well-hearing with my ears. II (c) May alertness and efficiency be (present) in me'

Sources of I: I (a) and (b) are traced to the Nirukta 7. 3 with the addition of 'bhūyāsam' at the end of (b), in a discussion of the nature of Vedic Stanzas. It is said there that some Vedic stanzas are mere benedictions and not praise ('athāpyāsīreva na stutih') and then our mantra is cited as an instance in point. Thus though the mantra is not traced to any existing vedic text, it was known to the Nirukta as a Vedic stanza

Among Sütra-texts the mantra is found in PG 2 6. 19; in MG. 1 9. 25 with the addition of bhūyāsam (as in N. 7 3 above) and the later regular form 'aksibhyām' instead of the 'aksībhyām' of our text, which is an early form found in the RV

Sources of II (c): This constitutes a separate mantra though our text has joined it on to (a) and (b), to make up one mantra  $\overline{APS}$  4 3 12 has it in an identical form "Jañjabhyamāno brūyāt 'mayı dakşakratū'" (If one yawns, one should repeat the mantra etc) This seems to have been the clue for our text where 'yawning' is one of the occasions for the citation  $\overline{A}$  variation of the formula with no change in meaning is found in VS  $3827^{\rm b}$  'Mayı dakso mayi kratıh' where it is a 'pravargya' formula employed when the sacrificer and the priests drink the contents of the 'Caldron' This same variant is found in SB 14 3 1 21, TB 3. 7. 9 4, TA 4 21 1 and SS 7. 7. 16 8 in exactiv the same context as in VS.

ĀG III 6.8. Agananīyām gatvāyāŋyam yūjayıtvā abhojyam bhuktvā apratigrāhyam pratigrhya, caityam yūpam copahatya, I (a) "punar māmattvindriyam, (b) punarāyuh punarbhagah | (c) punar dravinamaitu mām (d) punar brāhmanam aitu mām svāhā |

II (a) ime ve dhisnyāso agnayo, (d) yathā-sthānamiha kalpatām | (c)

Vasvānaro vāvrdhānah (d) antaryacchatu me mano (e) hrdyantaramamītasya ketuh svāhetyājyāhutī juhuyāt |

Trans: If one approaches one's wife when she ought not to be approached (1e when she is in her monthly course), performs a sacrifice for a person for whom it ought not to be performed, eats forbidden food, accepts what ought not to accepted and knocks against a 'caitya' column (i.e a column belonging to a sanctuary or temple near a village; compare 'caitya-yajña' in I. 12 1), one should offer two Ājya oblations with the following mantras: I "Again to me, may come back the power of the senses, again life, again come back (good) fortune; may my wealth come back to me, may my spritual power come back to me! Swāhā! II These fires here, that have altars (assigned to them), may they be in their proper places May Vaiswānara, the increasing one, the emblem of immortality, restrain my mind within my self! Swāhā!"

Sources of I and II: Profs STENZLER and OLDENBERG compare AV. VII 67 1; but this verse has a general resemblance only to parts of our two verses e.g. its first pāda is nearly the same as our I(a); its second pāda roughly corresponds to I (c) and (d) together; its third pāda to II (a) and its fourth to II (b). The proper source of our I is TA I 30 1—a verse identical with ours except for insignificant variations e.g. it has 'praitu' for our 'attu' in (a), the pādas (c) and (d) are virtually the same as our (d) and (c) with 'mā' instead of our 'mām' at the end of both.

The source of II (a) and (b) may, however, well be the last two pādas of the AV. verse VII 67. 1 which reads (c) "Punaragnayo dhiṣnyāso, (d) yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva" | Our text seems to have made a complete mantra of II by joining to these two pādas verse-parts derived from other sources These probably are: TB. 3 10 8.9; the last two pādas of this verse read 'Vaisvānaro raṣmibhir vāvṛdhāno'ntas tiṣṭhantv amṛtasya gopāh || and are remarkably similar to our II (c) and (d); besides the first two pādas of this TB. -verse are reminiscent of our I. ĀP\$ 17 23 11 is a verse identical with this TB verse in its last two pādas that are so similar to our II (c) and (d)

ĀG III 8 9 and 10:—(a) ' aśmanastejo'si caksurme pāhī'ti caksusī āñjayīta  $\mid 9 \mid$  (b) 'aśmanas tejo'si śrotram me pāhī'ti kundale ābadhnīta  $\mid 10 \mid$ 

Trans: Sūtra 9 (Having bathed and put on new garments) he gets his eyes salved (āñjayīta is a causal form) with the formula: 'Thou art the sharpness of the stone, protect my eye' (sūtra 10): with the formula 'Thou art the sharpness of the stone, protect my ear' he puts on the two earrings

Context This is part of the ceremony of 'samāvartana' (the return of the pupil to his home) in which a bath signifying the end of his period of studentship is taken.

Sources: The first part of (a) and (b) is the same: 'asmanastejo'si' and

is not traced anywhere It is probably an improvisation of the text itself. It could be addressed to the collyrium or eye-salve because it is rubbed and powdered on a stone and to the ear-rings because they are made of precious stone. The latter part of both (a) and (b) viz, 'caksur me pāhi' and 'śrotram me pāhi' are found in TS. III. 2. 10. 2 in the offering of the Pratinirgrahya cups and also in TS. 4. 3. 6. 2. and VS. 14. 17, the context in both places being the laying of the 'Prāṇabhṛt' bricks in the Agni-cayana but the real influence seems to be TS. 1. 2. 1. 2 although only the latter part of (a) is found there because the context is so allied to ours. In the Soma sacrifice, the sacrificer shaves his whiskers to the accompaniment of mantras (parallel to mantras cited in our I 17. 7. 8) takes a bath, puts on his garment and then salves his eyes with the formula 'Caksuspac caksur me pāhi'. The series of ritual acts here are exactly parallel to those in our text.

AG III. 8 16. 'Anārto' syanarto' ham bhūyāsam' iti srajamapi badhrāta | : Trans. With the formula 'Free from distress art thou, free from dis-

Sources. Only the word 'anārta' is traced to TA. 4. 42 2 in a slightly similar context. 'Anārtāni devatām prapadye'—I approach the derty free from distress (or health-giving according to the commentator). This is a benedictory formula recited after the ceremony of Dīkṣā with hot water in hand.

tress may I become' he puts on the wreath also.

AG. III. 8. 19: (a) 'Devānām pratisthe sthah sarvato mā pātam' ityupānahāvāsthāya (b) 'divas' chadmāsīti' chatramādatte |

Trans. He puts on his shoes with the formula: 'You are the support of the gods; protect me from all sides'; and takes up the sunshade with the formula 'Thou art the canopy of heaven'

Sources. (a) is found only in APMB. II. 9. 3—'Pratisthe stho devatānām mā mā samtāptam'; (you are the support of deities, do not torment me)—which mantra is employed by APG. 12. 11 in the same context as ours. The nearest approach to (b), is in LS 1. 7. 15·'divyam chadmāsi viśvajanasya chāyā' (Thou art a divine canopy, the shade for all people), addressed to a branch of the Udumbara tree while it is being raised.

ĀG III 8. 20 —(a) 'Veņurasi, (b) Vānaspatyo'sı (c) sarvato mā pāhīti vainavam dandam |

Trans. (He takes up) a staff of reed with the formula: (a) 'Reed thou art, (b) Of vanaspati art thou, (c) protect me from all sides'

Sources. (b) is found in PB 1 2. 4 addressed to a Drona (or vessel of wood) and in PB 6. 5 3 addressed to a Soma vessel. In APS 1. 16. 3, the formula is addressed to the cup of Pranītā waters while it is being washed.

A formula with the same general sense as that of (b) and (c) is AV 12 3 18° 'Vānaspatya udyato mā jihimsīḥ' [made of a tree (and) uplifted as thou art, do not injure me] which accompanies (according to Kauś 61. 22) the pounding of rice-grains with a pestle.

(To be continued.)

### MISCELLANEA

#### WHEN DID BERNIER ARRIVE IN INDIA?

In the Chronicle of Life and Times of François Bernier the following statement is recorded with regard to Bernier's arrival in India .—

"1656-1658—Goes to Egypt . . .Is compelled to abandon his intention of visiting Abyssinia and sets sail in an Indian vessel for SURAT, which he reaches in twenty-two days, most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659."

(Vide p. XX of Bernier's Travels, Constable's Oriental Miscellany, Vol. I. 1891.)

On pp 2-3 of Constable's Edition, Bernier himself refers to his arrival in India as follows:—

"I embarked, therefore, in an Indian vessel, passed the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb, and in two and twenty days arrived at Sourate, in Hindustan, the empire of the Great Mogul I found that the reigning prince was named Chah-Iehan, or King of the World."

In the above statement of Bermer no date of Bermer's arrival at Surat is found recorded and perhaps on this account in the extract from the Chronicle of Bernier's Life and Times recorded above the Editor uses the words "most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659" with reference to Bernier's arrival at Surat in India.

The question now arises: What is the exact year in which Bernier arrived at Surat? I have not read the French original of Bernier's Travels on which Constable's edition is based but I possess a copy of the English Translation of Bernier's History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol (with a letter to Lord Colbert) "Englished out of French" and published in London in 1671 (size  $3\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times 6\frac{3}{4}$ "). In this book which is a contemporary translation of Bernier's Travels we find that Bernier arrived at Surat in A.D. 1655 as will be seen from the following extract:—

Pages 4-5—"These considerations among others, induced me to change my resolution I went aboard of an Indian vessel; I passed those streights, and in two and twenty days I arrived at Suratte in Indostan, the Empire of the Great Mogol, in The Year 1655 There I found, that he who reigned there, was call'd Chah-Jehan, that is to say, King of the world, etc."

The Editor of Constable's Edition of Bernier's Travels refers to the London Edition of the Travels of A.D. 1671 (vide p. xxvii) but evidently he has not read the above extract which clearly states A.D. 1655 as the date of Bernier's arrival at Surat in India, and consequently he makes a doubtful statement regarding the year of Bernier's arrival in India viz. "most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659". Will any expert in the field of Indian History examine the above contemporary evidence and let me know if the evidence brought forth by me is corroborated by other contemporary evidence? As Bernier died at Paris in A.D. 1688 (22nd September), I presume that he must have seen this Translation of A.D. 1671.

#### THE PANIS IN THE RIGVEDA.

(Their identification with the Naga Tribe)

The recent discoveries in the Mohenjo Daro, Chanhu Daro and Harappa have really worked as an eye-opener, and have given a clue in regard to the history of Proto-Indian civilisation Amongst the many indigenous peoples mentioned in the Picto-phonographic inscriptions (as Rev. H. Heras, S.J., would term them) obtaining in those times, the Nagas also acquired a prominent place The Nagas evidently acquired their tribal name on account of their being the direct worshippers of the Naga (cobra). Dr. Jayaswal and others have, however, dealt with the problem of the activities of the Nagas in historic times. And it should be a matter of surprise, indeed, if we are not able to trace their history in the Vedic period also

The Vedic Aryans always speak of the Dasyus, Dāsas and Panis as being inimical towards them The dialogue between Saramā and the Panis is too well-known to be mentioned again. It has been a matter of great puzzle to all the Indologists who have worked in the field up-till-now as to who were these Panis. It is a fact worth noting that the Panis are referred to only in the Vedic literature. They have been termed as Rāksasas in the Varāha Purāna, Adhyāya 16. In fact in the Varāha Purāna the dialogue is said to have taken place between Saramā and the Rākṣasas. Apart from this, we are not in a position to trace their history either in Pre-Vedic or Post-Vedic times.

The actual passage in the Varāha Purāna referring to the Panis throws a direct light on their location in those ancient times. The stanza runs as follows.—

# आगत्य तौ तदा देत्यौ महत्सैन्येन पर्वतम् । हिमवन्तं समाश्रित्य संस्थितौ तु बभवतुः ॥

Varāha Purāna, Bengal Edition, Adhvāva 16, 8,

Thus it is evident that the Panis were located somewhere at the foot of the Himālaya mountains originally. Then, who were these Panis—the best of the trading class population?

In our opinion a proper understanding and study of the Dravidian literature and history would heip us in regard to the solution of many of the problems in the history of Vedic India. Dr. Kittel in his Kannada-English Dictionary has given the meaning of the word Pan as follows—

Pani = Tadbhava of Phani, Cobra—Which is the same as Nāga But the word Phani does not occur in the Vedic literature. Therefore, is it possible that the word Phani is itself derived from the word 'Pani', which is in vogue so long in Southern India

We agree with Rev H Heras, S. J., when he says that the Yadus and Turvasus were the first immigrants in India <sup>1</sup> It was more or less in the period of the Yādavas that the process of Sanskritisation of many of the Dravidian words and terminologies had begun to take place The Mīnas were rendered as Matsyas Eventually the word 'Nāga' found an equivalent in the word 'Pani' at their hands But like the word 'Matsya,' the word 'Pani' did not get currency in later literature

Another fact in support of our argument is that the Panis are said to have been the worshippers of Ahi-Vrtra, in the Rigveda If this be so, will this derivation throw a new light on the history of the Nāgas in the Vedic times also?

A. P. KARMARKAR.

Cf Rev Heras, S J The Origin of the Round Proto-Indian Seals discovered in Sumer, B. B & C I Annual, 1938

# SUR LES INFINITIFS VÉDIQUES EN -ASE

# By

# LOUIS RENOU, Paris.

§ 1. Seul l'examen toujours plus attentif du formulaire, des conditions de grammaire et de style dans lesquelles se présente une forme, permet de faire progresser l'interprétation littérale du Rgveda : il élimine certaines possibilités qui semblent plausibles lorsqu'on envisage un seul passage, mais qui se révèlent comme insoutenables ou du moins invraisemblables dès qu'on a parcouru la totalité des emplois.

Soit le cas des "infinitifs" en -ase. A examiner l'ensemble de ces formes replongées dans leur contexte, on ne peut manquer de voir quelle est leur configuration, dans quelle ambiance elles se meuvent. L'impression générale ainsi acquise sert de proche en proche à éclairer les cas douteux, à choisir entre des interprétations divergentes, théoriquement possibles

Les formes en -ase sont un groupe de noms d'action exprimant le résultat—but ou conséquence—par rapport auquel est formulé le procès. Mais cette détermination finale ou consécutive, loin d'être nécessaire, ne se relie que d'une manière plus ou moins lâche à la phrase, laquelle est en principe complète et se suffit sans cette détermination. L' "infinitif" en -ase note, comme dit Delbrück Ai. Syntax p 422, un complément (Ergänzung)—on pourrait dire un supplément—à la formulation. Ainsi visvam jīvām caráse bodháyantī I 92 9 "(l'Aurore) éveillant tous les êtres vivants, en sorte qu'ils se meuvent", ou téna no mrļa jīvāse IX 66 30 "fais-nous la faveur de ce (lait, ô Soma), afin que (grâce à lui) nous vivions".

Il est vrai que dans un groupe d'exemples nous sentons la forme en -ase différemment, plus ume au verbe, de détermination plus nécessaire et plus proche. Ceci se produit lorsque le verbe est ravalé à la fonction d'auxiliaire, type bhiyáse mrgám kah V 29 4 " (Indra) a effrayé la bête (Vṛṭra)". Mais il est à présumer que la valeur finale ou consécutive continuait à être présente au sujet, une phrase telle que celle-là signifiant proprement "il a agi sur la bête en sorte qu'elle fût effrayée". Il s'agit là d'un développement plus rapide de la forme en -ase, en situation favorable, non d'un emploi nouveau.

Avec des degrés variables de resserrement entre l'auxiliaire et l'infinitif, on a ainsi pusyáse dhāh VI 13 5, jīváse dhāh III 36 10, jīváse dhāt AV. XVIII 3 63 = 4 54, kṛṇuthá jīváse VIII 67 17, kṛdhí... jīváse 12, karta jīváse I 172 3, cákṣasa étave kṛtháh I 112 8. La coincidence de la racme dhā- et de la forme en -ase suffit à infirmer la constatation de GELDNER

ná sobháse "j'ai loué la troupe de ces (Marut) afin que, pour ainsi dire, ils resplendissent": cf. Oldenberg ad loc. Max Müller avait déjà noté le caractère "intraduisible" du ná

De même dans  $\frac{\dot{a}}{a}$  yát sedáthur dhruváse ná yónum VII 70 1 "lorsque vous vous êtes installés (ô Aśvin) dans votre séjour comme pour vous y affermir"; et dans árisyantam ná bhójase (déjà cité § 2).

- § 7 Si l'accusatif fait défaut, le datif est fréquent: juxtaposé à la forme en -ase sans que le poète ait la moindre répugnance à accoler ainsi à un "infinitif" une forme de nom d'action purement nominale. ksáyāya jīvāse X 58 1-12 "pour que tu possèdes pacifiquement (tes richesses), pour que tu vives", caráthāya jīvāse I 36 14 "pour marcher, pour vivre" (il est vrai que les noms en -athāya sont eux aussi des semi-infinitifs Wackernagel Mél Saussure p. 130 n), krátve dáksāya jīvāse (que suit parfois l'infinitif dršé) X 57 4 AV VI 19 2 XVIII 2 23, dīrghāyutvāya cákṣase AV VI 68 2 TS I 2 la MS IV 10 6 etc Il suit de là que la locution urugāyāya jīvāse I 155 4 ne saurait être comme le veut Grassmann "pour un bonheur de vivre illimité", mais avec Geldner "pour marcher au loin, pour vivre", ce qui cadre fort bien avec d'autres emplois d'urugāyā-. Ni ránāya cákṣase X 9 1 "pour voir la joie" (Grassmann, Ludwig), mais "pour la joie, pour (la faculté de) voir ( = de vivre)".
- § 8. Lorsque le datif juxtaposé est un nom d'être animé, il prend valeur de sujet de l' "infinitif", comme le fait se produit sur une plus grande échelle pour d'autres infinitifs védiques Ainsi la locution tokya pváse VIII 67 12 "pour nos enfants, pour qu'ils vivent" aboutira naturellement à "pour que nos enfants vivent", d'autant que ce groupe de mots est sous la dépendance de krdhî "fais (en sorte)" Grassmann a mal rendu tout le vers, qui repose sur deux phrases infinitives pivotant sur krdhí. De même on a X 35 12 pásve tokāya tánayāya ñváse. Dès lors se confirme aisément comme datif le pronom nah de la clausule fréquente jīvasa nah "pour que nous vivions" (cf aussi pusyáse nah "pour que nous prospérions". na spárase §9) Cet emploi d'un datif agrégé à la forme en -ase est assez vivant pour qu'au v III 53 18 on voie un poète délaisser le cadre locatif des pāda a b (bálam dhehi tanúsu bálam analútsu) pour poursuivre au pāda c, avec le datif, bálam tokāya tánayāya jīváse Ou encore au v I 146 5 īļényo mahó árbhāya jīváse où la notion attendue "il est digne d'être invoqué par le grand (comme) par le petit, en sorte (qu'ils obtiennent le droit) de vivre" glisse vers cella de invoqué, en sorte que vivent grand et petit": le terme árbha-, contigu à jīváse, se laissant attirer au datif, tandisque mahá- demeure étranger à cette attraction (v Oldenberg ad loc)
- § 9 Y a-t-il place, dans le cadre des formes en -ase, pour un datif régime, comme on a pour d'autres infinitifs védiques, type âhaye hântavă u "pour tuer le dragon"? On a cru pouvoir en identifier quelques-uns La masse des emplois et des habitudes du type en -ase conduit à les écarter Ainsi d'abord pour le v VIII 20 8 ise bhujé na spárase. La traduction

de Grassmann "aidez-nous à boire, à jouir" accumule les invraisemblances philologiques Il n'y a pas trace ailleurs d'un emploi "impératif" de la forme en -ase, la racine spr ne signifie pas "aider"; nah ne saurait avoir à côté de spárase une fonction autre que celle qu'il a à côté de ñváse ou de On écartera ainsi encore Ludwig qui traduit bizarrement "zu der speise genusz. zum verlangen (zum hinraffen) sind sie (geschaffen) " et Max MULLER "ils doivent jouir de leur nourriture, ils doivent nous aider" En conformité avec l'emploi général de -ase, on obtient aisément la traduction "pour que nous jouissions (bhujé) de la force rituelle, pour que nous soyons vainqueurs" De même 1yáisthyāya dháyase III 50 3 ne sera pas, comme le veulent les traducteurs, "pour exercer la souveraineté" (traduction d'autant moins pertinente que, comme on l'a vu § 3 dhavase est plutôt un nom d'action pur qu'un infinitif), mais "en vue de la souveraineté, en vue de la satisfaction rituelle", avṛkāya dhāyase I 31 13 non "pour créer la sécurité" (GELDNER), mais "en vue de la sécurité, en vue de la satisfaction" ou plus verbalement (PISCHEL VSt I p 217 OLDENBERG SBE. XLVI p 23), "en sorte qu'il ait la sécurité, qu'il jouisse des mets rituels"; indrivaya dhayase IX 70 5, 86 3 est "pour la force d'Indra, pour qu'il trouve satisfaction", la traduction, plus aisée en apparence, de GRASS-MANN "pour qu'Indra boive" se heurte à IX 89 6 où figure en même contexte indrivaya seul. Le rôle de la juxtaposition est beaucoup plus considérable dans le RV, que les traductions ne le laissent paraître

§ 10 Il est évident d'après ce qui précède qu'on répugnera à admettre qu'une forme en -ase soit le prédicat verbal d'une phrase : le v V 64 4 yád dha ksáye maghónām stotīnām ca spūrdháse ne saurait être avec Grassmann "(puissé-je vous attribuer par mon chant, ô Mitra-Varuna) ce qui est à conquérir dans le séjour des patrons et des chantres" (analogue Ludwig), mais bien "(...) ce qui est dans le séjour. en sorte que je l'obtienne par la lutte" De même au v suivant qui dit parallèlement své kṣáye maghónām sákkīnām ca vrdháse "(venez) dans le séjour propre des patrons et de leurs amis, en sorte qu'ils en soient renforcés". On ne voit pas comment Ludwig peut construire maghónām et sákhīnām comme des génitifs sujets de vrdháse Oldenberg inclinerait à entendre respectivement les vv. 4 et 5 "pour la rivalité des chantres", "pour la prospérité des amis", mais vu la forme et le ton de spūrdháse vṛdháse, il y a intérêt à leur laisser l'acception semi-infinitive, autrement dit à ne pas leur adjoindre de génitif régime.

Au v, VI 66 5 (cf Oldenberg ad loc, Bradke Fest Roth p 121) la forme en -ase n'est pas prédicat mais déterminant d'un prédicat invisible La traduction postulée par le contexte est "ceux chez qui l'active (Prsni) n'a pas (la possibilité) de fournir son lait" ná yéşu doháse cid ayáh, proprement ("en sorte de se laisser traire") Sur yát ... áyase, v. § 12.

§ 11 Un génitif régime paraît moins évitable au v. I 141 2 qu'aux v. précités V 64 4 et 5 . si du moins l'on groupe avec les traducteurs vṛṣabhásya doháse "pour traire le taureau" Néanmoins il est loisible de construire le

génitif avec l'élément qui précède, *trivam asya vrsabhásya doháse* "la troisième (forme, celle) du taureau, (les jeunes femmes l'ont engendrée) en sorte qu'on puisse (le) traire"

Le génitif qui dépend de *rājáse* IX 86 36 est un génitif "verbal", conforme à la syntaxe de cette racine. Quant au génitif régime de *hárase* IX 10 6, il est à sa place, *hárase* étant un datif nominal, non l'infinitif que pose Macdonell, Ved. Gr § 585 n° 1 en l'accentuant *haráse* (aussi Ved. Gr for Students p. 434), Whitney Skt Gr § 973a avec l'accentuation correcte

§ 12. L'infinitif en -ase est sans préverbe. Cette particularité lui est commune en gros avec l'ensemble des noms en -as-. Oldenberg, qui l'a notée, indique justement que cette constatation aide à dénier à vivaksase X 21 1 la valeur d'un infinitif II reste, il est vrai, deux exemples embarrassants auxquels Oldenberg n'a pas pensé D'une part VII 61 6 prá vām mánmāny reáse návām Les traducteurs (aussi Macdonell Ved. Reader p 123) rendent "que vous louent ces prières nouvelles" ou analogue On retombe ainsi sur l'inconvénient d'un infinitif en -ase qui serait prédicat et avec nuance impérative ou optative Cet inconvénient sera évité en comprenant prá comme portant sur un verbe non exprimé, duquel reáse est à son tour un déterminant, soit quelque chose comme "je vous pré (senterai) des prières nouvelles afin de (vous) chanter". Tout est ainsi en ordre et la syntaxe avec prá elliptique est commune au début de pāda

C'est avec raison que précisément Geldner admet cette syntaxe pour un autre passage où figure la forme áyase prá yád dhiyê práyase mádāya IV 21 7 (v Oldenberg sur d'autres possibilités; cf en dernier lieu Velankar J Un Bo VI 6 p 45) "quand il se pré (pare) à la prière, à la marche, à l'ivresse" Sur la contiguité du préverbe prá et d'une forme en -ase, cf prá  $\bar{n}v$ áse (yáchanti) X 185 3, prá (tirata) pusyáse VII 57 5

Le fait qu'un préverbe est évité devant la forme en -ase se mesure aux constatations suivantes · la locution dirgháya cáksase I 7 3 VIII 13 30 tient lieu de \*vicakse, cf vicákse passim, prá devant jiváse est remplacé par pratarám AV VI 41 3 XVIII 3 63, 4 54

§ 13 L'image qui résulte de ces différents traits est celle d'une forme à emploi linéaire, passablement monotone et qui dérive directement des conditions générales fournies en védique soit à l'emploi des noms d'action, soit aux possibilités du datif

La dissociation morphologique qui s'est effectuée entre cette forme et les datifs nominaux en -ase, marquée par la place du ton et par la qualité de la voyelle radicale, n'est, on le sait, pas constante Plusieurs noms d'action en -as- ont le ton suffixal, quelques infinitifs ont le ton radical ou le vocalisme plein (ce ne sont d'ailleurs pas les plus caractéristiques, à savoir câksase, áyase, spárase, bhójase et l'hybride doháse—si l'on élimine des listes d'Arnold ou de Macdonell les formes ksádase, dháyase, bhárase, sáhyase, haráse qui ne sont pas des infinitifs) Dans les datifs nominaux comme dans les infinitifs il y a juxtaposition fréquente avec d'autres datifs, situation fréquente en

fin de pāda ou en groupe fermé, dépendance fréquente des racines dhā- et kṛ-, absence de préverbes śriyáse, śobháse ne se distinguent guère de śriyé ou de śubhé, vṛdhase équivaut à vrdhāya (cf. Lanman Noun-Infl. p. 557), caráse s'échange avec carāyai.

En l'absence d'une construction d'accusatif régime, si l'on se demande ce qui en fin de compte caractérise comme tel un infinitif, la seule réponse plausible est celle-ci : c'est son isolement, isolement de structure, isolement de la finale -ase du point de vue du paradigme.

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# A SANSKRIT INDEX TO THE CHANDOGYA UPANISAD

(With References to other Sansknt Texts)

# By

# E. G CARPANI, Bologna.

# III r-au.

420. RKTAS, adv. with regard to the Rik verses. IV, 17.4.

421. RGVEDA, m.: the Rig-Veda -das (nom. sg.): I, 3.7; III, 1.2; VII, 1.4 -dam (acc. sg.): III, 1.3; 15.7; VII, 1.2; 21; 7.1; Cf. B. Ā. U. II, 4.10—Ŗgvedo . vyākhyānāny—IV, 12.; 5.11; M. U. VI, 32, 33, cf. also Mund U. I, 15.

422 RC, f. lustre; sacred hymn, verse "Esp as distinguished from that which is sung  $(s\bar{a}man)$  and from the sacrificial formula (yajus); verse to which a rite or explanation refers." (MACDONELL). Pl.: the Rig-Veda. -(nom sg) I, 12, 4=5, 3.4; 61=5, 8; 7.1=5. -cam (acc. sg.): I, 34, 9; 44 -cā (instr sg.): III, 12.5; V, 2.7. -cas (gen. sg., nom.-acc. pl.): I, 1.2, 4.3; III, 12, IV, 17.2; VI, 7.2. -ci (loc. sg.): I, 3.9; 4.3; 6.1=5; 7. 1=4. -cau (nom du.): III, 17.6. yghyas (abl. pl.): IV, 17.3.  $yc\bar{a}m$  (gen pl.): IV, 17.4

423. RTU, m.: fixed time; period, season -tavas (nom pl.). II, 5.2. - $t\tilde{u}n$  (acc. pl.): II, 16.2 tusu (loc. pl.) · II, 5.1=2, 16.1=2.

424. RTUMANT, a. possessing the seasons -mān (nom. sg): II, 52.

425. RTE, prep. · without, except. V, 1.8=11

426. RTVIJ, a : sacrificing regularly, m. : priest. -vik (nom sg): IV, 17.9. -vije (dat. sg.) · V, 11.5 -vijas (acc pl.) : IV, 17.10

427 RŞABHA, m : bull -bhas (nom sg.) IV, 51.

428. R\$I, m . an inspired sage; poet-seer, Rishi. -sim (acc sg.): I, 39

# E.

429. E=pron st of third pers. See Nos 442, 448, 449, 451

430. EKA, num a one, alone -kas (nom sg m.) · I, 52, 4; III, 63, 73; 93; 103; IV, 3.6; 9.2, 17.9, VI, 73, VII, 81, 262 -kā (nom. sg f.) · VI, 73, 6, VIII, 66 -kam (nom sg n., acc sg m.) II, 102; V, 35; VI, 21=2, 7.5; VII, 41, 5.1. -kām (acc. sg. f.) : VI, 112; 12.1. -kena (instr sg); IV, 163, VI, 1.4=6. -ke (nom pl.) : VI, 21

431. EKATĀ, f. unity, union; identity  $-t\bar{a}m$  (acc sg): VI, 9.1 Cf. M. U. VI, 22 (unified condition of honey)

432. EKADHĀ, adv singly VII, 26.2.

432. EKAPĀD, a one footed  $-p\tilde{a}t$  (nom sg m) IV, 16.3.

434. EKALA, a · alone, one -las (nom. sg.): III, 11.1

- 435 EKAVIMŚA, num a · twenty-first -śas (nom sg ) · II, 10.5 1
- 436 EKAVIMŚATI, f. twenty-one -śatyā (instr sg ) · II, 1051
- 437. EKAŚATA, n.: hundred and one. -tam (acc sg ) VIII, 11.3.
- 438 EKĀDAŚA, num · eleven -(nom sg). VII, 262
- 439. EKĀYANA, n : union ; union-point. -nam (nom acc. sg) : VII, 12, 4, 21, 52, 71
  - 440. EKĀRA, m the sound e -ras (nom. sg ) I, 132.
- 441. EKAIKA, a. each singly  $-k\bar{a}$  (nom sg. f) VI, 34; 47, 8.6.  $-k\bar{a}m$  (acc sg f). VI, 3.3=4.  $-kasm\bar{a}i$  (dat sg.) V, 11.5.
- 442 eta-, pron. st of third pers this, this here (n. acc as adv. thus). esas (nom. sg. m) cocurs 112 times. etat (nom = acc sg n.): 185 times. eṣā (nom sg f) 12 times etam (acc. sg n): 52 times.  $-t\bar{a}m$  (acc. sg. f): 8 times. -tena (instr sg). 4 times  $-tay\bar{a}$  (instr sg f): V, 27.  $-tasm\bar{a}t$  (abl. sg.) 13 times. -tasya (gen. sg): 16 times. -tasmin (loc. sg.) 9 times.  $-tasy\bar{a}m$  (loc sg f): 9 times -tau (nom -acc du m) 3 times -te (nom. du f; nom pl m): 21 times -tayos (gen. du m): V, 108  $-t\bar{a}ni$  (nom. acc pl n) 16 times  $-t\bar{a}s$  (nom acc pl. f). 7 times.  $-t\bar{a}n$  (acc. pl. m.). 9 times. -tass (instr. pl): VIII, 65.  $-tes\bar{a}m$  (gen pl). I, 10.3  $-t\bar{a}s\bar{a}m$  (gen pl f.): 2 times
  - 443 ETAD, adv thus See No 442
- 444 ETADĀTMAKA, a · having this nature; essence of this (MACDONELL). See No 454
  - 445 ETADĀTMAYA, a having this nature See No 454
- 446. ETADUPANIȘADA, a . having this philosophical (secret) doctrine or Upanisad -das (nom sg m). VIII, 84
  - 447 ETARHI, adv now; nowadays; then I, 86, 8, VI, 73, 6
- 448 ENA-, pron. st. of third pers he, she, it.  $-n\alpha m$  (acc sg. m.). occurs 39 times  $-n\alpha t$  (acc sg n). 2 times  $-n\bar{\alpha}n$  (acc pl m) · 3 times
  - 449 EVA, adv · so, just so; precisely. Occurs 403 times.
- 450 EVAMVID, a. knowing so, having such knowledge -vit (nom. sg. m.) . I, 7.8, IV, 178=10, V, 244; VIII, 3.3, 5 -vidam (acc. sg.): IV, 179=10 -vidi (loc sg.) I, 28, IV, 143; V, 21
  - 451 EVAM, adv thus, so, in this way Occurs 157 times
  - 452. EVAMMAHANT, a: thus great.  $-h\bar{a}n$  (nom. sg m): VI, 12.2.
  - 453 EŞAS See No 442

# AI.

454. AITADĀTMYA, a: having this nature (essence of this) -yam (nom. sg n) VI, 8.7, 9.4, 103, 11.3, 123, 133, 14.3, 153, 163.

455. AITAREYA, proper name (m.) patr. of Mahidāsa. -yas (nom. sg) · III, 167

<sup>1</sup> eko-vimsatyā ādityam āpnoti, eka-vimso vā ito'sāv ādityah Ovā-vimsena param ādityāj jayati tan nākam tad visokam According to Sankara, "the twelve months, the five seasons, and the three worlds, and the sun is the twenty-first"

456 AIRAMMADĪYA, n.: name of a lake (Myth.). -yam (nom. sg): VIII, 53. See Kauş. U. I, 3.

# O.

457. OMKĀRA, m.: the sound om. -ras (nom. sg.): II, 23.4. -rena (instr. sg.) . II, 23.4

458 OJAS, n.: strength; vigour. -(nom. sg): III, 135.

459. OJASVIN, a.: strong; powerful. -vī (nom sg m.): III, 13.5.

460. OM, in.: sacred syllable "Om appears first in the Upanisads as a mystic monosyllable, and is there set forth as the object of profound religious meditation, the highest spiritual efficacy being attributed not only to the whole word but also to the three sounds a, u, m, of which it consists" (Monier-Williams). Occurs 18 times.<sup>2</sup>

461. о<br/>ș<br/>ADHI, f : plant, herb -dhayas (nom. pl ) . I, 12. -dhīnām (gen pl ) : I, 1.2 в

462. OŞADHIVANASPATI, m herbs and trees -tayas (nom. pl) · V, 10 6.

# AU.

463 AUPAMANYAVA, proper name (m); patronymic from Upamanyu -vas (nom. sg.). V, 11.1. -va (voc. sg): V, 121.

464. AUHOIKĀRA, m.: the sound auhoi. -ras (nom. sg.). I, 132.

(To be continued),

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Egypt ôn, Coptic Amn (AMon or AMnRA), and the Christian O'M, O'MEN, AMEN

<sup>3</sup> esām bhūtānām osadhayo τasa Cf B Ā. U VI, 41.=eṣām vai bhūtānām osadhaya etc.

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA: THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION\*

# By V. M. APTE, Poona.

ĀG. III. 9. 1 . I (a) 'Smṛtain nindā ca vidyā ca, (b) śraddhā prajñā ca pañcamī (c) isṭam dattam adhītain ca, (d) kṛtain satyain śrutain vratam II (a) Yadagneh sendrasya saprajāpatikasya sarsikasya sarsirājanyasya sapitṛkasya sapitrīājanyasya samanusyasya samanusyarājanyasya, (b) sākāśasya sātīkāśasya sānūkāśasya sapratīkāśasya, (c) sadevamanusyasya sagandharvāpsaraskasya, (d) sahāranyaiśca paśubhir grāmyaiśca, (e) yan ma ātman vratain tan me sarvavratam idamahamagne sarva-vrato bhavāmī svāheti ]

Trans. 1 Memory and reproach, lore, faith (and) understanding as the fifth; what is sacrificed, what is given and what is studied, what is done, truth and learning—(all this is my) vow.<sup>1</sup>

II. (a) The vow which belongs to Agni together with Indra, Prajāpati, the Rṣis, with the royalty among the Rsis, the Fathers; (to Agni together) with the royalty among the Fathers, with human beings, with the royalty among human beings; (b) (to Agni) with Shine, Over-Shine After-Shine, Counter-Shine, (c) (to Agni) with gods and men, with Gandharvas and Apsarasas, (d) (to Agni) with wild and domestic animals (e)—that vow belonging to myself and centred in myself—that is my Universal vow. Here, O Agni, do I become (pledged) to the Universal vow—Svāhā

Context With these formulas, the fuel is put on the fire (a ritual act referred to in the preceding sūtra III 8. 21) by the snātaka standing.

Sources: ĀPMB II 5 2. 10 is a long passage similar to our I and II. Now ĀPMB. II. 5 2 reads: "Smrtam ca me'smrtam ca tan me ubhayam vratam" Similarly II. 5. 3. is: Nindā ca me'nindā ca" etc. as above. II. 5 4-8 are similar statements with reference to Śraddhā, vidyā, śrutam, satyam, tapah and then II 5 9 reads 'vratam ca me'vratam ca tanme ubhayam vratam, yad brāhmanānām brahmani vratam' followed by a passage similar to our II with the omission of 'sarṣikasya sarṣirājanyasya' and the addition of 'sadevasya sadevarājasya in IIa, the complete omission of IIb, the omission of 'sadeva-manuṣyasya in II (c), the complete omission of II (d) and the omission of 'tan me sarvavratam' in (e).

This parallel passage shows (1) that Nārāyaṇa's view regarding the recitation of I. as "smrtam ca me asmṛtam ca tan me ubhayavratam"

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p 222 of Vol. III, No 6.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Oldenberg connects the verse syntactically with the following formula which is unnecessary The verse is complete in itself

for each of the twelve words of the section like 'smrtam' in the manner exemplified for 'smrtam' is based on tradition though rejected by Oldenberg (p. 229. note to III. 9 1) because APMB II. 5 2 above, we actually see the expanded form of the formula, secondly (2) this passage supports the conjecture 'agneh' for 'agne' of Prof Stenzler (adopted by Prof Oldenberg) as APMB also reads 'agneh'

ĀG. III. 9. 6 .— 'Mahadva bhūtam snātako bhavatīti'vijñāyate |

Trans 'A great being, indeed, is the Snätaka', so it is known (from the Sruti)

Context. This is quoted in the Sūtra after enumerating a number of things forbidden for a snātaka.

Sources. The citation cannot be traced *in this form* to any Samhitā or Brāhmana (Śruti) but it is always uncertain whether 'Vijñayate' introduces a quotation or the gist of a similar statement on the subject in the śruti. If the latter is the case, then ŚB 11 3. 3 7 may be compared 'Yathā ha vā agnih samiddho rocate, evam ha vai sa snātvā rocate'— [Even as the fire kindled shines, so does he who has taken a bath 1 e a snātaka shine )

# ĀG. III 10. 2 'Idam vatsyāmo bho' zti |

Trans: Here we dwell, sir!

Context. The Snātaka now takes leave of his teacher as he is about to make his homeward journey. In doing so, he mentions the name [of the teacher according to Nārāyana] in a low voice and then loudly repeats the formula in our sūtra

[Prof Oldenberg (p 230) states that this chapter (III. 10) describes the way in which a student has to take leave of his teacher before a journey and has nothing to do with the Samāvartana but it may be pointed out that it is the common practice of Sūtra texts to state general rules (about leave-taking as here, in connection with a particular case (e g here the journey of the Snātaka). A comparison of \$G\$ II 18 which inclined Oldenberg to the above view shows on the contrary that our text has deliberately made certain changes (e g the omission of 'eṣa te brahmacārī' in \$G\$ II 18 3 a formula parallel to our III. 10 6) to make the rules applicable to a snātaka here. This chapter, besides, follows immediately after a description of the Samāvartana]

Sources \$G\$ II. 18. 2 has 'Om aham vatsyāmi bhoh' as pointed out by Oldenberg HG 1 5 13 has 'Idam vatsyāvah' Prof Oldenberg's suggestion in his note on \$G\$ II 18 2 (p. 90) that 'vatsyāmi' (I will dwell) is a sort of euphemism for 'pravatsyāmi' (I will go away) is well-supported by an orthodox practice still prevalent in many parts of India according to which a person departing says euphemistically 'I come now' instead of 'I go now'

# ĀG III 10 4: 'Prānāpānayor upāmśu'|

Trans. 'Into Inhalation and Exhalation'—(this formula) he (1e the student) utters in a low voice

Sources. Though the point has not been noted by Stenzler or Oldenberg, in my opinion, these two words are the pratīka of the formula quoted below in Sūtra 6, because the two words by themselves, would be meaningless and because the student and the teacher repeat nearly the same mantras [compare sūtra, 6, according to which the teacher is to repeat the same Rg-verse (III 45. 1) which the student repeats (sūtra 5) after this formula] \$G\$ II. 18. 2 has exactly this formula (1e, its pratīka consisting of two words) in this very context

ĀG III 10 6:—Ato vrddho japati (a) 'Prānāpānayor uruvyacās tayā prapadye, (b) devāya savitre paridadāmi' iti—||

Trans (b) The aged one then mutters, 'Into inhalation and exhalation, (I) the wide-extended one, enter with thee (b) To God Savitr, I give thee in charge'

Sources (a) is only traced to a Sutra-text SG 2. 18 3, as Profs STENZLER and OLDENBERG point out The former scholar proposes two emendations in formula (a), in the light of the \$G readings:—(1) he adopts 'tvaya' for 'taya' This is a necessary emendation to get some sense out of the formula but his second emendation (2) 'Prānāpānā' for 'prānapānayoh' is, in my opinion unnecessary for the following reasons:— (1) The locative dual 'Prāmāpānayoh' [It need not be genitive dual as Prof Oldenberg takes it to be in his translation of sutra 4] can go with 'prapadye' as well as the accustive [MACDONELL: A Vedic grammar for students 204 BIb page 325] (11) Very possibly, 'Prānāplānayoh' in sūtra 4 is a pratīka of this formula, as I have shown above, which will rule out any alteration of that word here. Formula (b) is found without variation in §B. 11. 5 4 3 ın an upanayana context 'Athamam bhūtebhyah paridadātı | prajāpataye tvā parıdadāmı | ' and then comes our formula. The common link between this Upanayana context in SB and our leave-taking context is that the Ācārya gives over his disciple in charge of god Savitr. This same formula occurs in PG. 2. 2. 21 and SMB 1. 6. 24 in the same Upanayana context.

ĀG. III. 10. 11 Yasyā drśo bibhīyād yasmādvā tām drśam ulmukam ubhayatah pradīptam pratyasyen, mantham vā prasavyam ālodya (a) "abhayam mitrāvarunā mahyamastu, (b) arcisā śatrūn dahatam pratītya | (c) mā jūātāram mā pratīsthām vindantu (d) mitho bhindānā upayantu mityum" iti

Trans Sūtra 11 (If in the course of the journey), he should apprehend danger from any direction or person, in that or his direction, he should throw a fire-brand burning at both ends and having twirled a churning-stick from right to left with the mantra "Safety be to me, Mitra and Varuna; having caught hold of the foes, burn them up with your flame. May they not find one who knows (our whereabouts) nor any support, falling out with one another, may they go to death" [Sūtra 12: he lowers it i.e the churning-stick with the RV. verse X 84 7]

Sources Prof. STENZLER compares AV. VI 32 3, from which he has adopted the reading 'Upayantu' in (d) although his MSS. ABC read 'bhindā-

nām ubhayam tu' and DE read 'bhindāna ubhayam tu' '(p 51 Krītische Anmerkungen) This emendation, is, in my opinion, unnecessary as the reading of MSS DE gives quite a good sense e g pādas (c), and (d) could be translated with this reading "May they not find a knower or a support but let both, falling out with each other (find) death" the verb 'Vindantu' being easily supplied from the third pāda Emendations should be resorted to only when a reading makes no sense at all because even though our text may have borrowed the verse from AV., it could, like all Grhya texts, exercise the privilege of making changes in it. In pāda (a), for example, our text has changed the AV. "ihāstu nah" into 'mahyam astu' because the speaker is a single person

ĀG III 11 1— 'Sarvatobhyādanājñātād aṣtāv ājyāhutīr juhuyād: "I (a) Prthivī vṛtā, (b) sāgnīnā vṛtā, (c) tayā vrtayā væntryā, (d) yasmād bhayād bibhemi tadvāraye svāhā | II (a) Antarīksam vrtam (b) tadvāyunā vrtam etc III (a) Dyaur vrtā (b) sādītyena vrtā and so on (there being eight associated pairs in all e.g. IV (a) dīsaḥ etc. (b) candramasā etc. V (a) āpah etc (b) Varunena etc. VI (a) Prajā etc (b) Prāmena etc VII (a) Vedāh etc (b) Chandobhih etc. VIII (a) Sarvam etc (b) brahmanā etc. svāhā |

Trans. When an unknown danger threatens him from all sides, he offers eight ājya oblations with the following (eight) mantras. (I) Prthivī is covered, (b) by Agni is she covered; (c) With her (i.e. with the help of her) the covered one (and also), the covering one, I avert the danger of which I am afraid II (a) The Antariksa etc (b) by Vāyu and so on

Sources A parallel formula with 'śāntā' (peaceful) instead of our 'Vrtā' is found in TA 4 42 5 I (a) "Prthivī śāntā (b) sāgninā śāntā (c) Sā me śāntā (d), śucam śamayatu | II (a) Antarikṣam etc (b) Vāyunā III (a) Dyauh (b) ādityena | and then follows" prthivi śāntih antarikṣam śāntih etc śāntireva śāntih śāntir me astu śāntih | tayāham śāntyā sarva-śāntyā mahyam dvipade catuṣpade ca śāntim karomi etc" |

# IV. 3

For the funeral rites in the third kandikā of this (1e the fourth) adhyāya, Prof. Stenzler compares (p 119) §B 12 5 2 1. seqq. There is a general similarity in the rites described there, no doubt, but the passage §§ IV 14. 17-35 agrees so remarkably with our text in practically every detail of the distribution and the disposition of the sacrificial implements on the dead body (of an Āhitāgni) that one cannot help thinking that the Sānkhyāyana Srauta Sūtra belonging to the RV and therefore allied to our text was the model before our text

ĀG IV. 3 27 Pañcamīm urası pretasya, (a) "asmād vai tvam ajāyathā, (b) ayam tvad adhijāyatām asau (c) svargāya lokāya svāhā" |

Trans A fifth (oblation) on the chest of the deceased (is offered) with the formula (a) "From this one (i.e., the deceased) indeed, hast thou (the

fire) been born (because the Āhɪtāgni in his life-time kindled and maintained the three fires; (b) May he—so and so—now be born out of thee (to the immortal life beyond) (c) To the Heaven-world, svāhā !

Context. This oblation follows four oblations of Ajya in the Daksinagni after the sacrificial implements have been placed on the limbs of the dead body and the body covered with a hide

Sources · (a) is found in an identical form in JB 1. 47 which has for (b) a slightly different formula 'eṣa tvaj jāyatām, svāhā' |; (b) is found in an identical form in §\$ 4. 14 36, after a formula slightly different from (a) viz "ayam vai tvām ajanayat" |; (a) and (b) in a slightly different form are found in §\$B 12. 5. 2. 15 (a) "Asmāt tvam adhijāto'si (b) tvadayam jāyatām punah" In all these passages (JB. §\$. and §\$B.) the context is the same and the sense is the same

ĀG IV 7 11 · Tilān āvapati · (a) " tilo'si soma-devatyo' (b) gosave devanirmitah | (c) pratna-vadbhih prattah svadyayā, (d) pitrn imāfillokān prīnayā hi nah svadhā namah |"

Trans: (a) "Sesamum art thou, with Soma as thy deity; (b) created by the gods at the Gosava sacrifice, (c) offered with the Rg-verses containing the word 'pratna' (i.e RV. IX. 54. 1 seqq.) with faith, (d) propitiate for us the Fathers and these worlds"

The context is the śrāddha ceremony

Sources: Prof Stenzler draws attention to Kātyāyana's and Gobhila's Śrāddha-kalpa-Sūtras where the verse occurs.

The text and the interpretation of the verse: Prof Stenzler p 133 thinks that the verse is hardly right as it stands and draws attention to the different readings of the parallel verse noted above. Prof. OLDENBERG (p 251) similarly thinks that the reading of several words of the mantra is doubtful I may point out however that the verse as it stands is not corrupt and yields a very satisfactory meaning, (as in the translation above). In (a) 'tıla' ıs called 'Soma-devatyah' (havıng Soma as its deity); ın (b) ıt is described as created by the gods at the Gosava sacrifice—which is the name of a type of Soma sacrifice, a variety of the 'Ekäha' (or one-day soma sacrifice) It is but proper that the 'tila' whose deity is Soma, should be described as created at a soma sacrifice. The third pada! (c) then says that the tila is offered ('prattah') with the 'pratna-vad' Rg-verses (containing the word 'pratna') Prof. Oldenberg who refers (p 251) to this meaning of the word as given in the Petersburg dictionary unnecessarily rejects it Sāyana's commentary on PB 10 4 8, where the word occurs explains that the 'pratnavat' Rg-verses are those beginning with 'Asya pratnām anu dyutam' ie RV IX 54 1 seqq Now the derty of the hymn RV IX. 54 is 'Pavamāna Soma.' What could be more natural than that the 'tila' whose deity is Soma (pāda a), who was created at a soma-sacrifice (pāda b), should be described as offered ('prattah') to the accompaniment of 'pratnavat' verses that are sacred to Soma? For these reasons, I think, our readings should not be tampered with. Emendation effected by the substitution of the readings of parallel passages are always of doubtful value as each text often altered and adapted the words of a mantra taken from the common stock of Grhya tradition in its own way.

ĀG. IV 7 15: Prasrstā anumantrayeta: (a) "Yā dīvyā āpah pṛthīvī sambabhūvur, (b) yā antarīksyā uta pārthīvīryāh (c) hīranya-varnā yajnīyās (d) tā na āpah sam syonā bhavantu" iti |15|

Trans Over (the Arghya water) poured out (by the Brāhmanas after accepting it) he recites the mantra "The divine waters that have appeared on the earth, the aerial waters and the terrestrial ones—may these waters, gold-coloured and sacrificial (as they are), be to us welfare (-bringing) and propitious—etc

Context · The description of the Śrāddha-ceremony continues

Sources: Prof. Stenzler p. 135 draws attention to the different readings of the parallel verses ın Katyäyana's and Gobhıla's Śrāddha-kalpa-sūtras but these are texts much later than ours and cannot be classed under 'Sources' The Mantra is traced to TB. 3. 1 2 3 with the following variations — payasā. for our 'prthıvī' ın (a); 'antarıkşe' for our 'antırıksyāh' ın (b); (c) ıs a dıfferent pāda altogether, viz. 'Yāsām āṣādhā anuyantı kāmam' and pāda (d) is identical. In TB the mantra is an Invitatory formula for offering an oblation to the 'Pūrvāṣādhā' constellation sacred to Yama, which forms a link with our Srāddha-context The first two pādās in this very form appear also in TB 2. 7 15 4 making a verse with two other padas, employed for sprinkling water on the king in the Coronation ceremony This same is the ritual context of AV IV. 8. 5<sup>ab</sup> which are also pādas very similar to our first two. It is thus clear that the first two pādas mvoking the waters of the 'Dyauh, Antariksa and Prthivi' constituted a popular hemistich made up into different verses by the addition of different padas. The last pada is also a very common ending of verses addressed to the waters (compare AV I 33 1 and 4, MS 2 13 1 etc.) Our text then seems to have derived padas (a) and (b) and (d) from the TB passage 3 1.2 3 mentioned above. As regards pada (c), I think it was suggested by the well-known verse TS 5 6 1 1 'hiranyavarnāh śucayah pāvakāh' etc whose last pāda is identical with our (d), (a verse repeated in the daily Sandhyā adoration in India even to-day) do not think that Prof Oldenberg's suggestion that "we should read no doubt as the parallel texts have payasā sambabhūvuh" need be adopted for the simple reason that the substitution of 'Prthivi' (Old Vedic Loc sing) is probably a deliberate change made by our text to suit the particular context viz the pouring out of the arghya-waters which are spilt on the ground and thus appear on the earth (Prthivi) Besides, emendations should be resorted to only when no sense is otherwise possible

ĀG IV 7 16 (a) "Noddharet prathamam pātram, (b) pitrnām arghyapātitam | (c) āvrtāstatna tisthanti (d) pitarah, śaunako'bravīt |16|

Trans · (a) "He should not remove the first vessel, (b) set apart for

the arghya water of the Fathers<sup>1</sup>; (c) and (d):—"covered up, the Fathers remain there" so said Saunaka"

Context: When the Brāhmanas have poured out the Arghya-water offered to them (Sūtra 15), the remainder of the Arghya water in the three vessels (mentioned in sūtra 10) is mixed together. This sloka implies that the remainder in the second and third vessels is all added on to that in the first vessel, which (it says) must not be removed (or lifted for the pouring of its contents into another vessel)

Sources It is a late śloka and not traced to any early work nor is it found in any other parallel Sūtra-text.

Prof. Stenzler in his Kritische Anmerkungen (p 53) tells us that his MSS DE insert another verse after the 16th sūtra (i.e. the above śloka). I give it here just for comparison with a different version of the same verse in the Trivandrum edition—(a) "Uddhared yadi cet pātram, (b) vivitam vā yadā bhavet | (c) tadāsuram bhavecchrādham, (d) Kruddhaih pitr-ganar gataih" | In the Trivandrum version of this second verse, pādā (a) reads 'yadā vā tūddhrtam pātram', (b) is the same, as also (d); in (c) it has 'abhojyam tat' for 'tadāsuram' It is interesting to note that Haradatta calls both these verses as "yajña-gāthe" i.e. 'stanzas of sacrificial import' like the one quoted in our text I. 3 10.

ĀG IV 722 (a) 'Agnımukhā vai devāh, (b) pāni-mukhāḥ pitara' iti hi brāhmanam!

Trans · (a) "The gods have Agni for their mouth (b) The fathers have hands as their mouth" · thus runs a Brāhmaṇa

Context. A portion of the Sthālī-pāka prepared for the Pinḍa-pitryajña is besmeared with ghee and offered into the fire with the permission of the Brāhmanas or offered into the hands of the Brāhmanas. The latter alternative is supported by the quotation.

Sources For (a) may be compared 'Agnir vai devānām mukham, mukhata eva tad devān prīnāti' | (p 100 Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Gopatha-Brāhmama). "Agni is the mouth of the gods; he thereby pleases (the gods) through (their) mouth (when he sacrifices into Agni)."

For (b) may be compared \$G 4 7 55 'Pāṇyāso brāhmaṇaḥ smṛtah' (The Brāhmaṇa has his hand as his mouth).

AG. IV 7 30-31 . 'Om Svadhocyatām' iti visijet  $\mid$  30  $\mid$  'astu svadheti vā  $\mid$  31  $\mid$ 

Trans Sūtra 30. (At the end of the Śrāddha ceremony), he grants leave (to the Brāhmaṇas to depart) with the formula; let it be said 'Om! Svadhā', (Sūtra 31) or 'So be it! svadhā!'

Sources. These same formulas are found in a number of texts: \$B 2.6. 1.24; GB 2 1 24; AP\$ 8 15.12; K\$.9 11 and A\$ 2 19 18 These parallel

<sup>1.</sup> The compound 'arghya-pātītam' can be dissolved, in my opinion, only in this way: 'arghyārtham pātītam'.

passages show that the two formulas (corresponding to those given in our Sūtras 30 and 31) are for 'the leave-granting by the householder and for the response by the Brāhmanas respectively, whereas the wording in our text rather implies that the two are alternative formulas, either of which may be used by the householder—the formula for the response being left for inference from the 30th sūtra I think that our text has made a confusion by putting 'vā' in sūtra 31 instead of 'ca' (!) and that the formula in sūtra 31 is really one prescribed for the formal response of the Brāhmanas!

AG IV. 8. This whole Kandikā describing the 'Sūla-gava' sacrifice agrees so closely with SS IV 17, not only in the wording of some of the mantras cited but many of the sūtras also, that it is almost certain that our text has made wholesale borrowings from the latter text! As a few instances of close agreement may be cited '—IV. 8. 15-16 = SS. IV. 17 5 and 7; IV. 8. 22, 28 = SS. IV. 17 7 and 8. Many sūtras are wholly identical or in part; many RV. citations are also the same.

ĀG IV. 8 22 "catasṛṣu catasṛṣu kuśasūnāsu catasṛsu dīksu balīm haret (a) "Yāste Rudra pūrvasyām dīśi senāstābhya enan (b) namaste astu mā mā himsīr" iti evam pratidiśam tvādeśanam [

Trans Let him make Bali offerings in (i.e. to) the four quarters, on four wicker-work baskets of kuśa grass (four for each quarter) with the formulas:
(a) "Those hosts of thine, O Rudra, that are (stationed) in the eastern quarter, to them this (offering is brought), (b) Homage to thee! Do not injure me!" In this way (i.e. with similar formulas) the offering is directed to each quarter.

Sources: Only a Sūtra text: PG. 3. 8. 11 has similar formulas, Here, in fact, we find all the formulas for the various quarters introduced by words like 'purastāt', 'paścāt', 'dakṣinatah' and 'Uttaratah', etc., of which a specimen only is given in our text. The context is exactly the same as in our text.

ÅG. IV. 8. 27 and 28: Uttarato' gner darbhavītāsu kuśa-sūnāsu vā śonitam ninayet · (a) "Śvāsvnīr ghosinīr vicinvatīh, samaśnvīh, (b) sarpā yadvo'tra taddharadhvam'iti |27| athodangāvrtya (a) 'śvāsvnīh' [etc as above, upto 'taddharadhvamiti' and then] sarpebhyo yat tatrāsrg ūvadhyam vāvasrutam bhavati taddharanti sarpāh |8|

Trans: (Sūtra 27) He should pour out the blood (of the sacrificial victim) on Darbha-mats or wicker-work baskets of kuśa grass to the north of the fire with the formula:—(a) "Hissing Ones! Shouting ones! Searching ones! Seizing ones! (b) Serpents! what here belongs to you, take that! (Sūtra 28) —Then, turning to the north, he offers it to the serpents with the formula "Hissing ones" etc. [as (a) above] Then the serpents take whatever has trickled down, of blood, or of the contents of the stomach and bowels (of the sacrificial animal), (all that being intended) for the serpents.

Sources. In §§ IV 17 7-8, we not only find a similar mantra but the ritual act or context is also very much the same ". palāṣāni prāgudanci nidhāya, teşu lohita-miṣramūvadhyamayadhāya Rudra-senābhyo' nudiṣati ||?||

"Âghoşinyah pratighoşinyah samghoşinyo, vicinvatyah svasanāh, kravyād eşa vo bhāgastam juşadhvarn svāhā! ||8|| [Placing the leaves in a north-easterly direction and placing (i.e. pouring), the stomach—contents mixed with blood (of the sacrificial victim) in those leaves, he assigns it to the hosts of Rudra with a mantra which is very nearly the same as ours.]

AG. IV 8 32 : Nāsya grāmam āhareyur "abhi-māruko hasşa devah prajā bhavati" iti.

Trans He should not take anything belonging to it (i.e. the sacrifice to Rudra) to the village (the whole sacrifice takes place outside the village), because 'this god is harmful to the people'.

Sources: Prof Stenzler (Vortede III) accepts the suggestion of Prof. Weber that 'abhi-mānuka' should be read for 'abhimāruka' (Prof. OLDENBERG proposes the same change on p. 258) in the light of AB. III 34. But the AB passage III. 34 reads 'anabhi-mānuko haisa devaḥ prajā bhavatı' [This god Rudra becomes a non-attacker of men if the verse RV. II. 33. 1 from a hymn sacred to Rudra, is recited with some changes] ! It cannot be said that our text has taken the part 'abhimanukah' from the word 'anabhimanukah' in AB because it appears to be a quotation from the AB! The Trivandrum edition solves the problem by actually reading 'anabhimānukah' † This reading can be constructed also satisfactorily with the introductory part of this sūtra as well as the preceding sūtra e.g. sūtra 31 says 'he should not partake of that sacrifice' Sütra 32 then says "He should not bring anything of that sacrifice to the village because [thus (i.e. by observing these restrictions)] the god becomes a non-attacker of men" exactly as it is said in the AB, that by reciting the verse RV II 33. 1 with certain changes, the god becomes a non-attacker of men! Thus if at all an emendation is necessary (it is not, in my opinion) 'anabhimanukah' should be read and not 'abhimānukah'.

The foregoing investigation into the sources and interpretation of Non-Rgvedic Mantras liturgically employed in the Aśvalāyana Grhyasūtra will, I hope, convince scholars that this Grhyasūtra (also Grhyasūtras as a class) is more a School-compilation than a composition by one or more individual authors. This is clear from the wholesale borrowings of not only Mantras (which were bound to be cited from earlier texts) but also whole chapters and sections from earlier Vedic texts such as the Samhitlās, Brāhmaṇas, Araṇyakas Upaniṣads and Śrauta sūtras. I have also demonstrated, I hope, that a far larger number of passages from earlier Vedic texts betray a definite Gṛhya bias than was thought possible by scholars. I propose to publish in course of time the results of similar investigations by me in connection with other Gṛhyasūtras as the whole material is now ready with me.

# THE EPOCH OF THE SO-CALLED HARSHA ERA \*

### *By* DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE

[In the June number of the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' for 1935, Mr. K G SANKAR wrote an interesting article on the 'Early Chronology of Nepal' which helped me a good deal in examining the epoch of the so-called Harsha era.]

There are a few inscriptions in Indian Epigraphy dated in an era which from synchronistic evidence were found to fall in or about the reign of Harshavardhana of Kanauj who, from a statement of Alberuni (AD 1036), was supposed to have started an era from about AD. 606. Hence the era used in these inscriptions was assumed to be dated in the Harsha era of AD. 606.

Now, let us go deeply into the question of an era started by Harshavardhana of Kanaui Alberum states 'The Hindus believe regarding Śrī Harsha that he used to examine the soil in order to see what of hidden treasures was that, in fact he found such treasures; and, that, in conin its interior.... sequence he could dispense with oppressing his subjects (by taxes etc.). His era is used in Mathura and the country of Kanauj Between Sri Harsha and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However, in the Kashmirian calendar I have read that Sri Harsha was 664 years later than Vıkramāditya. In face of this discrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not been cleared up by any trustworthy information' (Alberuni's India SACHAU's trans, Ch XLIX, Vol. II p 7). Alberum also states that the year 1488 of the era of \$r\tilde{r} Harsha is equivalent to the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya. From all this it is evident that Alberuni speaks of only one Srī Harsha era, the epoch of which was 400 years earlier than the Vikrama era of 58 BC. Alberum searched for this king Sri Harsha in whose name the era was started and found in the Kashmirian calendar that Sri Harsha (-vardhana of Kanau<sub>1</sub>) was 664 years later than Vikramāditva. From this it is clear that even in the Kashmirian calendar there is no mention of Harshavardhana having started an era but it simply says that Harsha flourished 664 years later than Vıkramāditya. That Harsha never started an era seems evident from his own inscriptions dated Sam 22 and 25 where he does not even state '(vijaya-) rājya Samvatsare'—in the year so and so of his (victorious) reign

Now, if it is assumed that Harsha did not start an era then the question is, to what era do the dates in those inscriptions really belong?

The late Prof Sylvain Lévi has shown that Bendall's Gölmlädhitöl inscription of Sivadeva (I) of Nepal mentioning Mahäsämanta Amsuvarman

<sup>\*</sup> Read before the first Indian Cultural Conference held in Calcutta in 1936.

is really dated 'Samvat 518' and not 'Samvat 316' as read by Bendall. As such the date '518' may really be in the Saka era, equivalent to A.D. 595 about which Sylvain Lévi assumed to be the epoch of a local Nepāla era, the same as the so-called Harsha era From Stanislas Julien's translation we know that Hiuen Tsiang visited Nepal not later than AD. 637 when he speaks of Amsuvarman as 'Lately there was a king called Amsuvarman , 'clearly indicating that Amsuyarman was dead before A D 637. We have Amsuvarman's inscription dated Sam 44 or 45 The epoch of AD 606, or AD 595 of Sylvain Lévi would make Amsuvarman still living after AD 639 This shows that none of the epochs is the right one and the late Prof. Kielhorn's remarks 'But since for Amsuvarman we have the date No. 1393 of the year 44 or 45, even the adoption of such a new era (epoch AD 595) would not meet one of Prof Lévi's main objections to the assignment of this (of the year 34) to the Harsha era—the objection, namely, that according to Hiuen Tsiang's account, Améuvarman could not have lived after A. D 637.' (Dr. BHANDARKAR'S List of Northern Inscriptions, p. 189 fn ) Thus it is evident that the epoch of the era must be earlier than even A D 595 and hence Profs. KIELHORN and BHANDARKAR rightly suspected in their Lists that the era in those inscriptions is yet undetermined. The inscription of Sam 34 is dated 'prathama Pausha,' 1 e., the month of Pausha was intercalary this year On the epoch of the so-called Harsha era (AD 606) this date is equivalent to AD. 640. But there was no intercalary Pausha this year showing clearly the incorrectness of that epoch (AD 606) The following remarks 'Judging by the date of No. 40 the month of Pausha of Harsha samvat 34 would be expected to fall in A.D. 639-40 (in Kali Yuga Samyat—3740 expired), but in that year no month was intercalary. In (Kalı Yuga Samvat 3741 expired =) A D 640-41 by the rules of mean intercalation, there was an intercalated month which might be called Pausha on the supposition (this supposition would be the very reverse of the supposition made under No 1351) that it was calculated by the Brahma Siddhanta and named according to the modern (not Brahmagupta's) rule for naming intercalated months, but which ordinarily would be called Margasira' (Dr Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions, p. 190) These are 'sufficient to show the incorrectness of the epoch (A.D. 606) of the so-called Harsha era.'

Now, we have the inscriptions of the Pratīhāra P M. P Bhojadeva of Kanauj dated Vikrama years 893, 900, 919 (also šaka 784) 932 and 933 and also in the so-called Harsha era dated Samvat 259 and 276 Now Vikrama Samvats 893, 900, 919 (= šaka 784), 932 and 933 are equivalent to šaka years 758, 765, 784, 797 and 798 If, however, it is assumed that a new counting of the šaka era was begun after šaka year 500 then the above šaka dates should be written as (šaka) Samvats 258, 265, 284, 297 and 298, and we see that these dates are quite near the other dates 259 and 276 of Bhoja Thus there is every chance of the epoch of the so-called Harsha era being identical with šaka year 500 when a new counting was begun.

Now let us see how far this is corroborated by other available evidence.

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Now let us see how far this is corroborated by other available evidence.

Rājaputra Vikramasena figures as the *dūtaka* in the Nepāl inscription dated year 535 and also in the inscriptions of Sam 32 and 34. This supports the assumption that Sams, 32 and 34 are a shortened way of writing 532 and 534. Thus Sam 518 of the inscription of Sivadeva (I) mentioning the feudal chief Amsuvarman might also have been written (5) 18

BENDALL's Sundhärä inscr. of Amsuvarman is dated 'Sam 34, prathama Pausha.' If Sam, 34 is really saka 534 then this date ought to show prathama or intercalary Pausha Now Saka 534 current = AD 611 (March) and we know that according to the mean sign system the month of Pausha (Nov.-Dec.) was intercalary in AD 610 That in this year the month of Pausha was intercalary was also noticed by Mr. Sankar in his article. But he took the prathama Pausha occurring  $2\times19$ , or 38 years earlier in AD 572 to be equivalent to the prathama Pausha of Sam. 34 and thus placed the epoch of the so-called Harsha era incorrectly in AD, (572-34, or) 538, the truth of which will be shown shortly. It is thus clear that in Nepal at that time the year began some sıx months earlier in Karttika or Margasırşa ('Like all Luni-solar years, the fash takes the number of the next solar San. Thus AD. 1900 was Bengal San 1307 current, but the luni-solar fash beginning on Aswina Krishna pratipad of AD 1900 takes the number of the next Bengal San 1e, 1308 current'-PILLAI's Indian Ephemeris, Vol I, pt I, p 54) and that the epoch of the so-called Harsha era is  $\pm 8$  aka 500 current = AD 576-77

From Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta's inscr dated Sam. 48 we infer that Amsuvarman was dead before this date. Now (Saka) (5) 48 current calculated similarly is equivalent to A.D. 624-25 and this date is quite in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's statement concerning Amsuvarman

The inscription of Narendradeva's son Sivadeva (II) of Nepāl dated Sam. 119 (month Phālguna) is, therefore, equivalent to Saka 619 current = AD. 696 Sylvain Lévi has shown from Chinese sources that Narendradeva of Nepāl received a Chinese envoy in AD. 646 and sent envoys himself in AD 651 This Narendradeva is apparently Sivadeva II's father. The date AD. 646 seems to fall in the first part of Narendra's reign and AD 696 to fall in the last portion of Sivadeva II's reign From Jishnugupta's inscription of Sam 48 (= AD. 624-25) we know that Dhruvadeva was the Licchavi king of Nepāl at that time Hence Udayadeva, son of Dhruvadeva seems to be the reigning Licchavi king of Nepāl mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang

We know from Sivadeva II's son Jayadeva's inscription that Sivadeva II (Sam 119 = Saka 619 = AD 696) married the grand-daughter of Adityasena of Magadha one of whose inscriptions is dated Sam 66. From Adityasena's inscription we also know that his father Mādhavagupta was a contemporary of Harsha of Kanauj whose inscriptions are dated Sam 22 and 25. Thus there cannot be any doubt that the dates in the above inscriptions all belong to the same epoch. Sam 66 is, therefore, equivalent to Saka 566 = AD 642-43 ie, during the last days of Harsha and also of Hiuen Tsiang's visit

The Korean pilgrim Hwui Lun (mentioned by I-tsing) who visited India

after Hiuen Tsiang (AD. 645) and prior to A.D. 689 says 'Recently a king called Sun Army (Adityasena) built by the side of the temple (near Mahabodhi) another, which is now newly finished. There cannot thus be any doubt that Adıtyasena flourished during the last days of Harsha and after that Mr K G SANKAR in his article took the epoch of the so-called Harsha era to be A.D. 538, as such the date Sam. 66 of Adityasena falls in AD. 604 1e, in the beginning of Harsha's reign. From Chinese and Indian contemporary evidence such an early date for Adityasena cannot be accepted, for, we know from Adıtyasena's inscriptions that his father Madhavagupta was If, however, Mr. Sankar thinks contemporaneous with Harshavardhana. that Sivadeva II's date (Sam 119) is equivalent to A.D. (538 + 119, or) 657 and Adıtyasena's date (Sam 66) is to be referred to the epoch of A.D. 606. ie, equivalent to AD 672, then we find that a grandson's date is much earlier than that of the grandfather! With Mr SANKAR's epoch (AD 538) Sam 22 and 25 of Harsha are equivalent to A.D. 560 and 563 These dates of Harsha are simply absurd. Hence the theory of Mr, Sankar about his epoch (AD. 538) of the so-called Harsha era having originated with Yasodharman Vishmuvardhana is unacceptable If Yasodharman Vishnuvardhana contemporaneous with Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and Mihirakula really flourished only 90 years before Hiuen Tsiang's time, he should not have made the preposterous mistake of stating on various occasions that these flourished several centuries before his Hiuen Tsiang could easily have met several aged persons who might have been eye-witnesses of events occurring 90 years before. No one now will make the strange mistake of saying that the Sepoy Mutiny (A.D. 1857) occurred several centuries before AD 1936 We learn of Mutiny veterans still living. From the Hārāhā inscription we know that Suryavarman while he had attained puberty repaired a dilapidated siva temple in (Vikrama) Samvat 611 (or, more correctly 610-11 = Sam. 589-vide Annual Report of the Lucknow Museum for the year ending March, 1915, p 3 footnote) and that he was born while his father Maukhari Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman was ruling. This shows that Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman was ruling in about Vikrama Samvat (611-20, or) 591 = A.D. 534 when according to Fleet's epoch Rājādhitāja Yasodharman Vishņuvardhana was ruling Moreover, during the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Isānavarman Maukhari, Mahārājādhirāja (Kumāra-) gupta (III) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty was ruling in (Gupta) San 224=AD 543 on Fleet's epoch All this shows the incorrectness of FLEET'S epoch (AD 319) of the Gupta era and the date of Yasodharman Vishnuvardhana which forms the basis of Mr. SANKAR's epoch

The inscription of Harsha dated Sam 22 is equivalent to saka 522 = A D 599 This date seems to be the first year of Harsha's reign. Hiuen Tsiang says that Harsha after his accession to the throne proceeded eastwards and invaded the states that had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had subjugated Northern India and then reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon. That this is true will be evident from the inscription of Gurjara Jayabhata III dated K. 486 = A.D. 735 (E.

I. Vols. XXII and XXIII) where it is stated that Dadda I (K. 330, 346 = AD. 579, 595) protected the Lord of Valabhi that had been defeated by the glorious Harshadeya. Now Dadda I's son, Jayabhata I's only available inscription is dated K. 355 = AD. 604 Therefore Harsha must have defeated the Valabhı ruler sometime before AD 604, showing clearly that Harsha's accession could not have taken place in AD 606 Therefore, by AD 605 he had consolidated his power and this was practically the date from which people acknowledged him to be an Imperial Sovereign This was the date in the Kashmirian calendar where it was written that Śrī Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya, Hiuen Tsiang says that from this date Harshayardhana lived in peace for thirty years (i.e., upto 634 AD) without raising a weapon Curiously, the Aihole inscription of Cālukya Pulakeśi II dated \$aka 556 elapsed (= AD 634) speaks of Harsha as having been forced to retire discomfited and in Pulakeśi's subsequent inscriptions his defeat of 'the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the regions of the North' finds specific mention with legitimate pride Now, Pulakeśi ascended the throne in Śaka 532 = A D. 609, and in his earlier records there is no mention of his having defeated Harsha Vincent Smith, therefore, could not accept Fleet's date of AD 612 for Pulakeśi's defeat of Harsha and advocated A.D. 620. But in doing so we have to reject the explicit statement of Hiuen Tsiang that Harsha after his subjugation of the North reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon Hiuen Tsiang visited Pulakesi's court sometime after AD 634 and speaks of Harsha's encounter with Pulakeśi thus . 'Śilāditya-rāja (Harshavardhana, boasting of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, filled with confidence himself marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince (Pulakeśi) -but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him' (Rev BEAL, 'The Life of Hieuen Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li, p 147) Dr G. J DUBREUIL in his 'Ancient History of the Deccan' (p 113) advocates a date after A.D 634 for Pulakes.'s defeat of Harsha

As for the other longer dates (Sam 386, 413, 435 etc ) in inscriptions of Nepāl the late Dr Bhagwanlal INDRAJI has very ably shewn in the Indian Antiquary (Vol XIII, pp 424-26) that these must be referred to the Vikrama era From the Kātmāndu inscription of Jayadeva of Nepāl he has shown that from Mānadeva (Sam 386) to Jayadeva (Sam 153 = \$aka 653 = v s 788,) there were twenty (eighteen, according to Dr VASAK, Hist of North Eastern India, p 281) kings Assuming Sam 386 to be in the Vikrama era, the interval between this and the date of Jayadeva (Sam 153 = vs 788) is This divided by 18 or 20 gives twenty-two or twenty years for an average reign, which is perfectly acceptable If Sam 386 be assumed to be in the Saka era then the interval between this and Jayadeva's date (Saka 653) is one of 267 years which divided by 18 yield only 15 years for an average reign which is too low This inscription of Sam. 386 is dated 'on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Jyaishtha of Sam 386 when the moon stood in Nakshatra Rohini, in the excellent muhurta Abhijit' Sylvain Lévi took Sam 386 to be equivalent to AD 496 on his epoch of AD, 110 for a

Licchavi era of Nepāl and calculated the above details to occur on 'Tuesday, May 1, AD 496.' But May 1 (Jul) AD 496 was Wednesday and the tithi was Suklā tritiyā Sukla pratipad with the above details, however, occurred on Monday, April 29 (Jul) = Apr 30 (Greg) AD 496 That Prof Lévi's epoch of AD 110 is seriously incorrect (in addition to what was shewn by Prof. Kielhorn and stated already) will be shown shortly In reality Sam 386 = vs 386 = AD 328 in which year the above phenomena occurred on the 27th April It should be remembered that there is no tradition of the use of any other era but the Vikrama and the Saka in early Nepāl That these larger dates are in the Vikrama era will be evident from a recently discovered Nepāla inscription of an unknown king dated 'Sam 449 prathama Āshādha' (Sylvain Lévi, Le Nepāl, Vol. III, p. 51) and we know that in Vikrama year 449 current = A.D. 391, the month of Āshādha was intercalary. (Dr R G VASAK in his Hist. of North Eastern India, p 247 inadvertently dates this in AD. 392).

We know that Candragupta I (Vikramāditya) married a Licchavi princess (apparently of Nepāl) and with the additional help of the sturdy Nepālese soldiers he effected his conquests through his son Yuvarāja Samudragupta and then introduced his era (the Vikrama era) It was quite natural for Candragupta to have visited his father-in-law's dominions and then after liquidating all the debts of the country he perhaps introduced his era there. The scene depicted in the ruined temple in the Garhwā fort and described by Gen CUNNINGHAM (Arch Sur. of India Reports, Vol. X, pp.13-15 and plate VII) evidently describes the marriage procession, feasts etc. between the Vaisnava Guptas and the Sun-worshipping (Sūrya-vamsi) Licchavis of Nepāl Gen. CUNNINGHAM could not identify the scene but his description of the scene read along with the plate is so tempting that I cannot but reproduce a few lines from his description 'At the left end there is a circular medallion with the sun-god seated in his seven horse chariot' (evidently the sun-god worshipped by the Sūrya-vamsī Licchavis of Nepāl) 'On the extreme right there is a similar medallion with a king and queen seated together in conversation' (evidently Candragupta I and his queen Kumāradevī) 'In the middle there is a square panel, containing a male figure with six or eight On the ground to the right there is a figure kneeling before him with both hands raised in adoration. This is the principal figure of a long procession Immediately behind the kneeling figure there is an attendant holding an umbrella over him—an almost certain mark of a royal personage; this evidently depicts Candragupta I kneeling before the image of Visnu before he starts for his marriage Gen. CUNNINGHAM remarks on this six armed figure thus 'As this figure is an object of veneration, it would seem that it must be intended for one of the Brahmanical gods'. Then follows the scenes of musicians followed by a party bearing presents, marriage feasts, dancing girls, etc A second attendant is bending forward with a second offering, followed by a burly man carrying a curved broad sword like the Nepālese Kris' 'Two soldiers armed with the Kris shaped sword bring up

the rear' All this shows as clearly as possible that these soldiers are none but the Neplalese soldiers carrying *kukris* It was thus quite natural for Candragupta to have visited his father-in-law's dominions and then after liquidating all the debts of the country, he perhaps introduced his era there. The author of the Neplala *vamśāvalī* correctly states the tradition that Vikramā ditya came to Neplal but finding that Amśuvarman's inscriptions are dated Sam 30, 32, etc., he assumed these to be in the Vikrama era and thus made the singular mistake of stating that during Amśuvarman's predecessor's rule Vikramāditya came to Neplal.

From the Nepāla vamšāvalī we also get the tradition that two generations before Narendradeva (AD. 646), that is, some 50 years before, in about A.D. 595 (=\$aka 518), the \$aka era was introduced in Nepāl (during Nandadeva's rule). 'This Rājā, having heard that the era of Sālivāhana was in use in other countries, introduced it into Nepāl. Some people, however, in gratitude to Vikramant, who introduced his era by paying off all the debts of the country, were averse to giving up the use of that era Hence some continued to use Vikramajit Samvat, and others out of deference to the Rājā's wishes, used the Sālıvāhana Saka.' (D. WRIGHT, Hist of Nepal, p 134)'. The use of two eras only a few years more than a century (135 years) in interval might cause troubles, hence perhaps the figure of 500 was omitted from the newly introduced Saka era and a new counting was begun. Thus Sam 30, 32, etc., of Amsuvarman and others were really in the Saka era with omitted hundreds and it was wrong for Sylvain Lévi in face of the above correct tradition to state that the epoch of the smaller dates was Saka 518 current (=AD 595) and not \$aka 500 current (=AD, 577) tradition also we have the use of two eras only-the Vikrama and the Saka in early Nepāla. The chance of Amsuvarman to have started a new era is impossible, as has been ably shown by the late Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji, for, Amsuvarman in all his inscriptions styles himself a Samanta king Moreover, the new counting was in use not only in Nepāl but in all Northern India

That the use of Fleet's Gupta era (epoch AD 319) in Nepāl is not supported by traditional or inscriptional evidence will now be put forth

From the Nepāl inscription of Jayadeva II (Sam 153) we know that Mānadeva, Mahideva and Vasantadeva were successive kings. For Mānadeva we have inscriptions dated Samvat 386 and 413 and for Vasantadeva dated Samvat 435. The late Dr. Fleet referred these inscriptions to his epoch of the Gupta era and therefore equivalent to A.D. 705 to 754. But we know that during this time Šivadeva II (inscriptional dates Sam 119 to 143) and Jayadeva II (inscriptional dates Sam 145 to 153) who were respectively the 14th and the 15th kings after Vasantadeva, as we know from Jayadeva II's inscription, were ruling. This shows that the larger dates cannot be referred to Fleet's Gupta era. Referred to the Vikrama era (as was rightly done by Drs. Indraji and Vasak), the interval between Vasantadeva's (Vikrama). Sam 435 and Šivadeva II's Sam 119 = Šaka 619 = Vikrama Sam 754, is one of 319 years and on an average of 25 years for each reign

we get 13 kings ruling in the interval. Strangely, in Jayadeva II's inscription the names of eleven kings after Vasantadeva are not mentioned, the twelfth was Udayadeva, the thirteenth, his son Narendradeva and the fourteenth, the latter's son Sivadeva II Hence the meaning of verse 11 of Jayadeva's inscription as accepted by Dr VASAK and others seems to be the correct one Dr VASAK, however, believing in Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era intends to read the dates, 'Sam. 510, 518, 519, 520 and 535 of Bhagwan Lal INDRAJI and Sylvain Lévi as 310, 318, 319, 320 and 335 That this reading is incorrect will be evident from the following Sivadeva I and Amsuvarman's last available date is then Sam 320=AD. 639, according to Dr VASAK (The inscription which Dr. Vasak intends to read as '335' also belongs to Améuvarman but as the portion containing the name of the king is illegible nothing should be discussed now) But the above date (AD 639) for Améuvarman is incorrect for Yuang Chwang who visited Nepal not later than AD 637 states 'Lately there was a King called Amsuvarman' showing clearly that Amsuvarman was dead before a D 637 Hence those that believed in Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era meant to say that Yuan Chwang may not have actually visited Nepāl and therefore his statement on Amśuvarman is incorrect Even assuming for argument's sake that Amsuvarman was still living after AD. 637 we find that in AD 639 Amsuvarman and Sivadeva I were ruling. Sivadeva I was succeeded by Dhruvadeva who was followed by Udayadeva. Udayadeva's son was Narendradeva who we know from Chinese sources was ruling in AD 646. Hence AD 639 might be the date of his father Udayadeva but can under no circumstances be the date of Sivadeva I of the inscription which Dr VASAK wants to read as Sam 335 is, in his opinion equivalent to AD. 654-55 i.e., during the reign of Narendradeva. The dūtaka of this inscription is Rājaputra Vikramasena, the same as the dūtaka of the inscription of Sam. 32 and 34 of Amsuvarman and Sivadeva I Dr VASAK intends to take the inscription of Sam. 335 to belong to Sivadeva I or his son Dhruvadeva. But as already shown Dr. VASAK should have taken the inscription to belong to the reign of Sivadeva I's great grandson Narendradeva In that case one has to admit that the same Rājaputra Vikramasena was dūtaka and a Rājaputra from the time of Śivadeva I to his great grandson Narendradeva! Sylvain Lévi intends to take the epoch of these longer dates as AD 110. Hence his Sam 535=AD. 645 1e., only one year before Narendradeva's known date (A.D 646) Again, his Samvat 520 = AD. 630 on his epoch Hence this date might belong to Narendradeva's father Udayadeva; whereas, we know that this inscription belongs to Udayadeva's grandfather Śivadeva I. This shows that Sylvain Lévi's epoch of AD 110 is hopelessly in error

On Sylvain Lévi's epoch of AD 595 for the smaller dates Sam. 45= A.D. 640 After this, in Sam. 48 = A.D. 643 (according to Lévi), we find Dhruvadeva as king But we know that only three years later in AD. 646 Dhruvadeva's grandson Narendradeva was reigning. Again, on the epoch of the so-called Harsha era (AD 606), Sam. 39 = A.D. 645. The dūtaka in this

inscription of Sam. 39 was Yuyarāja Udayadeva, evidently the son of Dhruvadeva Whereas we know that only one year later in A D. 646 Udayadeva's son Narendradeva was reigning in Nepāl, thus vanishing the reign of Udaya Hence Dr Fleet had no other option but to say that this Udayadeva was not the Licchavi (king) of that name but probably a Thäkuri prince of Again, Sam 45 of Ansuvarman is equivalent to AD. 651 on the epoch of AD 606 Ansuvarman ruled jointly with Sivadeva (I) for sometime who was followed by Dhruvadeva who ruled jointly with Jishnugupta in Sam 48=AD 654 Thus on the epoch of AD 606 either Sivadeva (I) or Dhruvadeva was ruling in AD. 651. Whereas, from Chinese sources we know that from AD 646 to 657 at least, Dhruvadeya's grandson Narendradeva was ruling All this shows the utter incorrectness of the epochs AD 606 and 595 From another consideration the incorrectness for the so-called Harsha era of the above epochs will be evident. The date of Jayadeva II's inscription of Samvat 153 is equivalent to AD 759 (on the epoch of AD 606) inscription Jayadeva describes Harshadeva of Kāmarūpa as a very poweiful King, Lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and Kosala Now, Yasovarman of Kanauj sent an embassy to China in A.D 731, evidently when he became Lord Paramount of Nortern India after his conquest of Gauda and Bengal This Yasovarman was defeated by Lalitaditya of Kashmir and the Gauda King captured, taken to Kashmir and then killed by him seems to be this Yalsovarman. Evidently, after this, Lalitaditya received investiture as King by the Emperor of China in AD. 733. From this time there was anarchy in Gauda and Bengal, there being no ruler there To end this anarchy the people elected Gopāla (who became the first King of the Pāla dynasty) as their ruler from about AD 750 Thus Harshadeva of Kāmarūpa was Lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and Kośala before AD 731 (The defeat of this Harshadeva by the Karnātaka army, evidently of Cālukya Vikramāditya II about AD 735 is mentioned in the Shamangad inscription of Dantidurga Rāshtrakūta dated Saka 674-A D 752) Thus Harshadeva of Kāmarūpa was no longer Lord of Gauda, Odra etc., after AD 731, because the very laudatory reference to him could not have been made in Jayadeva's inscription if on the date of the inscription he was no longer the Lord of Gauda, Odra etc. This shows that the date of Jayadeva's inscription cannot be AD 759 (on the epoch of AD 606 for the so-called Harsha era) and the same is in error by more than (759-731, or) 28 years 1e, the true epoch of the so-called Harsha era should be about AD (606-28, or) 578=saka 500 In reality Sam 153 =Saka 653=AD 730, on the true epoch of the so-called Harsha era

It will thus be seen that Amśuvarman's inscriptions are dated in Saka 510, 518, 520, (5)30, (5)32, (5)34, (5)39 and (5)44 or (5)45 = AD, 587 to 622, and this date of Amśuvarman is quite in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's statement concerning him Rev Beal also remarked 'From Hiuen Tsiang's allusion one should be inclined to place Amśuvarman's reign about AD 580-600' (Buddhist Records, Vol II, p 81 fn)

The date of an inscription of Jishnugupta and Manadeva (II) has been

read as Sam 500 by Sylvain Lévi, the correctness of which is very much doubted by Dr. Vasak. We have the inscription of Jishnugupta and Dhruvadeva dated Sam 48 = Śaka 548 = Vikrama Sam 683 It seems that the date of the inscription of Jishnugupta and Mānadeva (II) is really (Vikrama) Sam. 700 = Śaka 565 = Sam (5)65 = A.D 642 ie, just before Narendradeva The above Mānadeva (II) seems to be a brother of Udayadeva whose name occurs in the Nepāla vamśāvalī immediately after Udayadeva

From the above it will be seen very clearly that true to tradition, in early Nepāl only the Vikrama era was in use till about A.D. 577 = Śaka 500 when the Śaka era was introduced. But the simultaneous use of two eras with a difference of a few years was causing trouble, hence a new counting with omitted hundreds of the Śaka era was introduced. So that the epoch of the so-called Harsha era is really Śaka 500 current = A.D. 576-77

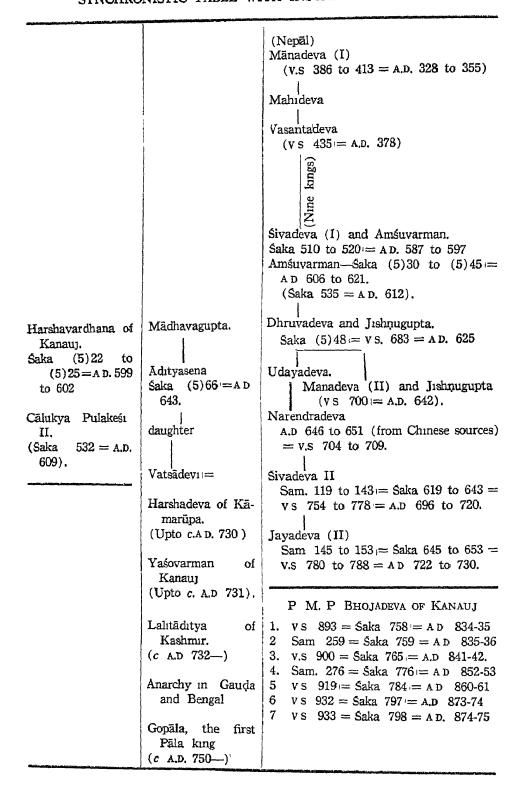
It will thus be seen that the conclusion of Dr Fleet in 1887 "And no objection could be taken by the Early Gupta kings to the adoption of the era of a royal house (the Licchavis of Nepāl), in the connection with which they took special pride, I think, therefore, that in all probability the socalled Gupta era is a Licchavi era" (Gupta Inscriptions, Intro. p. 136) is just the reverse of what he expected. In reality there has been found distinct proof of the Licchavis of Nepāl using the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas which began from 58 BC. and no proof of the use of the Valabhi era (epoch AD. 319) which Dr. Fleet erroneously called the epoch of the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas. Hence incidentally I request real seekers after truth to decide how far the origin of the era of the Gupta Vikramadityas from a study of the Nepāla inscriptions as shown above, true to Dr FLEET's expectations 'But the question of the origin of the (Gupta) era is one, of course, on which further discoveries, especially if any could be made in Nepāl, may be expected to throw more light' (Gupta Inscriptions, Intro. p. 136) has been traced.

I now append a synchronistic table with inscriptional dates for clearness.\*

In conclusion, I acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Mr Jogendra Chandra Ghosh of Calcutta from whom I received much help in writing this paper

<sup>\*</sup> See next page for table.

## SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE WITH INSCRIPTIONAL DATES



#### REVIEW

The Early History of Bengal (From the earliest times to the Muslim Conquest)
Vol I, by Prof Pramode Lal Paul, M.A with a Foreword by Dr R C
Majumdar, M.A, Phd, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Indian Research
Institute (Indian History Series, No. 2), 170, Maniktala Street, Calcutta, 1939,
Pp. viii+158, Price:—Rs. 4 (Inland); 7s (Foreign), Size:—6½"×9½".

There was a time when the history of different Indian provinces and States recorded in Government Gazetteers was looked upon as God's word in the fields of history touched by them. With due deference to this European nursing of Indian History and the impetus given by it to historical studies in the last two decades of the 19th century we must say that the history of provinces recorded by Government Gazetteers was necessarily imperfect as many sources of history were unknown to them. During the last 50 years so much material has been brought to light that the Provincial Governments ought to establish separate offices for revising all their ponderous tomes of Gazetteers with the help of experts well trained for this work. In the old Gazetteers also we find better work done and recorded in cases where the Gazetteers had the benefit of expert scholars like Bhandarkar and others but where these Gazetteer histories were written by administrative officers the history recorded by them was too tentative in conception and execution.

Sir R G Bhandarkar wrote his Early History of the Deccan for the Bombay Gazetteer but still his work is found authoritative as he combined the accuracy of the Western method of study with the profundity of a Sanskrit Pandit par excellence. Of recent years scholars in different provinces have set themselves to the task of writing Early Histories of their provinces and brought forth more reliable works than the accounts in the Government Gazetteers. The work before us though it does not pretend to be a comprehensive history of early Bengal provides an excellent outline for such a history and we are sure that the author himself will give us someday a comprehensive history of Bengal in several volumes from the earliest times to the present day.

Dr R C. Majumdar, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, who has already given us several volumes of the history of Greater India, has trained many students in the art of handling sources of history and the present volume by Prof. P. L Paul prepared under the guidance of Dr Majumdar and blessed with his Foreword would be found very useful to the students of the early History of Bengal In this volume Prof Paul gives us the political history of early Bengal up to the Muslim Conquest. He hopes to bring out shortly the second volume of this study containing religious, cultural and social history of Early Bengal.

The volume before us contains seven chapters:—I—From the Earliest Times to the Gupta Period, II—From the Fall of the Guptas to the Rise of the Pālas, III—The Pāla Dynasty, IV—The Pāla Dynasty (Contd), V—Independent Dynasties in Vanga and Rāḍha; VI—The Sena Dynasty and VII—Administrative System These Chapters are followed by four Appendices on the Pāla Chronology, Sena Chronology, Lakṣmaṇa Sena Era and Doubtful Invasions of Bengal. We believe Prof Paul will give us an exhaustive Index to both the volumes in the second volume promised by him.

There is no mention of any part of Bengal in the Rgveda. The ancient name of northern Bengal was Pundravardhana. The Astareya Brāhmana refers to Pundras, Andhras and Sabaras. The Astareya Āranyaka mentions Vangas, Vagadhas

(.=Magadhas) and Cers. It seems that in the later Vedic period Bengal was inhabited by tribes of a different stock of population from the Brahmanical writers of the above texts and these tribes were avoided by them as far as possible. The Mahābhārata mentions Vanga, Pundra and Anga The Buddhist literature also The history of Bengal from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of mentions Anga the Guptas is almost dark Northern Bengal was under the Gupta emperors almost up to the middle of the 6th century AD. About this time the Gupta Empire broke up into independent dynasties, some of which fought among themselves and thus invited foreign invasions from neighbouring potentates, including one by Harşadeva, who is called King of Gauda in an inscription of AD 759 The history of the Pāla and Sena Dynasties (pp 33 to 110) i.e. from the 8th century to the 12th century AD. is more rich in details than the earlier history of Bengal-This in brief is the history of Bengal touched by the author and reconstructed on the strength of available materials Written in a clear style and well documented on all important points the present outline of the Early History of Bengal by Prof PAUL would be found attractive even to a lay reader not interested in the dry bones of chronology, the rattling of copper-plates or the vacuous vagaries of the Puranas, which breed controversies in which the public finds no interest as they are inconclusive congratulate the author and the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta on this useful publication

P K GODE

#### THE LATE SIR E. DENISON ROSS

It is with the deepest regret that the Editors and Publishers of the New Indian Antiquary have to announce the death of Sir E Denison Ross, the noted Iranian scholar, in September this year. It was only recently that a Volume of Studies organised by the New Indian Antiquary in his honour was published, and a specially bound presentation copy was being sent to him. It is all the more regrettable that the only Volume which was completed, whether in India or Europe, before the war clouds spread over the Western world, could not reach his hands. It is now doubtful if a Presentation Volume will be organized, as intended, by the School of Oriental Studies in London, of which he was the first Director. Thus the Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies remains the unique symbol of the regard and esteem which he inspired in his colleagues, students and admirers

# SOME RARE PORTRAITS AND WASLIS<sup>1</sup>

By

### HIRANANDA SASTRI, Baroda.

Collections of specimens of art are of three kinds; those housed in museums, those made by the rich dilettante, and those made by the lover of art. Personally I am not in favour of private collections in spite of being a collector myself. For when paintings, writings, etc., are deposited in museums they become available to the public, and reproductions of them can be obtained, even if with some difficulty. But when they go to the drawing-room of rich amateurs they are beyond the reach of ordinary people or are not even known to exist. They are lost to the student at large. The case however is different where lovers of art are concerned, for they are always ready to encourage art by placing their collections before genuine students and glad to allow them to study the specimens they possess and publish the results of their investigations for the information of the votaries of the muse of art. Such personages might even lend their acquisitions to museums for exhibition, thus making them readily accessible and hence useful to the student and connoisseur alike.

The small art collection in the possession of Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari comes under the third of the categories I have enumerated above, for it is always available to scholars for study. The collection consists of paintings and washs, or specimens of calligraphic writing. The washs are beautifully written. Some of them are signed and dated though the date is expressed symbolically. It is my intention here to publish a few of these specimens.

The Delhi Museum of Archæology is said to have specimens by more than one hundred calligraphists in its collection. A number of these were made known to the public by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Ba, in a memoir of the Archæological Department of India and in a note on Muslim calligraphy in the Journal of Indian Art and Letters, Vol. IX, pp.60 ff The 'Nastālīq'² and the 'Shikasta' and the other specimens in the collection under notice are fair examples of some Muslim calligraphic systems. They are reproduced here for comparative study. Such comparison with other specimens will enable us to see how the art developed and declined. Similar specimens are also to be found in other collections also which the late Dr Smith mentioned in his History of Fine Art in India, etc. The washs require study—a patient study, for some of them, particularly those written in the Shikasta style, defy even an expert decipherer!

<sup>1</sup> This article has been written in collaboration with Mr. V. H. Bhanot, B.A. (Hons.) (Cantab), MA, of the Education Department, Baroda

<sup>2.</sup> These terms are explained in the sequel.

It would be well to give a few general remarks on the history of the Indo-Persian or Mughal School of painting and the technical names of the calligraphic systems of Persian or Arabic writings

The Indo-Persian or Mughal School of painting might well be considered to have started in the reign of Akbar. His grand father Bābur is known to have been an admirer of Bihzād, the famous painter of Herat, who was Bābur's contemporary (AD 1487-1524). Akbar seems to have been greatly influenced by the paintings of the said Kamāl-ud-dīn Bihzād, and of his pupil Āghā Mīrah of Tabrīz. They led him to establish the school of painting generally known by the name of Indo-Mughal

Though opinions differ, we make bold to assert, with Abu-l Fazl, the Boswell of Akbar, that the Indian disciples of this school produced works which surpassed those of the foreign ustāds themselves Indeed one of these Indian painters is said to have touched up and finished a painting by the great ustād Bihzād himself This was Khwāja Abdul Dāwūd, who was the favourite of Akbar and the ustad of Daswanth the Kahar painter of Akbar's Khwāja Dāwūd was a master calligraphist as well Abu-l Fazl gives a list of calligraphic experts, among whom the most eminent in Akbar's time was Muhammad Hussain of Kashmir These calligraphists followed various styles or systems Abu-l Fazl has enumerated eight such systems, which were current during the 16th century in Iran, Turan, Turkistan, Turkey and India These are all distinct styles and can be distinguished from one another by differences in the proportion of straight and curved lines Akbar's favourite script was Nastālīq, which consists almost entirely of curved strokes letters of the Arabic alphabet in which Persian is also written lend themselves to artistic treatment, and the masters of the calligraphic art have been able to produce specimens which win admiration from all and sundry

The eight calligraphical systems current in the time of Akbar are, according to Abu-l Fazl, as follows:—

(1) The Suls, (2) the Tauqı'a, (3) the Muhaqqaq, (4) the Naskh, (5) the Raihān, (6) the Riqā'a, (7) the Ghubār and (8) the Tā'alīq The main styles of Muslim script, however, are four, i.e., (1) Kūfic (2) Naskh (3) Nastālīq and (4) Shikasta Of these the first two are used chiefly for Arabic, and the other two, for Persian

The first six styles in Abu-l Fazl's list were derived in A H 310 by Ibn-i-Muqlah from the Maqali and the Kūfic characters The <u>Gh</u>ubār system is also attributed to him. Many ascribe the Nas<u>kh</u> method to Yāqūt. The Tā'alīq way of writing is believed to have been derived from the Riqā'a and the Tauqi'a  $^3$ 

The main difference in the form of a letter in these systems lies in the proportion of straight and curved strokes. The Kūfic character consists of one-sixth curvature and five-sixth straight lines, the Maqali has no curved lines at all—that is why the inscriptions found on ancient buildings

<sup>3</sup> Ain-t-Akbari (BLOCHMANN), Vol. I, pp 99 ff

are mostly written in this script. The Suls and the Naskh each consist of one-third curved lines and two-thirds straight lines. Of these the former, i.e., Suls is described as Jah i.e., clear, bold, while the other as Khafi or hidden, thin. The Tauqi'a and the  $Riq\bar{a}$  consist of three-fourths curved lines and one-fourth straight lines—the former is Jah and the latter Khafi. The Muhaqqaq and Raihān each consist of three-fourths straight lines; the first of these is Jah and the second is Khafi.

Akbar's favourite mode of writing seems to have been the eighth in Abu-l Fazl's list, i.e. the Nastālīg. It is a round script and seems to have been evolved from the Naskh and the Tā'alīq scripts which it gradually re-The majority of waslis 1e, specimens of calligraphy beautifully illustrated and mounted on cardboard, are written in this style. It would appear from Abu-l Fazl's writings that Akbar much preferred calligraphy to painting "Pictures are much inferior to the written letter masmuch as the latter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and becomes a means of intellectual progress" But Akbar was highly interested in the art of painting also, in spite of his predilection for beautiful writing. The encouragement he gave to the art of painting produced some master-painters who even excelled their own ustads Witness Abu-l Fazl, "More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the numbers of those who approach perfection, and of those who are middling, is very large. This is specially true of the Hindus, their pictures surpass conception of things Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them"

These remarks are indicative of the interest which painting must have attracted during the rule of Akbar. The Emperor himself is said to have remarked once that "there are many men who hate paintings but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God, for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase his knowledge"

Evidently it was this exalted attitude of the great Mughal that made possible the masterpieces of painting and calligraphic art to be so numerous during his reign. Like painting, calligraphy was regarded as a fine art worthy of the most serious study, and masters of this skill enjoyed fame throughout Asia in those days. They were careful to sign and date their work, and thus added to the value of their productions. As Vincent Smith has stated, many of the albums in the London collections containing miniatures include hundreds of specimens of beautiful writings in various styles and of different periods, which often seem to have been more valued than the drawings and paintings associated with them. Indeed a long catalogue of calligraphists might be compiled from the collections in England, if anybody would but take the trouble

Both these arts, especially the art of calligraphy, require patronage to flourish, though this is to some extent true of every fine art Proper appre-

ciation is necessary in order that it might prosper. Akbar and his two immediate successors patronised this art very liberally, and the waslis produced in their reign are the objects of unstinted praise. The art began to deteriorate later on for want of patronage. Only recently we have again become aware of the beauties of the art. Much of the credit for this must go to Tagore and Havell, who have done splendid service in bringing specimens of Indian painting to the notice of the general public and in revealing the mystic and other meanings connected with them. European art critics and those who follow in their wake take Havell as an extremist in his admiration of Indian art. How far they are justified in this we do not feel tempted to decide. We can only say here that Havell was one of the foremost admirers or connoisseurs of Indian art to whose appreciation of its merits and symbolical interpretation the care bestowed on it in Europe and America is largely due.

It would be out of place to discuss the history of Indian painting here. But that the art has existed in India from very ancient times it is hardly necessary to prove One must, however, refute any contentions that "the history of painting came to an abrupt stop with the Ajanta Series in AD 642" or that "the history of Indian painting between the close of the Ajanta Series in A.D. 642 and the importation of Persian art by Akbar about A.D. 1540, a period of more than nine centuries, is almost a blank." The art was not extinct on Indian soil at any time. Fine specimens of paintings belonging to different periods between these nine centuries have been published and can be shown as evidence vitiating such statements. As regards coinage, too, it would be incorrect to assume that the art of striking mudrās deteriorated and ceased developing in the early mediæval period in India. Vincent SMITH and others have made such assertions as the above, and I cannot help remarking that they must be held to be prejudiced and hasty. In Gujarāt and Rajpūtana at least, the art continued to flourish, and specimens bearing dates before the advent of the Mughals in this country are known to exist. One must admit, however, that painting was liberally patronised by Akbar and his two immediate successors and some great masterpieces were produced in consequence.

#### PLATE I (a)

As remarked above the art of painting in India can be traced to hoary antiquity. But this is hardly the case with calligraphy. Indeed, I am not aware if calligraphy as an art was developed in Hindu India as it did in Musalman countries or in India under the Mughals. Excepting the autograph of the great Harshavardhana engraved in the Banskhera copper-plate, (Plate I (a)), and the royal signatures which frequently occur in Mysore inscriptions (Archæological Survey Progress Report, 1911-12, pages 109 ff), hardly any calligraphic specimens worth the name, such as we see written in the systems enumerated by Abu-1 Fazl, are known in the case of Devanagarī at least. Of course, neatly written documents and manuscripts are legion, but they are

DEITIES CONNECTED WITH THE SYLLABLE OM

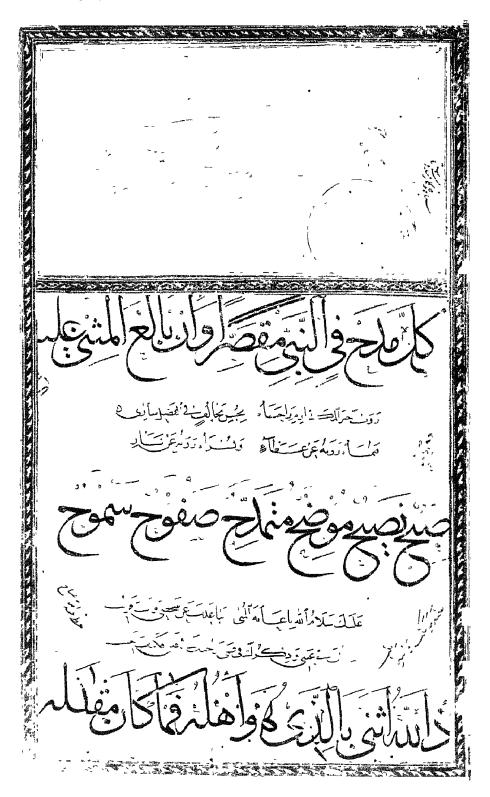


AUTGGRAPH OF HARSHAVARDHANA

Vestala Intana

(7)

(b)



A YOUTH AND SOME APOPHTHEGMS

not analogous to the Tughrā, the Nastālīq and other ways of writing invented by Musalmāns.

Different modes of writing were known in ancient India, such as the Citra-lipi or the Mudrā-lipi. Yet excepting the way of writing on mudrās, i.e., coins or seals, specimens of other modes are not known. This may be due to the fact that the Brāhmī-lipi and the scripts derived from it were not suited to the requirements of the modes invented by Musalmān calligraphists, who often wrote in a crooked way, so much so that their writing became very difficult to read if not unreadable. The qualifications of good penmanship according to Hindu ideals are, as stated in the Matsya and the Garuda-Purāṇas, or in the Sārangadharapaddhati quoted in the Lekhapaddhati, as follows—The letters should always be equal, of equal headlines, that they should be round and thick and well connected with the mātrās or vowel marks:—

समानि समशीर्षाणि वर्तुंलानि घनानि च । मात्रास प्रतिबद्धानि यो जानाति स लेखकः ॥

These characteristics are contrary to the features of calligraphy noticed in the A'in-i-Akbari.

Later specimens of what may be called Citra-lipi are known to exist They are rather pictures of the subjects of the *aksharas* For example, the syllable Om is considered to consist of three component parts, a, u, and m. The letter a stands for Vishnu, u for Siva and m for Prajāpati Figures of these divinities may consequently be seen written in the diagram of the Om, as in a picture in my collection which I reproduce below (Plate I (b)) But that is hardly the kind of calligraphy we see in the washs.

#### PLATE I (b)

Washs require a careful and patient study as many of them are extremely tortuous and difficult to read. Sayings like likhe Mūsā padhe Khudā are indicative of the undecipherable nature of such writings. One has to familiarise oneself with them by seeing as many specimens as one possibly can. For this he must have access to specimens, either directly through museums and private collections or through learned publications.

We turn now to the paintings and washs in the collection under notice. The best pictures in it are by painters of the Indo-Persian School, excepting one which I would call Persian. This is a portrait of Jāmi, the celebrated poet of Persia who flourished in the 15th century AD. Jāmi is a nom-de-plume, the real name being Nūr-ud-dīn Abdul Rehmān. He was born on the 7th November 1414 AD (23rd Sha'abān 817 AD) at a village called Jām in Herāt. His mastery of the Persian language and his knowledge were reputed to be unequalled throughout the Persian Empire, and he enjoyed great respect for his erudition from the Princes of his time. More than 44 works were written by him—his poem on the loves of Yusuf and Zulekhā is one of the finest compositions in the Persian language. Jāmi died at the advanced age of 81 lunar years, on Friday the 9th November 1492 A.D. (18th Muharram 898 AH).

PLATE I (c).

This picture (Plate I (c)) bears some texts written on it They are as follows<sup>4</sup>  $\cdot$ —

Jāmi's portrait. Top and bottom lines:

Right and left margins—

I said, "How is it that thou dost not say anything about thyself?" He replied, "My father is a person who is proud of himself, but my mother is of lowly spirit <sup>5</sup> It was said to a learned man that he should take his share from the world, for he will pass away"

Most of the inscriptions written in such miniatures, it may be remarked here in passing, have little to do with the pictures they are written upon. In the case of Jāmi, too, this remark holds good to a certain extent. He was a great Sūfi, and the words could apply to him. But the writings in the margin, however, would not. He was a well-known person His father was Maulānā Muhammad or Ahmad Isfahāni. He was remarkably polite, of a very gentle disposition, and endowed with extensive learning. Even princes who were themselves men of erudition and exalted talents have lavished the most unbounded praise upon Jāmi. A scholar and profound Sūfi like Jāmi would not describe his mother as is done in the inscription on the painting. This means that the writing cannot be contemporaneous with the portrait

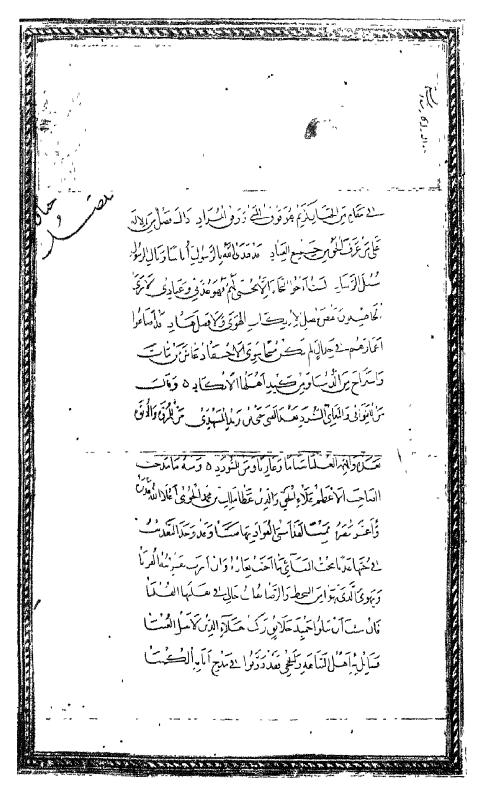
The figure has a marked resemblance with the portraits of Persian dignitaries which are published elsewhere <sup>6</sup> We have no means of ascertaining whether the picture is a genuine portrait of Jāmi or not, apart from the name written in the top line. Judging from the evidences of style, dress, etc. there would seem to be little against accepting it as an actual portrait. In all cases, however, it will be a matter of belief or opinion and we might leave the point there

Some of the texts of these *washs* are of the nature of what we call *subhāshītas* in Sanskrit, i.e apophthegms. They may aptly be used as quotations for adoming a speech. The stanzas written on the accompanying representation of a youth of unknown identity are of this kind. There is no label on it. The inscription in small letters above the head of the young

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Mr G YAZDANI, Director of Archæology, Hyderabad, for these readings and their translation

<sup>5.</sup> See postscript

<sup>6</sup> I am told of another portrait of Jāmi which differs from the present one in many details. I have not, however, been able to see this portrait



BAHĀVUDDAULAH (?)

New Indian Antiquary PLATE IV

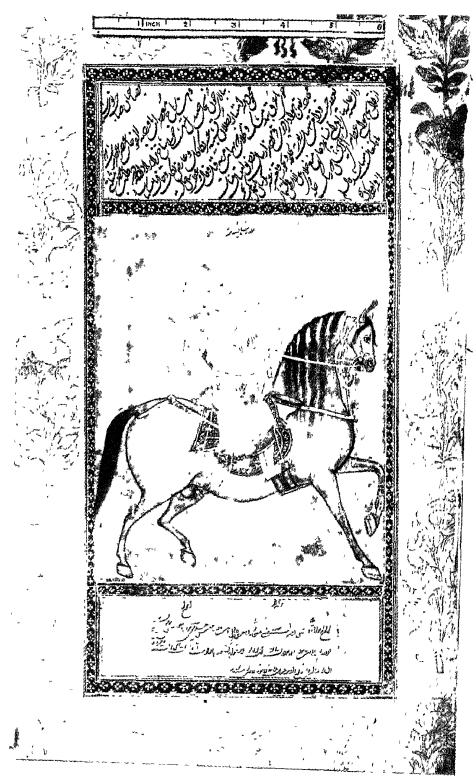


DARBĀR OF BĀBUR

New Indian Antiquary



SHĀH SHUJĀ'A



NAWAB SHAISTA KHAN

man simply says that it is the result of Indian penmanship in black. The verses are written in *Thulth* characters and in Arabic. The three lines in bold *Thulth* characters are in praise of the Prophet and the intervening lines in small letters are general expressions. The short line written towards the right corner is also of the same nature. Evidently it is addressed to God. The opposite side gives the name of the scribe saying, "It is in the handwriting of 'Abdulla Tabhakh'". Who this person was I am unable to establish. No date seems to be given anywhere on the picture.

PLATE II.

#### Translation

- (1) "Every praise in respect of the Prophet falls short even if the person who is praising may exaggerate;"
- (2) "Bright, sincere, transparent, winner of praise, conniver, valiant"
- (3) "Verily God has praised him according to his worth, he has no match."

#### PLATE III.

Another noteworthy picture is a portrait—a very lifelike representation of some Musalman dignitary. The label on the top in Persian calls (Plate III) him (Ba)havuddaulah, but does not throw any light on his identity. The label in Persian says it is drawn in India. The picture occupies the top portion. Below it there are two panels containing fourteen lines of Arabic verse, seven lines to each panel. In the margin opposite to the right leg of the portrait there is a name which might be read as Nisad Khān. Whether it stands for the calligraphist or for some other person it would be hazardous to opine

#### PLATE IV

There are four more pictures in the collection requiring special notice. They are reproduced below. One purports to represent the Darbār (Plate IV) of Bābur. His name is written in the Peisian script at the top. The phrase Kār-i-Hund is also given towards the right corner at the top. These words are meant to indicate that the picture was drawn in India. Who the painter was is not stated. The picture must be the work of some master painter whose name I am unable to find. That the picture is an early Indo-Persian work cannot be doubted. The central figure seated under a canopy and on a couch represents some royalty probably early Mughal It bears a resemblance to the portraits of Bābur in several of the pictures that are reproduced in "The Memoirs of Baber" by F. G.Talbot, published

in London in the year 1909. At the same time it must be admitted that our picture does not resemble some of the other portraits in this very book. The translator of "The Memoirs of Baber" avers, however, that the portraits of Bābur shown in the illustrations of his book must be accepted as authentic, as there is sufficient resemblance between the several pictures to warrant such acceptance. We shall have to admit that such representations might not have been drawn in front of the person sought to be portrayed, as is usually done nowadays by giving sittings to the painter. They might sometimes have been drawn from memory. The same is the case with the portraits of Nūrjahān, the famous Mughal Empress, for instance. All her pictures differ from one another and would lend support to the view that the Mughals did not give sittings for their portraits in violation of the injunction of the Qur'ān.

#### PLATE V.

Another picture in the collection purports to represent Shāh Shujā'a, (Plate V) as is shown by the labels on it This Shāh Shujā'a (Lie Lie) must be the youngest son of Taimur Shāh, the son of Ahmed Shāh Abdāli. He was sent to Kashmir by his brother Muhammad Shāh and imprisoned in the Kohi-i-Mīrān fort in AD 1812 whence he was released in 1814 by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and detained in Lahoie as a prisoner till he escaped to the British territories. He was placed on the throne of Kabul by the British Government in 1839 but was murdered by his nephew in AD 1842. I do not think he should be identified with the Sultān of the Muzaffarians or any other ruler of this name.

#### PLATE VI.

Then comes the picture of Nawāb Shāista Khān (Plate VI) on horse-back. It is full of vigour and quite lifelike but for the pose of the leg, which looks shorter than what it should be The label calls the subject of the painting Shāistā Khān and if it names him correctly he must be identical with the Mughal Subedār of Deccan who was attacked by Shivaji in his camp at Poona and fled through a window. Vincent SMITH also reproduces a portrait of him, but the present picture bears no resemblance to SMITH's picture. This would strengthen our view that the Mughals and other Musalmāns were unwilling to sit for portraits which were consequently drawn from memory only

#### PLATE VII.

The last picture we should like to mention here is of a young prince of Arabia (Plate VII), if one is to be guided by the labels. Whether he is an imaginary figure or stands for some historical person we have no means to determine But that it is an artistic and well-executed drawing cannot be denied though the face is too boyish for the long whiskers we see on it. The figure stands between two texts written above and below. The left corner at

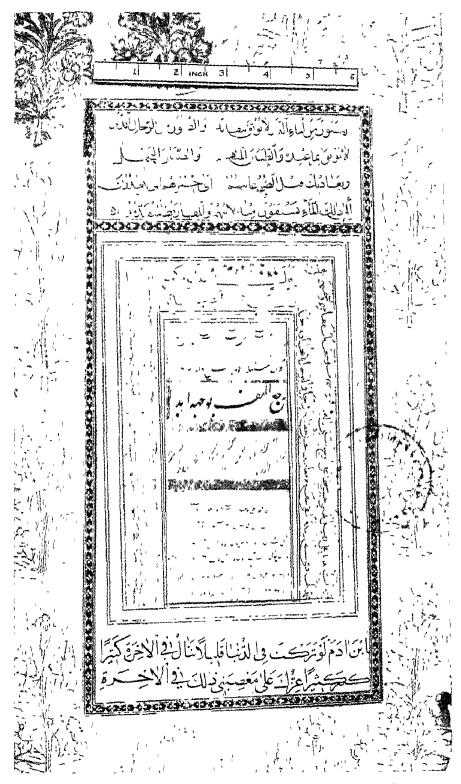


A PRINCE OF ARABIA (?).

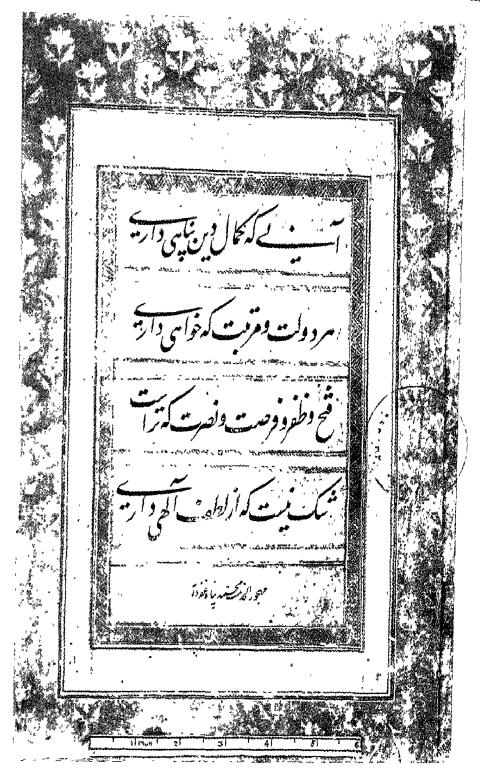
11160 21 31 41 81 61



New Indian Antiquary PLATE IX



ANOTHER SPECIMEN OF CALLIGRAPHIC WRITING.



THIRD SFECIMEN OF CALLIGRAPHIC WRITING

the top gives the name of the poet which seems to read Shāh-Mīr. Both the texts are written in Shikasta.

#### PLATES VIII & IX.

As to the waslis proper, that is, the calligraphic writings as such, of which three (Plates VIII to X) are reproduced here, one (VIII) seems to give the date in the words ... which according to the Abjad way of reckening would mean 962 (A.H.) i.e. 1554-55 Ad. Below the date is written the name of Muhammad Kāzim who might have been the calligraphist or the composer of the Persian verses written in beautiful Nastālīq mode. The second wasli (Plate IX) is written on the back of the picture of what the label calls Bābur's Darbār.

### PLATE X.

The text of the third wasli (Plate X) has two couplets in Persian and according to the subscript, was written by one Muhammad who describes himself as Mehjūrul Khidmat (?) ie one who is away from service

If this note can persuade persons who possess such collections to bring their art treasures to the notice of scholars interested in the subject we shall consider ourselves to be amply rewarded. Many States as well as private individuals in this vast country are known to possess them. They very often keep them to show to select personages in order to earn their good-will. Numbers of them are sold for high prices and go to distant lands, never to be heard of again. And only genuine love of art, true devotion to the Muse of learning, can check it and keep these treasures within the reach of the votaries of knowledge.

### Postscript—

While correcting the final proofs of this article I had an opportunity of consulting Sayyid Mahmudmiyan Ahmadmiyan Kazi, MA., Professor of Persian in the Baroda College. He has kindly made two suggestions which I consider valuable and should like to place before scholars in the form of this postscript. I think he is right and I would gladly change my remarks accordingly. The epithet of منتن , etc., he takes in the sense of "a frail old woman." This does not imply any insinuation but would be quite appropriate especially when a sūfi like Jāmi is speaking of his mother. In that case my remarks about the contemporaneity of the text will have to be modified. As to the wash reproduced in plate VIII he will calculate the date from the words مال يتركون and not from مال يتركون In that case the date would be 1134 A.H. i.e. 1721 A.D.

# JUXTAPOSITION ET COMPOSITION DANS LE RGVEDA

## *By* LOUIS RENOU, Paris.

L'un des traits qui marquent la langue du RV. est qu'on y trouve juxtaposés des éléments nominaux entre lesquels la relation attendue est celle qui existerait entre un substantif et son épithète, entre un nom déterminant et un nom déterminé. Le cas qu'on peut prendre pour type est l'expression sóma in mâde I 80 1 "dans le soma, dans l'ivresse", c'est-à-dire "dans l'ivresse du soma", cf mâde sómasya I 85 10 et passim.

Des cas analogues ont été relevés notamment par PISCHEL et par GELDNER; PISCHEL les rangeait sous la rubrique de l'hendiadyoin (cf Ved Stud. I. Sachverz), GELDNER inclinant vers la notion de composés ouverts "offenes, loses Compositum" (Ved. Stud II et III, Sachverz., Kommentar, Index, notes à la traduction du RV., passim). L'un et l'autre terme sont inadéquats L'hendiadyoin est une figure de style d'un emploi limité, la juxtaposition védique est un trait de langue général, l'hendiadyoin suppose en quelque manière la fragmentation d'une expression unitaire, le type some made se réalise seulement (comme l'a noté Oldenberg Noten ad VI 66 11) là où chaque membre pris à part donne un sens valable et suffisant. Quant à la composition "ouverte", elle implique cet enseignement que le type sóme máde repose sur d'anciens composés dont éléments se seraient dissociés. Ce ne peut être exact, dans la majorité des emplois, pour la langue du RV, étant donné que les composés de même structure que ces formations ne sont attestés le plus souvent qu'à une date ultérieure. Il faut voir bien plutôt dans un juxtaposé comme sóme máde les témoins d'un stade pré-compositionnel

Les formes en question sont passablement nombreuses. Un examen minutieux du RV. à cet égard en ferait sans doute ressurgir d'autres : il est visible qu'en maints endroits l'interprétation de formes juxtaposées comme types précompositionnels facilite l'intelligence d'un passage

Bien entendu, il ne faut retenir, dans l'immense masse des emplois juxtaposes, que ceux dont les éléments comportent entre eux un rapport de dépendance ou de détermination. Le cas normal est que l'un des deux termes précise l'autre nous sommes sur le plan de ce qui donnera dans la langue postérieure au RV (Wackernagel II 1 p. 250) des karmadhāraya · cf Geldner Ved. Stud. II p 280 qui rapproche cl duhkhayantra = duhkham eva yantram. On peut citer avec des nuances diverses et des probabilités également diverses ghitám ánnam II 35 14 "nourriture consistant en beurre" havísā ghiténa II 10 4, sómam āsíram X 49 10 (contesté Oldenberg Noten I p 411 n.) La coexistence d'expressions comme ghitávad dhavís X 14 14 indique quel est le rapport des deux termes en présence

A sóma in máde précité se laisse joindre ránāya .mádāya ("pour l'ivresse réjouissante" Pischel Ved Stud I p 66) III 47 1, cf mádo rántyah X 29 3

Un groupe s'établit autour de la notion de gír- "chant" ou analogues dûvo gírah I 14 1 ("Lobreden" Geldner), arcisā girā V 17 3, ncā girā VIII 27 5, viprobhīh ...mánmabhih I 127 2 VIII 60 3 = viprānām ma° Cf. aussi ślókam ghósam X 94 1, tristúbham isam VIII, 7 1, 69 1 "une force (1e. un chant) consistant en tristúbh)", cf. Pischel I, p 197 n. 1 qui allègue encore arkās tristúbhah IX 97 35 Vipo rátnā III 3 1 est sans doute à entendre avec Geldner "Redeperlen" On peut rapprocher mánma vayúnāni II 19 8 "prière (qui suit) les voies rituelles" (analogue Pischel I p 301)

Le mot gîr- se juxtapose aussi avec barhánā IX 10 4 "avec la force annihilante, avec le chant", cf Rönnow BSOS IX p 65, et le même mot barhánā avec śávas I 52 11, Ronnow p 58

Cet état de choses aboutit parfois à des locutions stables, ainsi yajñám adhvarám qui désigne le sacrifice sous son double aspect oratoire et pratique (Neisser Worterb s v adhvará-)

Le phénomène n'intéresse pas uniquement les noms d'action; des noms d'agent y sont concernés, ainsi devâm rtvîjam I 1 1 (et ailleurs), devô dūtáh X 98 2 "messager des dieux" Sieg Sagenst p 138 n. 4, druhyāv á jáne VI 46 8 et autres locutions analogues C'est ici qu'interviennent les expressions gavo dhenávah, proprement "des vaches qui sont des laitières", ou staryò gavah TS ávir vaśā citées Wackernagel II p 250 nous sommes à l'origine des composés du type dhenuṣṭarī-, vadabadhenu-, qui entrent dans la langue à partir du YV.

GELDNER II p 280 a noté la fréquence de l' "asyndète" avec le mot támas-. le cas le plus notable est támasi harmyé V 32 5 "dans la demeure des ténèbres" (mort ou enfers, GELDNER ZDMG LXXI p 338 n 1)

Cf encore átyena págasā II 34 13 "sous la forme d'un cheval" un tel juxtaposé ouvre la voie aux innombrables composés en °rūpa- du classique; márīcīh pravâtah X 58 6 "espaces pourvus de rayons lumineux", śrivá hiranyaih I 122 2 (PISCHEL II p 199, qui renvoie à son article de GGA. 1895 p 448), énasah urvat IV 12 5 "prison consistant en (ou résultat de) péché" (Geldner II p 280 Oldenberg ZDMG. LV p 318), várūthe gábhastau II 18 8 (Geldner III p 180), vayúnām bhójanā X 44 7 "jouissances consistant en les voies rituelles" (Pischel I p 303, qui cite gátrã vayúnā I 162 18) Gotrá gáh III 30 21 "troupeaux de vaches", cf. avec la détermination grammaticalement exprimée gávām gotiám II 23 18 gotrá gávām VI 65 5 Budhné yónau IV 1 11, 17 14 (PISCHEL II p 214), ksama budhnám IV 19 4 ("Erdboden" GELDNER), pastvásu vónau X 46 6 "au sem des demeures" (cf la double construction juxtaposée ou subordonnée avec mádhya- mádhye samudré VII 68 7, apam mádhye VII 89 4), dúrah drlhá VI 17 6, váyó 'śvāsah VI 63 7, śúsmath jámbhebhth VII 7 2 (GELDNER I p 114) śácyām, ājaú X 61 1 (PISCHEL I p 76), jráyāmsī

. rájāmsi X 75 7 "l'étendue des terres" (cf Geldner II p 266), ánmām . .ksúdham. VIII 60 20 (Geldner II p. 291), súdam. .rásam (= rásavantam) TB. I 2 1 3 (Pischel I p 72) Des faits de ce genre dispensent de chercher dans deván juxtaposé à jánma I 71 3 (en dépit d'Oldenberg) VI 11 3 autre chose qu'un accusatif pluriel au sens d'un génitif déterminant.

Un petit groupe se forme autour de noms d'armes: işuh .asana X 95 3 et śaryām asanām I 148 4 (Geldner I p 266 II p 280); cf aussi sāyakam .vājram I 32 3, 84 11, hetim tāvisīm X 142 3 (Pischel II p. 207), tāpusīm hetim III 30 17 VI 52 3, peut être gābhastīm ašānīm "une main (qui est comme) une fronde" (cf. Geldner, Oldenberg) I 54 4

Dans plusieurs cas cette juxtaposition, quelle que soit la valeur originelle des termes en présence, aboutit à associer deux synonymes kṣām...prthivīm 1 67 5, bhūmim pṛthivīm V 85 4 (et analogues), adrayah parvatāh X 94 1 (et ailleurs), pārvato girîh I 37 7, cf. aussi grāvā...ádrīh AV. V 20 10 et Bloomfield ad loc Cette association se présente exclusivement aux cas directs

La constatation d'emplois ainsi définis n'est pas sans importance quand il s'agit de discriminer la valeur adjective et la valeur substantive d'un nom A parcourir le dictionnaire de Grassmann, à suivre certains traducteurs, on serait amené à conclure qu'un grand nombre de mots qui en vertu de leur emploi normal ou des conditions morphologiques sont des substantifs peuvent aussi de facon occasionnelle fonctionner comme adjectifs. Or, lorsqu'on observe le contexte on s'aperçoit que la plupart du temps ces fonctions d'adjectif sont instaurées par méconnaissance d'un emploi juxtaposé Ainsi GRASS-MANN confère au mot vip- "incantation" l'acception de "begeistert" pour le seul passage V 68 1. Il y a là, simplement, un emploi de substantif juxtaposé: vipá girá "le chant, à savoir l'incantation" De même túj- "élan" signifiera "l'élan du chant" dans tujá girá V 17 3, non "mit kraft' gem Liede"; tán-" durée" vaut comme substantif dans tánā girá I 38 13 II 2 1 "la durée du chant" c'est-à-dire "un chant comportant une durée" même sūktá- dans sūktáva vácase IX 90 6 est l'équivalent sous forme de juxtaposé de ce qu'est en tatpurusa sūktavāká-, en bahuvrīhi sūktávāc-

Susma- n'a nulle part le sens de "stark" que lui attribute Grassmann. on a cité précédemment la juxtaposition súsmath jámbhebhih; súsmah mádah IX 79 5 "l'ivresse en tant que force", súsmāh I 52 4 est un nom d'action pluriel sujet, comme on a si souvent dans le RV, notamment dans la catégorie des noms en -ti- ūtáyah, rātáyah, abhístayah, abhímātīh La notion de nom d'action est vaste dans les mantra, ces noms sont en mesure de fonctionner librement comme sujets, sans qu'il faille pour autant multiplier les emplois d'agents ou d'adjectifs. Les Marut sont les "ébranlements" (du ciel) dhūtayah; on nous parle des "faveurs" (rātáyah) et des "défaveurs" (árātayah) comme d'entités personnelles (cf I 29 4) Les nomsracines féminins du type dvís-níd-rís-drúh- etc. sont des "hostilités" agissantes la traduction par "ennemis" peut être une commodité pour nos langues, elle ne répond à l'instauration d'aucune catégorie grammaticale dis-

tincte De même tápus-, qui est juxtaposé à aghá- ou à vrjinām "le mal" comme il est composé avec vadhá- dans tápurvadha- "dont l'arme de mort est un feu qui brûle" Le mot aghá- lui-même est substantif, non adjectif, et le composé aghásamsa- "dont la parole est le mal" se trouve résolu en aghát. . śáṃsāt I 166 8 (cf Geldener ad loc)

 $Rt\acute{a}$ - n'a pas d'emploi adjectif authentique, du moins dans le RV ancien (cf Neisser Worterb s v): encore une locution comme  $rt\acute{a}s$   $kav\acute{i}h$  VIII 60 5 ( $rt\acute{a}h$   $kav\acute{i}h$  IX 62 30) avec son-as final laisse-t-elle supposer un semi- composé \*rtaskavi- comparable à rtaspate La locution ś $ardh\ddot{a}ya$   $rt\acute{a}ya$  IV 3 8 n'est pas distincte de ś $ardh\ddot{a}m$   $rt\acute{a}sva$  VIII 7 21 et on ne gagne aucun avantage à rendre  $rt\acute{e}na$   $rt\acute{a}m$   $n\acute{i}yatam$  IV 3 9 avec Geldner "die durch den Ritus bestimmte, gesetzmassige (Milch)" · il est visible que le lait est le  $rt\acute{a}$ - de la vache, comme au vers piécédent la troupe des Marut est identifiée au  $rt\acute{a}$ -. Le mot  $rt\acute{a}$ - se prête précisément à la juxtaposition  $r\ddot{a}y\acute{a}$   $rt\acute{a}ya$  V 20 4  $rt\acute{a}m$   $dhar\acute{u}nam$  V 15 2, et cf.  $dh\acute{a}rman$   $dhar\acute{u}ne$  ibid. et X 170 2, etc.

Le  $kr\acute{a}tu$ - "héros" de Grassmann est à éliminei le  $kr\acute{a}tu$ - est une certaine forme de "pouvoir" qui est tantôt considérée comme possédée par telle divinité, tantôt identifiée à cette divinité même, type  $s\acute{a}$   $h\acute{i}$   $kr\acute{a}tuh$   $s\acute{a}$   $m\acute{a}ryah$   $s\acute{a}$   $s\~{a}dh\acute{u}h$  I 77 3 "il est la force, il est le jeune homme, il est le bon" (ou =  $s\acute{a}$   $h\acute{i}$  \*  $s\~{a}dhukratuh$ ?).

Lorsqu'on a réalisé l'importance de la juxtaposition, il devient facile d'interpréter les infinitifs datifs apposés du RV., soit (avec un datif nominal sujet et un autre datif régime) indrāya. pắtave mádāya IX 11 8 "pour qu'Indra boive le breuvage enivrant" On voit à quel point il est défectueux de parler d'attraction. Nous sommes en présence d'un type particulier de juxtaposition, en situation favorable. On sait que cette juxtaposition est attestée non seulement avec les infinitifs caractérisés en -tave (-tavaí) -e-mane (-vane), mais encore avec les pseudo-infinitifs en -taye (indrāya pītáye IX 32 2) et les pseudo-datifs en -adhyai (sáhase sáhadhyai VI 1 1), de même on a le génitif apposé à l'infinitif en -toh l'ablatif apposé à l'infinitif en -ah, Delerick Ai. Syntax p. 88 et 418 Ludwig Infinitiv p. 32 Gaedicke Accusativ p. 253.

Une autre forme de juxtaposition est celle qu'on trouve en phrase comparative le type sindhur ná kṣódah I 65 6, 66 10, 92 12 II 25 3 "comme le bouillonnement du fleuve" a été identifié dès Bergaigne Mél. Renier p 93. Déterminant et déterminé sont au même cas, en l'occurrence au nominatif. Les emplois relevables sont apó ná kṣódah I 180 4 (identique à sindhur ná k° précité, et montrant à quel point il serait vain de poser comme font certains un génitif sing apáh, sur l'existence d'une flexion sing de áp. v. Bergaigne op c p 96 n il Neisser Worterb s v), vâyo ná śrénih V 59 7, girîr ná bhújma I 65 6, áyur ná prānah I 66 1, páyo ná dhenúh I 66 2 (cf. Oldenberg), gávo ná vrajám I 92 4 (mais cf Oldenberg), gávo ná yūthám VIII 46 30 (yūthéva paśváh IV 2 18 V 31 1 VI 19 3, en soi équivoque, paśváh pouvant être génitif sing. ou accusatif plur., est sans doute à agréger à cet

ensemble), rátho ná vāyúh III 49 4, uro ná ráthah IX 94 3 (cf Oldenberg), gĩráyo ná ápah VI 66 11 (contesté Oldenberg), sũryo ná cáksuh V 59 3, sũrya ivopadýk IX 54 2 VIII 91 15: ces dcux dermers emplois éclairent à leur tour d'une part sũro ná samdýk I 66 1 (où théoriquement sũr ah pourrait être le génitif de svàr-), d'autre part svàr ná jyótih (où svàr pourrait également avoir valeur de génitif, Wackernagel III p 314, sur le cas de svàr dríke, v. Oldenberg Noten I p. 73), enfin usráiva rāsyah VIII 85, 8, ātméva vátah I 34 7 II y a là un procédé de style auquel certains is semblent s'ôtre amusés, il suffit de voir l'usage que fait de ces foimules Parāśara, auteur de I 65 et 66 et comment il combine ce type avec le groupement substantif + épithète, ainsi I 66 1 avec rayín ná citrá nîtyo ná sũnũh, tákvã ná bhūrmh

On ne retiendra pas l'hypothèse de GELDNER Ved Stud III p 32 qui voit dans le juxtaposé *áhutam rñjjasānám* I 96 3 un avant-coureur des karmadhāraya class due type s*nātānulipta*-

Mais un tout autre aspect de juxtaposition se laisse percevoir dans les mantra · on formule au moyen d'un substantif accompagné d'une épithète ce que la syntaxe de la phrase conduirait à formuler au moyen d'un bahuvrîhi Le fait a été noté par Wackernagel II p 288 (repris Macdonell Ved. Gr. p. 175) qui voit là à juste raison les débris d'un stade pré-compositionnel. Une association de mots telle que varāhám tvesám rūpám I 114 5 "le sangliei, (sa) forme menaçante" donne l'exact equivalent de ce que sera \* tvesarūpam en classique De même tvácam krsnā I 130 8 IX 41 1 "les hommes à la peau noire", cité déjà pai Oldenberg Religion d Veda p. 154 auquel renvoie Schulze Schriften p 656 n 2 (moins directement, on a aussi kṛṣnâm ca várnam arunâm ca I 73 7, cf kṛṣnâyon- épithète des dásī-); dīnā dākṣāh IV 24 9 "les hommes aux capacités faibles" (cf Oldenberg et le bahuviāhi dīnádaksa-) Sur urûh káksah VI 45 31, v Wackernagel et Oldenberg

Des faits de ce genre sont certainement assez nombreux ; il n'est pas certain que les poètes védiques ne les aient pas sentis comme une expression parfaitement normale, tant est intense dans le RV le pouvoir "personnel" des mots abstraits ou des noms d'object

Souvent la forme sous laquelle se présentent ces pré-bahuvrīhi est un peu différente l'emploi du groupement substantif + épithète foime une sorte de rupture syntaxique. ainsi arusástūpo rúśad asya pájah ajanista III 29 3 "il est né, ayant une rouge crinière, éclantante est sa forme" On voit ce que gagne en vigueur ce glissement vers l'expression analytique. De même śycnásya pakṣā harinásya bāhū ( . te) I 163 1 (cf. Kommentar), híranyaśrngó 'yo asya pādā 9, pṛṣadaśvāso 'vánayo ná ráthāh I 186 8, anantám anyád rúśad asya pájah I 115 5, suparnám vaste mrgó asyā dántah VI 75 11, rúruśīrsny átho yásyā áyo múkham 15, piśángarūpah .aindráh śúsmah AV IX 4 22, peut-être krsnám myánam (hárayah dívam út patanti) I 164 47, cf ásitavamāh au passage correspondant de TS, et cf krsnáyāma- La locution híranyanirmg áyo asya sthūnā V 62 7 semble bien d'abord faire corps avec les précédentes (et cf áyasthūnam 8), mais comme le substantif sthūnā est le sujet du verbe qui suit, il vaut mieux entendre áyo asya sthūnā

comme une juxtaposition du type karmadhāraya "sa colonne (faite d') airain"

Cf encore vīrényah krátuh (îndrah) X 104 10, krátum ná bhadrám IV 10 1, ékam krátum VI 9 5, brhán ksáyah VIII 15 9 (que significativement BR. proposait de corriger en \* brhátksaya- Une expression à part est celle du v I 108 4 barhír u tistirāná "vous à qui on étend le barhís": elle semble avoir décomposé maladroitement un \* tistirānabarhis-, qui toutefois ne serait guère admissible dans la langue du RV que sous la forme "stīrnabarhis-ce n'est pas un hasard si barhír u tistirāná est précédé dans le texte d'une part par ānajānā d'autre part par yatásrucā.

Toutes les formes qu'on vient de passer en revue attestent à notre avis plutôt des emplois libres de juxtaposés que des composés "résolus" à la manière où l'entendait Geldner. Des "résolutions" authentiques de composés, il n'y en a qu'un fort petit nombre dans le RV. Il faut naturellement mettre à part le cas des devatādvandva où l'autonomie de chaque membre (type dyávà yajūaíh prthivi VII 53 I, v. les exemples chez Wackernagel II p. 151) a été préservée par sa finale même et par la coexistence du "duel elliptique": mitrá ou prthivi. Dans bien des cas, loin d'être une "résolution" de dvandva, la forme juxtaposée est plus ancienne que la forme composée, ainsi dans krátve dáksāya I 111 2 et passim (à coté de la relation de dépendance krátvā dáksasya III 23 3) à quoi succède krátūdáksau VS, daksakratā TB, analogues Wackernagel II p. 154, 156

Il est probable d'autre part que plusieurs noms propres résultent d'une scission analogue: pajráya sámne VIII 4 17, 6 47 (cf Oldenberg), rúsato vápsasah I 181 8 (id), járatah kárnam X 80 3 (id), peut-être varo suṣámne VIII 23 28 et ailleurs (id) ceci préludant aux fantaisies des kāvya du type daśa-pūrvaratham Ragh, hiranyapūrvam kaśipum Śiś. (et cf South Ind Inscr I p. 166 n 6)

On trouve encore les formes suivantes vajra sāyaka X 83 1, 84 6, c'està-dire \*vajrasāyaka "toi qui as le foudre pour arme de jet" (cf sáyakam .. vájram précité): la correction, qui ne porte que sur le padaplātha, est à vrai dire aisée, cf Oldenberg

Mánaso javésu X 71 8 semble une mauvaise résolution pour mánojavesu "rapides comme la pensée" le glissement a pu être facilité par le fait que le comparatif de  $manoj\bar{u}$ - mánojava(s)- était normalement mánaso  $jáv<math>\bar{v}$ an (aucune forme composée n'est attestée lorsque le dernier membre serait un adjectif en  $-(\bar{i})$   $y\bar{a}ms$ -).

Oldenberg admettrait pour expliquer divi ksáyam III 2 13 X 63 5 un emploi adjectif de kṣáya- cet emploi est peu vraisemblable puisqu'il se limiterait à cette locution qui se présente d'autre part sous l'aspect d'un bahuvrīhi dans divikṣayá-, cf. Wackernagel II p 289. Divi kṣáyam (cf. encore kṣáyo divi VIII 64 4 divikṣit- X 92 12 divi kṣáyantā VII 64 1) représente la scission de divikṣayá- Dans le cas de divó ná sádmamakhasam I 18 9 divi sádmabarhisah I 52 4 (cf Oldenberg) "ayant pour makhá- ou barhís- un siège céleste", où ce qui devrait être un piemier membre de composé (divi) demeure hors de la composition, on s'achemine vers les cas de rection extérieure, presque tous post-īgvédiques, amplement décrits chez Wackernagel II p 31 Sur divá à prsthayájvane V 54 1, tirás cid aryayá V 75 7, v Oldenberg (sur ce dernier ex aussi Thieme Fremdling p 85)

Tantôt supposant une composition déjà faite, tantôt et plus souvent précédant le sta de compositionnel, les formes du RV sont en tout cas les précurseurs des phénomènes de résolution que M Helmer SMITH a notés en pali sous la désignation imagée de split-compound (Critical Dict I p XXVI BSL XXXIII p 172 n 1) Les textes bouddhiques en skt mixte en abondent; nous fondant sur les notes de Weller Zum Lalitav nous trouvons pour ce texte usnāni samsparšām (gātrām) 17 13 (sītasamsparša 14), khādanīyam bhojanīyam āsvādamyākalpikānām 2 22 (cf 58 5, 123 17); mise à l'extérieur d'une épithète se rapportant à un premier membre de composé 127 5, 256 1, résolution dans des expressions contenant des noms de nombre 31 10, 61 19 (cf 63 1), 84 1 et 7, cf enfin 429 8 et 13 D'ailleurs l'adjectivation des noms des dizaines, de cent et de mille dans toute la tradition skte (type vimšatyā...háribhih RV. II 18 5 et avec égalisation de nombre śatā pūrah I 53 8, Wackernagel III p 362, 373) est un phénomène qui s'explique en fonction de la tendance générale à la juxtaposition

Pour le MhVu, Weller p. 14 renvoie à I 3 12 (cf la note de Senart), 29 3 (note), 31 12 (ou Senart revoie encore à 1997), 60 14 (note) et passim. Les expressions du Lal. que Senart cite I p 396, mahāpadmo yathodbhavah et gangā yathā vāhkā sont identiques au type sindhur ná kṣódah du RV Cf. encore Senart I p 466, 499 etc.

# INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD\*

Ву

## D. B DISKALKAR, Poona

#### UNĀ

No. 107]

v.s. 1652.

[12-11-1595.

The following inscription is found in one of the *deris* in the Shahabāg at Unā, the principal town of a mahal of the same name in Junagadh State. It measures 1'-4" by 1'-1" and is in a good condition.

The inscription opens with the date, Wednesday, the fifth day of the dark half of Kārtika of v.s 1652 It then mentions that the Emperor Akbar, hearing of the great fame of the Jagadguru, the Jain Ācārya Hiravijayasūri, invited him to Delhi and received him with great respect. After listening to his lectures on Jain religion he presented him with a collection of books and issued the following edict: "No one should fish in the tank called 'Dāmar'. For six months in a year animals should not be killed. The tax levied on each individual (per capitā mundivero Guj) on the Satrunjaya hill is discontinued for ever. The Jhijhia tax is repealed In the whole empire the property of a deceased (without an heir) should not be confiscated to the Imprisonment should always be avoided (as far as possible) and other virtues should be inculcated in the minds of all the people" Thereupon Hiravijayasūri made a pilgrimage to the Satrunjaya along with the whole Sangha, and left his etheral body on the eleventh day of the bright half of Bhādaravā (of v.s. 1651) Meghā caused his footsteps to be set up in a Deri, the consecration ceremony of which was performed by Vijayasenasūri, on the date mentioned at the beginning ie, in vs 1652.

In the reception given to  $Hiravijayas\bar{u}ri$  by the Mughal Emperor Akbar the Jamas seem to have considered too great an honour to their religion. For in a number of inscriptions of this period, wherever the name of  $Hiravijayas\bar{u}ri$  occurs this fact is recorded with a special pride

#### Text

- 1 ॥ ०० ॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६५२ वर्षे कार्तिक वदि ५ बु [ घे ]
- 2 येषां जगद्धरूणां संवेगवैराग्यसौभाग्यादिगुणगण
- 3 श्रवणात् चमत्कृतिर्महाराजाधिराजपातिसाहिश्री अकव्बराभि
- 4 धानैः गुर्जरदेशात् दिल्लीमडले सबहुमानमाकार्य धर्मोपदेशा
- 5 कणैनपूर्वकं पुस्तकभडारसमर्पण डावराभिधानमहासरी मत्स्यवं
- 6 धनिवारण प्रतिवर्षे षण्मासिकामारिप्रवर्त्तन सर्वदा श्रीशासुंजयतीथों
- 7 दक्राभिधानकरनिवर्त्तनं जिजिआभिधानकरकर्त्तन निजसकलदेशे दा

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p 210 of Vol. III.

- 8 णमृतस्वमोचनम् सदैव बंदमहण (?) निवारणं । सत्यादि धर्मकृत्यानि सकल
- 9 लोके प्रतीतानि कृतानि [ प्रकटितं ? ] श्रीदाञ्चंजयसकलदेशसंघयुतकृत
- 10 यात्राणां भाद्रपदशुक्रैकादशीदिने जातनिर्वाणातां शरीरसंस्कारस्नानासन
- 11 फलितसहकारः एवं श्रीहीरविजयसूरीश्वराणां प्रतिदिन दिव्यवाद्यनाद
- 12 अवणदीपदर्शनाहिके (१) जयपताकः स्तूपसहिताः पादुकाः कारिता
- 13 मेधेन भार्या लाडकीप्रमुखकुढुबयुतेन प्रतिष्ठिताश्च तपागच्छाधिराजैः भ-
- 14 इरकश्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ओं। श्रीविमलहर्षगणि ओं। श्रीकल्याण
- 15 विजयगणि ओं । श्रीसोमविजयगणिभिः प्रणता भव्यजनै पूज्यमानाश्चि
- 16 रं भवंतु ।। लिखिता प्रशस्तिः पद्माणदगणिना श्री**उन्नतन**गरे ग्रुभ भवतु ।।

## **SATUÑJAYA**

No. 108]

v s. 1652

[1595

This inscription is engraved round a pair of pādukās in a small temple to the west of Ādīśvara Bhagavān temple. It was once edited by Dr. Buhler in the *Epi. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 59 (No XIII).

#### Text

भों स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६५२ वर्षे मार्गे वदि २ सोमवासरे पुण्यनक्षत्रे निष्प्रतिमसंवेगवैराग्य निःस्रृहतादिगुणरंजितेन साहिश्रीअकबर्नरेंद्रेण प्रतिवर्ष षाण्मासिकसकलजंतुजात भयदानप्रवर्त्तनसर्वकालीनगवादिवधनिवर्त्तनजीजिआदिकरमोचनमुंडका भिधानकरमोचनपूर्वकश्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थसमर्पणादिपुरस्सरं प्रदत्तवहु २ मानानां नानादे सीयसंघसमुदायेन सह श्रीशत्रुजये कृतयात्राणां जगद्विख्यातमहिमपात्राणां सं १६५१ व वं माद्र सितैकादश्यां उन्नतदुर्गे अनशनपूर्वकं महोत्सवेन साधितोत्तमार्थानां तपागच्छाधिराजमह श्रीहीरविजयसूरीणां पादुकाः कारिताः स्तभतीर्थीय सं उदयकरणेन प्रभ श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः । महोपाध्याय श्रीकल्याणविजयगणयः य धनविजय —णिभ्यां स-प्रणमंति ॥ एताश्च भ .

...राष्यमानाश्चिरं नंदत् ॥ श्रीः॥

## HĀMPAR

No. 1091

vs. 1656

[4-2-1599.

Hāmpur is a small village in the Rājasītāpur mahal of the Dhrāngdhrā State. In the temple of Bhīḍa Bhanjana Mahādeva to the east of an old well, the following inscription is found engraved below the inscription of v.s 1588 noted above. The inscribed portion measures 2'-5" in length and 6" in breadth

It records that Umābai and her sons belonging to the Solanki family caused the temple of Siva in Hāmpar to be built on Sunday, the fifth day of the dark half of Māgha in vs 1656 when Mahārānā Candrasenji was ruling (at Halvad).

Though the wording of the record shows that the temple was built (newly) it was in fact repaired by the lady. For just above this are two

records of v.s. 1588 which speak of the repairs of the temple in that year. It seems therefore that the temple was once more repaired in v.s. 1655 by Umābai.

#### Text

- 1 संवत् १६५५ वर्षे माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे ५ रवौ
- 2 महाराणा श्रीचंद्रसेनजी श्रीहामपोर । सोलंकी दासा भार्या वा
- 3 इ उमा सोलंकी रात जसा तथा देभा जीवा तथा पूंजा तथा ळाला
- 4 देहेरींप्रासाद की घो श्रीः

#### DHRĀNGDHRĀ

No. 110]

vs. 1657

[28-4-1601.

This inscription is inscribed on a stone slab bearing the representations of the sun and the moon above the inscribed portion. It is preserved in the Huzur Office at Dhrāngdhrā. The inscription measures 1'-8" in height and 13" in breadth and is broken in two parts in the fifth line. It records that on Tuesday the 5th of the bright half of Vaīśākha of v.s. 1657 the king (of Dhrāngdhrā) granted 95 acres of land in the village *Pimariyāḍi* to one Prāgji of the Nanduvāna family at the suggestion of Rao Bhārmalji

The king Rão Bhārmalji is probably the Cutch king of the name who ruled from v = 1642-1688 But his relation with the Zālā king is not exactly known

#### Text

- 1 राओ श्रीभारामलजी
- 2 वचनात मोजे पीमरिय
- 3 डी ? प्रामे नंदुआणा पी
- 4 ताबर तस्य पुत्र अंबाजी
- 5 .....त्र प्रागजी
- 6 ९५ अकरे आ राजाने आ
- 7 पी शेठोहमल जेसंग वा
- 8 ल आपि पुत्रपीत्रा हक आ
- 9 पो आंब-राक आपि संव
- 10 त १६५७ वरषे वईशष स
- 11 द ७ भौमे आपि सही आपि
- 12 बाई श्रीकमाजी आपी

#### KONDHA

No 111]

vs. 1663

[1-5-1607.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab built in a niche of the Kondheśvara Mahādeva temple to the east of the village Kondha at a distance of fourteen miles to the south-west of Dhrāngdhrā.

The inscription, which is very useful for the history of the Zālā rulers of Zālāvād opens with the date, Thursday, the fifteenth day of the bright half

of Vaiśākha of vs. 1663 or śaka 1529 Then after an invocation to Ganeśa. the goddess of speech and the ancient preceptors, the poet goes on to describe the Zalla 1e, Zālā family. The first king mentioned is Ranamalla, from whom by his wife Līlādevi, satruśalya was born. His son by his wife Mīnaladevi was Jıta The latter's son was Ranavīra, whose son was Bhīma latter had by his wife Primaladevi a son named Vagha, whose son was Rājadhara. Rājadhara's son by his wife Ahikaradevi was Rāņa, ie Rānīga Rāṇa's son was Varasımha, who by his wife Amrtadevi had a son named Bhīma. The latter by his wife Kaśmiradevi had a son named Udayasimha. whose son by Liladevi was Kalyana. In the reign of this king, who belonged to the Zālā family, which was one of the thirty-six royal families, Kaśmīrdevi, wife of Mahārānjā Bhīma, (and grandmother of the king Kalyānji), caused the temple of Kuhundheśvara Mahladeva to be built in the year 1663 of the Vikrama era. Kaśmirdevi was also called Vihinabai and was the daughter of the Jādejā king Muhuţa, son of Meheramana and grandson of Ranamalla

The Halvad inscription of vs 1583 published above gives the genealogy of the rulers of Zālāvād from Ranmalla to Rānigade, together with the names of their queens. This inscription gives the same genealogy. But after the king Rāniga names of four successive rulers are given, who are not found in the main line which was continued with the king Mānasimhaji, the son of Rāniga by his wife Kalyanadevi. This inscription thus shows that Rāniga had another son named Varasimha from whom another line ran in which Kalyānji was born. The ruler in the main line at the time of this inscription was Candrasimhaji, whose name is not mentioned in this record probably because Kalyānji was more or less an independent ruler.

The name Kuhundheśvara of the Mahādeva seems to have been given after the name Kondha of the village, where the inscription was found, or it may be that the village was called Kondha after the name of the Mahādeva

#### Text

- 1 ओं नमः श्रीमहागणपतये ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीर्जयो मंगलमभ्युद्यश्च ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमशृपविक्रमा
- 2 केसमयातीत संवत् १६६३ वर्षे शाके १५२९ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायने (णे) वसंतऋतौ महामांगल्यप्रदे वैशाष( ख )मासे
- 3 शुक्लपक्षे पूर्णमास्यां तिथौ भगुदिने विशाषा(खा) नक्षत्रे वरीयानयोगे शुभकरणे एव पंचांगशुदी ॥ गणेशमाद्यमी
- 4 श्वरीं गिरं गुरून् परा[गमान् ] । प्रणम्य सम्यगीरयेद्य झ्ह्युवंशमुत्तम ॥ १ ॥ अगरोय गुणालि—मवशेष—मगमाननिमृत्कुला
- 5 वतसोऽसमभूजगतीशवदिता[तो <sup>2</sup>] रणमङ्खो-तिटिनिखात [यू <sup>2</sup>]प. ॥ २ ॥..... मे रणमङ्खादजिन श्रीशाञ्चशाल्यः ॥ त्रिसु [वन <sup>2</sup>]
- 6 भूपशरण्यां पादयुग्मः । कुलके [गा]हिनीव लीलदेवी ॥ ३ ॥ मीणलदेव्यां कुलना... श्रीदात्रशाल्यस्थित आवि...स्थानो...
- 7 करीद्रकुमो नरदेवसिहः ॥ ४ ॥ भूपभूषणमणी रणवीर शौर्यश्वैर्यविलया . . . देव्यां । सम्ब-भूव जितराजजिताख्यो वर्त्तिनी कुलविभूषितमेकः ॥ ५ ॥ राण

- 8 श्री**रणवीर** भूपवनिता भीमं...नामतः प्रत्यार्थि**क्षितिपा**लपंकज ...भूषा ... [धौरेयः ?] सुष्वे प्रतापतपनः संशोषिताः सागरा मन्ये यदिपुष्टंद
- 9 भूपवितानेत्राबुधिः पूरिताः ॥ ६॥ प्रीमलुदेव्यां किल भीमभूपो वाद्याभिधः . . . स्तदा सीत् ॥ रणागणे गर्जति वाद्यराजे यस्मिन् द्विषे(षा)णा गिरिकंदरा
- 10 शाः १ ॥ ७ ॥ **दाघ**भूषवनिता सुषुवे त राण**राजधर**संज्ञ मथाद्र (१) यत्प्रतापतपना-दिनबन्ही सुचतो न गिरिराजससुद्र ॥ ८ ॥ रणाभिधानस्तनयो
- 11 वभूवाहंकारदेटयां नृपवाघसूनोः ॥ अवाप्य भूपं पृथिवी प्रभु य द्यामिद्र.. जहाय नित्यं ॥ ९ ॥ आसीदाणरणाभिधा[च] वरसिंहः
- 12 श्रोत्रियाणा वरः शौर्योदार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयो भूपालभूषामणिः॥ योग याश्रयति क्षितिक्षिदु-चिताचारैर्नियोगं वरन् । जेवता जननी
- 13 तटेव जगित क्षावावतीणों वृपः ? ॥ ९०॥ कपालीहरीगोत्रभिद्वज्ञहस्तः कलंकीनिशेशो र ... दश्च ॥ फःणीक्षान्वये कालकूटिन्ययासौ कथ कल्प
- 14 वृक्षे सदोपोर्विदोषः ॥ ११॥ तस्माद्धभू**वामृतदेविकायां भीमो**रिसार्थ कृतनामधेय । मन्ये महीमंडलमंडनाय कामोवतीणों **वरसिंहदे**
- 15 वः ॥ १२ ॥ **कश्मीरदे** सुत प्राप भीमादुद्यसिंहकं । यस्मादजीजन**ङ्खीलादेवी** कल्याणभूपतिं ॥ १३ ॥ अकारयद्भूपतिराजिरात्रे ? कश्मीर
- 16 देवी कुहढेशसद्म ॥ कल्याणराणे जयतीशतुष्टयै श्रीविक्रमाद्रामरसांगचंद्रे ॥ १४ ॥ रण-मळुतनूजमिहिरामणात्मजसुतमुहु
- 17 द्वप्रमुनदिनी ॥ कुलपद्मे .. करिका <sup>२</sup> व्यरचयत् शिववासमनुत्तमं ॥ १५ ॥ य उभयकुल-मुक्त्ये ...
- 18 –दुरमुदार . . स्य . . . . . वानं तदुभयकुलमेतद्वद्वावसिति ॥ १६ ॥
- 19 षट्त्रिशदाजकुरुमध्यात् . . . . धीशमहा**द्माळुवशोद्भव**महाराणश्री**कल्याणजी**विजयराज्ये महारा
- 20 णश्रीभीमधर्मपत्नी.. द्रवशोद्भवजाडेजाश्रीमुह्टपुत्रीबाईश्रीविहिनबाई एकोत्तरश
- 21 तत्कुलो. प्रीतये कुहुं देश्वरप्रसादः कारापितः ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥ श्री ।। त्रिवास्विवंश

#### **JAMNAGAR**

No 112]

vs. 1666

[18-4-1610]

This inscription is found in the Nāgeshvara temple at Jamnagar It records that Nākubai, wife of Kumāra Śri Jasavantsimhji, son of Mahārāja Jām Śri Śatruśalyaji made a grant of four 'pærajas'(?) of land in the village Galapādar to the temple of Nāgeśvara on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1666 The land was purchased from Makvānā Mahiā for 1680 'Mahamudi' coins.

Another inscription dated v s 1670 Vaiśākha Sud 11 Bhauma found in the same place states that 'Bai Nākubai purchased some more lands and bestowed them upon the Nageśvara temple A third inscription dated v s 1670 Magasir Sudi 2 Gurau says that a *deri* was built there by Damodar Gora for 520 koris.

#### Text

- 1 संवत् १६६६ वरषे वई[शा]ष सूद ५ दिने माहाराजा श्रीजाम
- 2 श्रीसत्रसल तस्य कुमार श्रीजसवंत तस्य मीराषोरन (१) कीआ
- 3 तस्य भार्या बाई नाकु श्रीनागेस्वरने प्रसादे भोमी पराज (१)
- 4 ४ मोजे गलपादरमधे आपी सही आचद्राअरक आपी
- 5 से सीवनी भोमी हीदुआणे गायि त्रकाणे सुअरः ॥ बहुभी
- 6 वसुधा दत्ता राजभी सगरादिभि यस्य यस्य यदा भूमी
- 7 तस्य तस्य तदा फल । मकआणा महीआनी धरती लीधी वेचाती
- ८ ममुदी १६८० माटे लीधी गारास विधि धर्मादा
- 9 ... वि आपी शुभं भवतु ० श्रीः ॥

#### **GĀLĀ**

No. 113] v.s 1668 [23-2-1612.

Gālā is a village at a distance of eight miles to the east from Dhrangdhra. In a niche in the left hand wall of the Jain temple there is fixed a stone slab containing the following inscription. The stone is broken into two pieces but the loss caused thereby is very little. The writing portion measures 15½" by 11½".

The record opens with an invocation to Sarvajña, which shows that it is a Jain record. Then the date is given which is the second day of the bright half of Phālguna of v.s 1668 or śaka 15[33] Then the name of the emperor of Delhi, whose name is missing but who must be Jehangir, also called Salim as in the next inscription, is given followed by the name Candrasenji who was evidently the Zālā ruler of Zālāvāḍ Then follows a succession list of Jain Ācāryas, which is thus—Sudharmasvāmi—Ānandavimalasūri—Vijayasenasūri—Hiravijayasūri, (who was honoured with the epithet Jagadguru by the Emperor Akbar), Vijayasenasūri. Under instructions from this last Ācārya Mehetā Dharmadāsa and his brothers, residents of the town Gālā in Zālāvaḍ, and belonging to the Śrimāli community and Vriddha Śākhā, caused the temple of Pārśvanātha to be built, on the abovementioned date.

Though Gāļā is an insignificant village now there is no doubt that it was once a flourishing town even upto the time of the present inscription. For an inscription of v.s. 1193 belonging to the reign of the powerful Caulukya sovereign Siddharāja Jaisimha and two inscriptions of v.s. 1201 and 1249 of Kumārapāla and Bhima II respectively are found in a ruined temple outside the village. (See JBBRAS. XXV p. 322 and Poona Orientalist Vol. I, p. 40 and Vol. II, p. 44).

#### Text

- 1 ...। श्रीसर्व्वज्ञ[य नम]: ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीविकमात् [ सं ]वत् १६६८ वर्षे शाके १५
- 2 ३३ प्रवर्त्तमाने । उ[त्तर]यने (णे ) गते श्रीसूर्ये फाल्युन[मासे] शुक्लपक्षे द्वितीयातिथौ
- उत्तरभद्रपदनक्षत्रे ग्रुक्लनाम्नियोगे ग्रुमलमे । विजितानेकक्षितिपालभूपाल पातदाा

- 4 हि श्री ६ [ सेलिम\* ]शाहि विजयिनि राज्ये । त...नृपति श्री ६ चंद्रशेनजी
- 5 विज ...[ प्र ]सादतः । श्रीमन्महावीरती[र्था]िधराजपट्टे श्रीसुधम्मेस्वामि तत्परं
- 6 -यात्-मत्तपागणगगनांगणनलो मणिश्रीमदानदविमलसूरि तत्पद्टे श्री ६
- 7 विज[यदा]नसूरिपट्टे पातशाहि श्रीअकब्बरप्रदत्त जगद्गुरुबिरदधारक श्री ६
- 8 [ हीरविज]यसूरिपट्टोदयाचलभानुमा-भट्टारक श्री ६ विजयसेनसूरिश्वराणानुपदे
- 9 ... झाळावाडीदेशे गाळात्रामवास्तव्यश्रीशीमालिज्ञातौ युद्धशाखायां मं.
- 10 ... मार्था वीरादे सुत मं चद्ररा भार्या कनकादे सुत मं. अष्ट भार्या नवरंगदे
- 11 ...मं धर्म्मदास भार्या धर्मादे मं. धर्मादास लघु भ्रातृ मं. गिरा भार्या जिमणादे । म.
- 12 ... कर्णजी सुत इद्रजी लघु भात वाल्हा। म० इंद्रजी भार्या संपूरा प्रभ
- 13 ..... वे परिवार्यतेन मं अपईनाम्ना श्रीपार्श्वदेवप्रासादः कारितः
- 14 ..... श्रीबोधाजीसतगोविदजीसत सिंघजी बालोजीः ॥ श्रीकुण-
- 15 पुरवास्तव्य सूत्रधार लाका लघीत श्रीरस्तु ॥

#### DĀDAR

No 1141

vs 1669.

[12-2-1613.

This inscription is found in a Siva temple in the village, Dādar, under Navānagar State  $\,$  It measures 2'-1" by 9"

It opens with the date, Friday, the third day of the bright half of Phālguna in v.s. 1669 and refers to the rule of the emperor *Salim Shah* and of his feudatory (Mahāmandlika) Jām *Satruśalyajī*. On this date Sadāšiva, son of Thākur Khīmā and his wife Karamāde caused a Sīva temple to be built

#### Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः [।\*] संवत् १६
- 2 ६९ वर्षे फालुझमासे शुक्ल
- 3 पक्षे त्रतीया शुक्रवासरे
- 4 पातसाह श्रीशलमसाह
- 5 विज्ये राज्ये माहामंडली
- 6 क गोबाह्मणप्रतिपालक
- 7 जामश्री सत्रसळजी
- 8 राज्ये ॥ नंदवाणाञ्चाती
- 9 य शांडलिश गोत्रे ठाक
- 10 र षीमा भार्य्या बा॰ कर
- 11 मादे तस्य सुत सदाशी
- 12 व सेवक प्रसाद कृताय [1\*]
- 13 ठा०। वाशा भार्य्या बा०
- 14 [कु]डादे। श्रातृठा० व [जा]
- 15 ठा०। विष्णुदास । वाशा
- 16 सुत माहादेव ॥ सदा

<sup>\*</sup> Or perhaps Jehangir.

- 5 नः । निर्माति जलधौ नित्यमुन्मज्जननिमज्जने । ५ युग्मं बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरपद्दानुक्रमभूषणाः। श्रीअंचलगणा
- 6 तीशा आर्थ्यरिक्षतसूरयः । ६ तत्पद्यकजादित्याः सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः । श्रीधम्मैधोषसूरींद्रा महेंद्रात्सिहसरयः
- ७ श्रीसिहप्रमसूरीशाः सूरयोऽजितासिंहशाः। श्रीमहेर्वेद्रसूरीकाः श्रीधम्मेप्रमसूरयः। ८ श्रीसिंहतिलकाह्वाश्च श्रीम
- 8 हेंद्रश्रभाभिधाः । श्रीमतो मेरतुगाख्या बभ्वः सूर्यस्ततः ॥ ९ समप्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरिश्रीजयः कीर्तयः । तत्पदेथ सुसाधुश्री
- 9 जयकेशरिसूरयः श्रीसिद्धातसमुद्राख्यसूरयो भूरिकीर्त्तयः । भावसागरसूरीद्रस्ततोऽभूवन् गणाधिपाः ॥ श्री
- 10 सङ्गुणनिधानाख्यसूर्यस्तत्पदेभवन् । युगप्रधानाः श्रीमंतः सूरिश्रीधर्म्ममूर्तेयः । १२ तत्पद्दो-द्यशैलाग्रश्रोद्यत्तरणिसं-
- 11 निभाः जयति सूरिराजः श्री। युजः कल्याणसागराः। १३ श्रीनव्यनगरे वास्युपकेराज्ञाति-भूषणः। इभ्यः श्रीह
- 12 रपालाह्व असीक्षालणगोत्रकः । १४ हरीयाख्योऽथ तत्पुत्रः सिहनामा तदंगजः । उदेसीत्यथ तत्पुत्र पर्वताङ्गस्त
- 13 तोऽभवत् । १५ वच्छ्नामाऽथ तत्पत्नी चाभृद्वाछलदेविका । तत्कृक्षिमानसे इसतुल्योऽथाऽ मरसंज्ञकः । १६ लिग
- 14 देवीति तत्पत्नी तदौरस्याख्नयो वराः । जयित श्रीवर्द्धमानचांपसीपद्मसिंहकाः । ९७ अतः परं विशेषतः साहिवर्द्धमान
- 15 साहिएक्ससिंह्योर्वर्णनम् । गांभीर्घ्येण समुद्राभौ दानेन धनदोपमौ । अद्धाळ्णुणसंपूणौं बोधिना श्रेणिको
- 16 पमौ । १८ प्राप्तश्रीयामभूपालसमाजबहुलादरौ । मंत्रिश्रीवर्द्धमानश्रीपद्मसिहौ सहोदरौ । १९ महेला वर्द्ध
- 17 मानस्य । वन्नादेवीति विश्रुता । तदगजायुभौ ख्यातौ । वीराख्यविजपालकौ । २० वर्णिनी पद्मसिहस्य । रत्नगर्ब्भो
- 18 सुजाणदे । श्रीपालकुरपालाङ्गरंणमल्लास्तदगजाः । २१ एवं स्वतत्रयुक्ताभ्या । मनल्पोत्सव पूर्व्वकम् । साहिश्रीवर्द्धमानश्री
- 19 पद्मसीभ्यां प्रधाररात् । २२ प्रागुक्तवत्सरे रम्ये । माधवार्ज्जुनपक्षके । रोहिणीभतृतीयायां वुधवासरसंयुजि
- 20 । २३ श्रीशांतिनाथ मुख्यनां । जिनानां चतुरुत्तरा । द्विंशतीः प्रतिमा **हृया । भारिताश्च** प्रतिष्ठिताः । २४ । युग्मम् ।
- 21 पुनर्निजबहुद्रव्य । सफलीकरणकृते । श्रीनव्यनगरेऽकारि प्रासादः शैलसंनिभः । २५ द्वास-मतिजिनौ
- 22 को मि । व्वेंष्टितश्च चतुर्म्मुखैः । कैलाशपर्व्वतोत्तुगैरष्टाभिः शोभितोऽमित । २६ युग्मम् । साहिश्री
- 23 पद्मसिहेनाऽकारि शत्रुजयोपिर । उत्तुंगतोरणः श्रीमान् । प्रासादः श्रिखरोन्नतः । २७ यं हृष्टा भविकाः स

- 24 वें । चितयति स्वचेतिस । उचैर्भूतः किमेषोद्रि । र्दश्यतेऽश्रंलिहो यतः । २८ येन श्रीतीर्थं-राजोय राजते सा
- 25 वतंसकः । प्रतिमाः स्थापितास्तत्र श्रीश्रेयांसमुखाऽईताम् । २९

#### **SATRUNJAYA**

No 1181

v s 1675

[16-4-1619

This inscription is engraved on the round pādukās in a small temple in the north-west of the Kharataravasi Tunk. It was once edited by Dr Bühler in the *Epi. Ind* Vol. II, p 60 (No XV)

#### Text

सं १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ तिथौ शुक्रवारे स्र सुरत्राणन्रदीनज्ञहांगीर सवाईविजयिराज्ये। श्री अहम्मदाबादवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयलघुशाखाप्रदीपक स माईआ भार्या नाक् पुत्र संजोगो भार्या जसमादे

पुत्ररत्न सकलमुश्रवककर्त्तव्यताकरणविहितयत्न सं सोमजी भार्या राजलटे पुत्र संघपति रूपजीकेन भार्या

जेठी पुत्र चि उदयवत बाई कोडिकुआरिप्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन स्वयकारितसप्राकारेश्री

विमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्भुखविद्दाररांगारकश्रीयुगादिदेवप्रतिष्ठायां श्रीआदिनाथपादुके परमप्रमोदाय

कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते च श्रीवृहत्खरतरगछ।धिराज श्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिशिरस्तिलकैः ॥ प्रणमित भुवन-कीर्तिगणिः ॥

#### **MATHAK**

No. 1191

vs 1677.

[4-1-1621.

This inscription is engraved on one of the two  $p\bar{a}h\bar{a}s$  standing in a densituated in the north-west boundary of the village Māthak in the Caradvā mahāl of the Dhrāngdhrā State The inscribed portion measures 16" by  $14\frac{1}{2}$ ".

It records the death of Kumāra Śn *Bhojarājaji*, son of Mahārānā Śri *Candrasenji* and his queen *Bhagatābai* coming from the *Paramāra* family, on Thursday the seventh *tithi* of the dark half of Pauşa in v.s. 1677 or Śaka 1542 Thereupon *Bhōjarāja's* wife named Vhālibai, daughter of Cāvḍā Ratanji and his wife Kanakabai, became a *Sati*.

Kathıawad Gazetteer (p. 426) gives names of only six sons of Mahārānā Candrasenji, but this inscription states that he had a seventh son by his wife born in the Paramāra family. *Bhojarāja* died in the lifetime of his father.

<sup>\*</sup> There are six more inscriptions engraved on different places on the hill which are of the same date, refer to the rule of Akbar and record the same kind of Jain endowments.

#### Text

- 1 स्वस्त श्रीमंनृपविक्रमाऽर्कसम
- 2 यातीत संवत १६७७ वर्षे श्रीशालि
- 3 बाहननृपतिशाके १५४२ प्रवत
- 4 माने उत्तरांनगते [श्रीसू] यें शीशी
- 5 रऋतु महामागल्यव्रतप्रद
- 6 मासोउत्तमपोषमासे कृष्णपक्षे
- 7 ७ सप्तम्या पुण्यतिथौ गुरुदि
- 8 न ॥ माहारांण श्री**चंद्रसेनजी**वि
- 9 जयराज्ये तस्य भार्या **परमा**
- 10 र बाई श्रीभगतांबाई तस्य
- 11 सत कुअर श्रीभोजराज देव
- 12 लोक प्राप्ता चाओडा श्रीरतन
- 13 जीमहे भार्या बाई श्रीकनकबाई
- 14 तस्य सुता चाओडी बाईश्रीवाहालबा
- 15 ई साहागमन कीध्र देवलोकप्राप्तिरस्त

#### VÄNKÄNER

No. 120] vs 1679 [31-3-1623

This inscription is engraved on one of the two *pāliās* standing side by side near the temple of Mahālakṣmī in Vānkāner. The right hand palia, which contains this inscription, has a male figure evidently of Rānā Sartānji, whose death is recorded therein, and the left hand palia has the female figure, evidently of the queen.

It records the death of Mahākumāra *Srī Sultann* (Sartanji), son of Mahākumāra *Śrī Prithvīrājī*, son Mahārānā *Śrī Candrasenī*i, son of Mahārānā *Śrī Raisīmhī*i, son of Mahārānā *Śrī Mānī*i, on Monday, the 10th day of the bright half of Caitra in vs 1679 or Śaka 1545 Thereupon Mahākumāra Saratānji's wife named Prānavatībai, daughter of the Rāthod king Kalyānamalla, son of Nārāyandāsa, of Idargadh, became a *Satī*.

This inscription is important as it records the death of Sultānji, founder of the ruling family of Vānkāner, Mānji, Raisimhji and Candrasenji were the rulers in the main line of the Zālās ruling at Halvad Candrasenji's son Prithvirājji by his queen from Bhādli, was the rightful heir to the throne being the eldest. But his step brothers Āskaranji and Amarasimhji desirous of supplanting him called in the aid of the Ahmedabad Subadar and imprisoned Prthvīrāj. He was taken to Ahmedabad, where he died. His son Sultānji with the aid of the Jam conquered the paragana of Vānkāner from the Mahias and Bābrias and founded the line. In 1623 AD when he was starting for Idar to fetch his wife he was attacked by the Halvad force, and was slain fighting valiantly.

Kalyāṇamalla, the father-ın-law of Sultānji was the fourth son of Nārāyandās, who succeeded Arjundās on the *Gadi* of Idar.

#### Text

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीमंनृपविक्रमार्कसमयाती[त]
- 2 संवत १६७९ वर्षे श्रीशालीवाहननृपाल
- 3 शाके १५४५ प्रवर्तमाने उतरायन
- 4 गि ते श्रीसर्थे वसंतऋतौ माहामांग
- 5 [ल्य]प्रद मासोत्तम चैत्र सुदि १० सोमे
- 6 महाराणश्रीमानजीसुत महाराणश्री
- 7 रायशंघजीयुत महाराणश्री चंद्रसेन
- 8 जीस्रत महाकुअरश्री**प्रथीराजजी**स
- 9 तमहाकुअरश्री**शारतानजी...**
- 10 ...दिवागत पाम्या ॥ गृहे भार्या राठ
- 11 डय बाई श्रीप्राणावंती बाईये सह
- 12 गमन कीधू। गढ ईडर रायश्री
- 13 नारायणदासजी सुत रायश्री
- 14 कल्याणमञ्ज्जीनी पुत्री प्रण
- 15 वती बाई माहाकूवर सरतानजी साथि
- 16 स्वरग पधर। गजधर रीडा सूत राम
- 17 जीओ देहरी करी तथा गजधर रूपा सत षीमा

#### KÄLÄVAD

No 121] v s. 1682. [20-9-1625.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the Siva temple near the Sitalā Mātā's temple in Kālāvad, which is a walled town in the Navānagar State at a distance of 28 miles to the south-east of Jamnagar The inscribed portion measures  $17\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $10\frac{1}{2}$ ".

It opens with the date, viz. Tuesday, the 14th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada in vs. 1682 or śaka 1547 and refers to the victorious rule of Mahājām Lākhāp born of the Yadu family and of Jām Vibhāji, the brother, and heir apparent of the former, when a Brāhmana Upādyāya named Vāsāni belonging to the Nandvānā community caused to be made, in company with several members of his family, a temple of śiva and Viṣṇu and one of Hanumān the god of celebates. The inscription then gives a verse wishing long life to the temples, followed by the date expressed again in words.

As we know that Ranmaljı succeeded Jām Lākhāji (see p. 570 of Kathıawad Gazetteer) to the gadi the mention in our inscription of Lākhāji's brother Jām Vibhāji as his heir apparent is to be considered merely as a

formal way of speaking that the king was looking after the State business in consultation with his brother.

## Text

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीजियो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च ॥ श्रीमञ्चपविक्रमार्कसमयातीत संवत् १६८२ वर्षे शाके १५४७ प्र
- 2 वर्तमाने दक्षिणायने शरहतौ भाद्रपदकृष्णपक्षे चतुर्दश्यां तिथौ घटी २६ भौमवासरे उत्त
- 3 राफाल्गुनी घटी ३८ ब्रह्मन्नाम्नि योगे घटी ५७ शकुनिकरणे घटी २६ एवं पचांगद्युद्धौ श्रीमद्यदु
- 4 वशोक्रवमहाजामश्रीलाषाजीविजयराज्ये तस्य श्राता कुमारपदे श्रीविभाजीवीजय राज्ये नदवा
- 5 णाज्ञातीय गौतमऋषिकुलोद्भव उपाध्यायश्रीदासा तत्स्रुत उपाध्याय श्रील्रणा तस्य भार्या बाई पद्मा तत्स्रुत खो
- 6 खा तथा भूदर तथा बाई मेही तथा पीतांबर खोखात्मजवासुदेव भूदरात्मजकृष्णदा
- 7 स तथा लक्ष्मीदास एवंविध पुत्रपौत्रवान उपाध्याय वासणि श्रीविष्णुदीवानी अङ्गाध
- 8 की श्रीब्रह्मचारीश्वरनुं तथा श्री हनुमाननु प्रासाद सपूर्ण कीधु संपूर्ण करि नि श्रीविष्णु
- 9 ज्ञिवना चरण पामा ॥ श्रीगणेशगोत्रदेव्योः प्रसादात् पुण्यादं दीर्घमायुरस्त् गृहे वृद्धिशता
- 10 नि भवंतु । उत्तरे कर्मण्यनिर्विद्यमस्तु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ सूत्रधार सदाफलकर्ता ?
- 11 प्रासादनु नाम राज्यदः (१)॥ सकलवारिधिभिः सहिता घरा क्षितिधरैरखिलैश्च विरामते
- 12 गगनमंडलमत्र रवींदुमज्जयति तावदय हि विराजते ॥ १ ॥ संवत् नेत्रगजेरसेंदुस
- 13 हिते मासे नभस्ये सिते चांत्ये रिक्ततिथौ, कुजेन सहितेत्रतूत्तरे ह्यादिमे ॥
- 14 योगे ब्रह्मसमाह्यं च करणे ह्यांचे स्थिरे राज्यद प्रासादं च शिवस्य पूर्णले
- 15 करोच्छीवासणाख्यो द्विजः ॥ २ ॥ ब्रह्मचारीश्वरस्यास्य प्रासादस्य च
- 16 रिक्षता ॥ यो हि स्वर्ग प्रयात्वत्र यो नरक यात्वरिक्षता ॥ ३ ॥

#### KUĀ

No 122]

v. s 1682

[26-11-1625]

This inscription is taken from one of the *pāliās* standing in a line in the compound of the Siva mandir, which is behind the masjid in the town Kuā, also called Kankāvţi in the Dhrāngdhrā State.

It records the death in a fight while protecting cows, of Zālā Gopālji, son of Surāji, son of Lākhāji on Saturday, the seventh day of the bright half of Māgasar in v.s. 1682. The deceased was only a Girasia of the ruling family of the Zālās of Dhrāngdhrā

Text

संवत १६८२ वरषे मागसर सद ७ सनै झाला श्रीलाषाजी सू त सूराजी सूत गोपालजी गा यिनी वाहारे स्वरंगी थिआ

## **SATRUNJAYA**

No. 123]

## v.s. 1683.

[30-1-1626

This inscription is fixed in a niche in a temple in the Vimalavash Tuahik on the left hand between the Vāghānapoļa and Hāthi-pola It was first edited by Dr. BÜHLER in the *Epi. Ind*, Vol. II, p 68 (No XXVIII).

#### Text

- 1 संवत् १६८३ वर्षे । पातिसाह**जिहांगिरश्रीसलेमसाह**मूमडलाखंडलविजयरा[ज्ये] ॥
- 2 श्रीचकेस्वरी नमः । ओं । महोपाच्याय श्री ५ श्रीहेममूर्तिगणिसहुरुभ्यो नमः ॥श्री
- 3 ओं नमः । स्वस्ति श्रीः विवशकरोपि गणमान् सर्वज्ञशत्रुजयः । शर्व्वः शंभुरधीश्वरश्च भग[वा]
- 4 न् गौरो वृषांको मृडः । गंगोमापतिरस्तकामिवकृतिः सिद्धैः कृताऽतिस्तुतो । रुद्दो यो न परं श्रियै स
- 5 जिनपः श्रीनाभिभूरस्तु मे ॥ १ उग्रच्छ्रीरजङः कलंकरहित<sup>,</sup> संतापदोषाऽपहः। सौम्यः प्राप्तस-
- 6 याऽमितकलः सुश्रीर्म्यांकोऽव्ययः गौरानोमृतसूरपास्तकछुषो जैवातृकः प्राणिनां। चन्द्रः [कर्म]
- 7 जयत्यहो जिनपति. श्रीबैश्वसेनिर्महान् । २ त्यक्त्वा राजीमतीं यः स्वनिहितहृद्यानेक-पत्नी:...
- 8 पां । सिद्धिस्त्रीं भूरिरक्तामपि बहु चकमेऽनेकपत्नीमपीशः । लोके ख्यातस्तथापि स्फुरदित-शय[वान् ]
- 9 ब्रह्मचारीति नाम्ना । स श्रीनेमिजिनेंद्रो दिशतु शिवसुख सात्वतां योगिनाथः । ३ चंच-च्छारं चंद्रचारु\*
- 10 दनश्रेयोविनिर्ग्यद्वचः । पीयूषौधनिषेकतो विषधरेणापि प्रपेदे=हृत । देवत्वं सुकृतैकलभ्य[ म]
- 11 तुलं यस्यानुकपानिधेः। स श्रीपार्श्वजिनेशितास्तु सततं विद्राच्छिदे सात्वतां। ४ यस्य श्रीवरशासनं
- 12 सितितले मार्तेडबिंबायते । यद्दाक्यं भवसिंधुतारणविधौ पोतायते देहिनां । यद्ध्यानं [ भु ]
- 13 विपापपंकदलने गंगाबुधारायते । श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेंद्रनदनिजनः सोस्तु श्रिये सर्व्वदा ॥ ५... संवत् १६८३ वर्षे मार्ग सुदि त्रयोदशी तिथौ सोमवासरे श्री वहप्रभस्वामीजिनमदिरजीर्णोद्धारः कारितः ।

#### HALVAD

No 124]

v s 1683

[11-5-1626

This inscription is copied from a pillar of a deri to the east of the Bhavāni Mātā's temple in Halvad.

The inscription records that Mahārānā Candrasenji, son of Mahārānā Raisimhji, and grandson of Mahārānā Mānji died on Thursday, the tenth of

<sup>\*</sup> The Jain Pattavali is given in the intervening lines.

the dark half of Vaišākha in v.s. 1683 and a *deri* in his honour was built by Mahārāṇā Amarasimhji.

The rulers mentioned in the record belong to the Zālā family of Halvad

#### Text

- 1 संवत १६८३ वरषे
- 2 बहुशाध बद १० ग
- 3 रवासर महारां
- 4 ण श्रीमांनजीसूत
- 5 माहाराण=श्री रासं
- 6 घजी सूत माहाराण
- 7 श्रीचंद्रसनजी हरी
- 8 सर्ण पांमा तेनी देशी
- 9 माहाराणा श्रीअमर
- 10 संघतीअ करावी
- 11 गतधर रामजीअ
- 12 देरी करावी

(To be Continued)

## POST-VYASARAYA COMMENTATORS (NON-POLEMICAL)

#### By

## B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA, Annamalamagar.

## 1.—RAGHŪTTAMA TĪRTHA (1557-96)

We turn now to the host of influential commentators, who have, in their own way, contributed to the growth and spread of the Dvaita Vedānta and its literature. Their number is much greater as already observed, than that of the polemical writers noticed in the preceding section. While the latter worked so hard to make Dvaita Vedānta known as a powerful limb of Indian Philosophy, the commentators now to be mentioned played an equally valuable part in making the works of Madhva and his early followers, better known and understood within the fold of the Ācārya and kindling popular interest therein by writing lucid commentaries and glosses on the works of their predecessors, and rendering them less tiresome and more easily assimilable. One such early writer was Raghūttama Tīrtha.

Raghūttama is one of the honoured Saints of the Madhva calendar. Nothing is known about his parentage or early life, save that he was recruited to the Sannyāsa-āśrama directly from his Brahmacaryāśrama. He succeeded to the Pontificate of the Uttarādi Mutt in 1557-8, which he occupied for thirtynine years till his death in the cyclic year of Manmatha. He was thus a close contemporary of Vijayīndra and Vādirāja. He was obviously a Kannada-speaking Deśastha¹-Brahman of Bombay-Karnatak and possibly a native of the Bijāpur district.

Raghūttama is said to have studied for some years after his ordination under a learned Pundit of the name of Varadaiājācārya<sup>2</sup> at Maņūr<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1.</sup> I use the term "Deśastha" in its true, original and only correct sense of an inhabitant of the Desh as opposed to the Konkan—in which sense it is invariably used and understood in the Bombay Presidency—whence it came to the South. It has absolutely no linguistic connotation but only a geographical one. There is thus no justification for the loose and altogether vicious use of the term in the Madras Province now, to denote only a Mahrātti speaking person. This was due originally to sheer ignorance of facts which has lately developed into a desire to monopolise the term, on the part especially of most of those Mādhva Brahmins who now speak a debased Mahrātti in the South but whose original mother-tongue at the time of their migration from the North (in the 17-18th centuries) was demonstrably Kannada. From Raghūttama down to present Pontiff Satyadhyāna Tirtha, the Svāmis of the Uttarādi Mutt have without exception been recruited from the Kannadaspeaking "Deśasth" Brahmin families of Bombay-Karnatak.

<sup>2.</sup> This Pundit was the first of the Ādya family of scholars, whose descendants now enjoy "first honours" at the Uttarādi Mutt. For the works attributed to Vaiadāchārya see Appendix III

<sup>3.</sup> A village on the southern bank of the Bhimā river, on the Nizam's border of the Indi taluq of the Bijāpur district, which I was able to visit on 11-1-38.

Pundit's treatment of his disciple seems to have terminated the studies rather abruptly.

Tradition ascribes to Raghūttama certain innovations in the Mutt routine and additions to Pontifical paraphernalia. He seems to have spent the latter part of his life at his Mutt on the S. Pennār at Tirukoilūr (South Arcot Dt.) where he passed away and where his mortal remains lie entombed. To this day special reverence is paid to his memory and hundreds visit his tomb at Tirukoilūr. He was a scholar of great weight and taught many disciples among whom were (1) Rāmācārya, the author of the *Tarangin*ā and (2) Vedeša Bhikṣu a prolific commentator.

#### Works.

Raghūttama's works are seven in number. They are all of them extant though only two have so far been printed. They are all in the nature of commentaries on the earlier works of the system "Bhāva-bodha" is the general title of a majority of his works and Raghūttama himself is usually called "Bhāvabodhācārya" or "Bhāvabodhakāra"

## (1) Visņutattvanirnaya-Tīkā-Bhāvabodha (m)

This (Mysore O. L. C. 1906) is Raghūttama's gloss on the VTN-commentary of Jayatīrtha, in about 1200 granthas. The author quotes from the *Pramāna Paddhati* of Jayatīrtha and culls pratīkas regularly from the original commentary of Jayatīrtha.

#### (2) Tattvaprakāśikā-Bhāvabodha (m)

This is a super-commentary on the TP of Jayatīrtha, which is preserved both at Mysore (O L C 323) and at Madras (O L R No 878). It is a voluminous commentary running to nearly 8100 granthas. The gloss is quoted and criticised by Jagannātha Tīrtha in his  $Bh\bar{a}syadīpik\bar{a}.^4$ . The author quotes also the passages of the  $Ny\bar{a}yavvvarana$  commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his TP without introducing the actual words thereof, and from the  $Candrik\bar{a}^{4a}$ 

#### (3) Nyāyavıvarana-Tīkā (p)

This direct commentary on the *Nyāyavivarana* of Madhva, in the continuation of Jayatīrtha's commentary on the same from B.S. 1, 3, 1 onwards has been printed and published from Udipi

#### (4) $Ny\bar{a}ya$ - $\tau atna$ -sambandha- $D\bar{i}pik\bar{a}$ (m)

A Ms of this is preserved in the Mysore O L (C 1557) It iuns to some 1200 granthas and is in the nature of a commentary on the AV showing at the same time, the inter-connection between the words of Madhva and the

<sup>4.</sup> See  $Bh\bar{a}syad\bar{\imath}p\imath k\bar{a}$  (Madras) p 237 and  $Bh\bar{a}vabodha$  1, 1, 3, and p. 438 and  $Bh\bar{a}vabodha$  11, 1, 18.

<sup>4</sup>a. See 1, 2 p 48b (MS).

sūtras of Bādarāyana It also indicates the Pūrvapaksa and Siddhāntanyāyas involved at each step The scope of the work is thus indicated ·

## अनुन्याख्योक्तयुक्तीना भाष्याधिकरणेष्वलम् । जयमुन्युकृतमाश्रित्य वक्ष्ये श्रुतिसमुद्गकम् ॥

### (5) Vivaranoddhāra (m)

This is a gloss on those passages of the  $Ny\bar{a}yavivarana$  which have been commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his TP without introducing the actual words thereof, into the body of his text <sup>5</sup> A Ms. is preserved at the Tanjore Palace Library (XIV 7841).

## (6) Brhadāranyakopanışad-Bhāşya-Tīkā (p)

Raghūttama's magnum opus is his commentary on the Brhadāranyaka Bhāsya of Madhva, in 9000 granthas, published as early as the year 1907. He gives both the "bhāṣyārtha," and the Khandārtha of the Upanisad ie, to say, he has commented upon the bhāsya of Madhva as well as upon the passages of Upanisad itself, independently and in a connected way. The most striking feature of the commentary is the large number of quotations from the Brhadāranyaka Bhāsya of Sankara which Raghūttama gives in order to contrast the interpretations of his school with those of the Advaita which are sometimes criticised by him (P 41)—

Bhāvabodha					Śamkara's Bhāṣya on Bṛh. Up.					
						(Ān	andāś	rama	a edn)	
$\mathbf{P}$	7	-						$\mathbf{P}$	20	
	10								33	
	12 b	•				•			35	
	12	•							35	
	14								37	
	35 b								127	
	35 b								129	
	36 b								145	
	39								148	
	207								479	
	274 b								630	

He has incorporated into his work many passages from the commentaries of Jayatīrtha on the *Kathālaksana* (see Raghūttama, pp. 199-200), AV (see R 308 and *Sudhā* 115 b) and the *Īśa Up* (see R p 348) He makes an interesting reference to the views of his teacher Raghuvarya Tīrtha on the interpretation of the term "गोष्ट" (Brh iii, i, p 166, line 17) गोष्टे यज्ञवाटसगीप इति स्वामिन:

<sup>5.</sup> See the colophon इति श्रीमज्जयतीर्थचरण प्रदर्शित-तत्त्वप्रकाशिकागत-न्यायविवरणोद्धार | Vide also the remarks of Rāghavendra in his TP-Bhāvadīpa 25, lines 22-23, ii 4, 13, p 233 (Bombay) The editor of the T. P. L. Catalogue has not properly understood the scope of this work of Raghūttama.

## (7) Gītābhāşya-Prameyadīpikā Bhāvabodha (m)

This is the author's gloss on *Jayatīrtha's* commentary on the *Gītā-Bhāsya* of Madhva. A Ms. is preserved of this work in the Mysore O. L. (116 Nāgarī) and extracts from the gloss have been given in Pandit T. R. Kṛṣṇācārya's edn of the *Gītābhāṣya-Bhāvaratnakośa* of Sumatīndra Tīrtha

## 2 — Vedeša Bhikşu (C. 1570-1620)

Vedeśa Bhikṣu describes himself in his works, as a disciple of both Raghūttama and his successor Veda-vyāsatīrtha. The latter has been confounded with the famous author of the Nym by Keith<sup>6</sup> and Aufrecht<sup>7</sup> But a careful scrutiny of the introductory verses and colophons to the works of Vedeśa would make it clear that he had nothing to do with Vyāsatīrtha of Nym. fame:

- 1. रघूत्तमगुरुत्रोक्तो भावो जयमुनेरिह । वेदेशभिक्षणा बालबोधायाप्तत्येरितः। (Kathālakṣana gloss)
- 2. सक्तान्तःकरणान् रघूत्तमयतीनानम्य ; विद्यागुरून् वेद्व्यासयतीश्च.....। (Gloss on Pramāṇapaddhati)
- 3. इति श्रीमच्छान्दोग्यभाष्यस्य टीकायां वेद्व्यासतीर्थपूज्यपादशिष्यवेदेशभिक्षुविरचितायां × × × (Colophon to the c on Chān. Up. bhāṣya)
- 4. गुरुरघूत्तमयोगिसुबिक्षितो जयमुनेरभिसन्धिरयं मम । प्रकटितोऽलवबोधहृदम्बुजिस्थतरमापतितृप्तिमभीप्सता ॥

(Gloss on Tattvodyota-tīkā)

Nothing is however known about the personal history of Vedeśa. The epithet Bhikṣu taken up by him shows that he was a Sannyāsin. Like his teacher Raghūttama and Vedavyāsa, he too was doubtless a Kannaḍa-speaking Deśastha Brahmin. He lies entombed at Manūr, where Raghūttama himself and his predecessors are known to have prosecuted their studies earlier. He has nine works to his credit which are all of them illuminating commentaries, some on the Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas of Madhva and the rest on a few of Jaya-tūrtha's works. All save three of his works have been printed.

## (1) Tattvodyota-Pañcikā-Gloss (Tippana) (p)8

This is a gloss on Jayatīrtha's c. on the Td. of Madhva, running to 1650 granthas. It throws fresh light on many pages of the original. Vedeśa quotes several times from earlier commentaries in the field and sometimes criticises them <sup>10</sup> He has quoted also from the  $Samksepa-Sarīraka^{11}$  (1,167)

<sup>6</sup> MILL Mss 90 (Bodhen Cat. p. 62, Col 2)

<sup>7</sup> Catalogue Cat, p 619

<sup>8</sup> Bombay 1898 and Belgaum

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 11, lines 10, 22, 17, 10-12, 23, 13-14, 24, 4, 25, 14, 40, 5-10, 43-4.

<sup>10.</sup> P. 8, lines 7-11, p. 13, 7-15, 16, 24-26

<sup>11.</sup> P. 39, 4.

and the  $Saptapad\bar{a}rth\bar{\imath}$  of Sivāditya and also possibly a commentary thereon 12 Similar glosses on (2) Jayatīrtha's commentaries on the PL and the (3) VTN have been attributed to Vedesa but so far, no Mss of these have been brought to light (4) The gloss on the KL has been published (1900)

## (5-8) Glosses on the Upanişad-bhāsyas

Vedeśa has commented on four of the Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas of Madhva, the Astareva, Chāndogya, Katha and Taṭavakāra (p)

The first is available only in Mss.<sup>13</sup> That on the *Chāndogya* entitled "*Padārthakaumudī* (p) is the biggest running to 6000 granthas. The gloss on the *Katha* (Bombay 1905) quotes from and criticises the bhāṣya of Samkara on this Up <sup>14</sup> These references are valuable not only for comparative study of the two rival bhāṣyas but also for establishing the genuineness of the c ascribed to Samkara The author gives both the Bhāṣyārtha and the Khandārtha of the Upaniṣad

## (9) Pramānapaddhati-Vyākhyā (p) D.

In the course of this gloss on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* of Jayatīrtha, in 1400 granthas, Vedeśa is found to quote nearly seven times<sup>15</sup> from Vijayīndra Tīrtha's commentary on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* and criticise it thrice <sup>16</sup> He refers also to another commentary on the original (pp. 40 and 131) which is yet to be identified

Vedeśa's works are all of them well-written and afford valuable help in understanding the originals. He has every right then to be regarded as one of the leading commentators of the Dvaita school

#### 3 — VIŚVEŚVARA TĪRTHA (C 1600)

There is reason to identify Viśveśvara Tīrtha, the author of a commentary on the Astareya-Bhāsya of Madhva, with the fourteenth Svāmi of the Pejāvar

<sup>12</sup> तच 'प्राक्संबद्धस्वाभावविरहरूपत्वम्' इति । प्राक् संबद्धस्वाभावः प्रागभावः तद्विरहश्च प्रथ्वंसः तत्स्वरूपत्व वर्तमानत्वमिति तत्फिक्किवार्थः । (39, 7)

<sup>13</sup> Hanumantacar, Pejavar Mutt, 219, Tulu, palmleaf.

<sup>14</sup> P 3, 6-19, 1, 1, 20, P 8, 8, 9, 1, 2, P 17, 28; 36, 11, 18; 41, 11.

<sup>15 (</sup>a) केचित्तु—'आकाङ्क्षादेदोंषाभावात्वेनोपयोगाभावाल्रक्षणान्तरमाह, इत्याहुः (nin, 1), (b) केचित्तु—'नतु पक्षाभासस्यानुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्व वदता तस्य हेत्वाभासत्वमवर्याभ्युपेयम् । अनुमिते. हेत्वाभासमान्नप्रतिबद्धत्वनियमादित्यत आह—साधनमिति । तथा च तयोरेव नियमभङ्ग इति भाव· 'इत्याहुः ॥ (n, 78) (c) केचित्तु—हेतुसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिनिरोद्धचभावप्रतियोगिसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं इत्यर्थः अतो न नियमस्य व्याप्तित्वेन आत्माश्रयाशङ्का 'इत्याहुः । अत्र व्यधिकरणे नदीपूरादौ अव्याप्तिः कथ परिहरणीयेति चिन्त्यम् ॥ (ni, 1) (d) 'रिष्मद्वारे 'त्यस्य तत्तिदिन्दि-येकदेशद्वारित्यर्थं इति केचित् (P. 102 cf. Vn. p. 148)

<sup>16 (</sup>a) एतेन तदिप निरस्त यत्केनचिदुक्तम्—'तथा तथा प्रतिपन्नत्वमज्ञात्वापि विप्रतिपत्ति-वाक्यस्थपदैः कोट्यपस्थितौ सत्या, मानसशयासंभवात् कथमेतत् । निहं साधारणो धर्म एवात्र नास्तीति वूमः, येन तदुपन्यासः सार्थकः; किं तु, तदा तस्यापरामर्श एवेति ॥ P . 66 Cf. Vij. p. 65 (b) II, 1 and (c) Vedeśa P. 122, 14-17.

Mutt of Udipi He was presumably a contemporary and disciple of Vādirāja Svāmin of the Sode Mutt <sup>17</sup> That he was considerably later than Jayatīrtha is proved not only by the existence of an epitome of the latter's Nyāyasudhā by Viśveśvara (Pejāvar Mutt Mss 330, Nagari Palm-leaf) but by the striking resemblance which the fourth introductory verse in his Astareya-gloss (Mysore O. L. C. 1048) bears to the second one of Jayatīrtha's NS<sup>18</sup>.—

Cf. ਜਾਸ

नाम्नायार्थिवचारणे कुशिलनो नो शब्दवारांनियौ लाता न्यायविचारदूरमतयः शीक्षानिरुक्तातिगाः । अप्येव सुरवर्थदेशिकमहाचार्यप्रसादान्महा- भाष्यार्थम् गाय भाष्याविवृतौ यत्न वयं कुर्महे ॥ (Viśveśvara) न शब्दाब्धा गाढा न च निगमचर्चास चतुरा न च न्याये प्रौढा न च विदितवेद्याऽपि वयम् । एरं श्रीमत.....(Jayatīrtha)

Viśveśvara does not refer to any earlier commentary on the *Aitareya-bhāsya* His is a clear and forcible style and his explanations are always brief and to the point. His commentary is therefore eminently readable, though for some inscrutable reason it has fallen into complete oblivion. More than three Mss of it are available in the T.P.L.

## 4 — YADUPATI ĀCĀRYA (C 1580-1630).

Yadupati alias Yādava Ācārya, was a distinguished pupil of Vedeśa Bhikṣu <sup>19</sup> He wrote several commentaries on the earlier works of his school the chief of which is the one on the NS called Yādupatya after the author The commentary is very popular in Pandit circles

Yadupati was a Kannada speaking Deśastha<sup>20</sup> Brahman of Yekkundi in the Saundatti taluq of the Belgaum district His descendants are said to be

यद्वादिराजयतिवर्यसुसंप्रसन्न × × हयास्यसुश्चिष्यसङ्घे । तस्याङ्ग्रिपङ्कपरागविचित्रित श्रीविश्वेशतीर्थयतिराङ् भवतु प्रसन्नः ॥

वेदेशतीर्थंगुरुमानमकजसंस्थ 🗡 (gloss on TS)
In his c on the Sudhā, Yadupati mentions the gloss of his teacher Vedesa on the Pramānapaddhati. शिष्ट अस्मदाराध्य श्रीवेदेशगुरुकृतायां पद्धतिव्याख्यायां द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

(111, 2, p 292b)

It will be remembered that Vedeśa was merely a "Bıdı-sannyāsı" ('stray' disciple) and was not the Pontiff of any Mutt

20 Vide f n 1 ante for the proper significance of this term that is being so systematically misused in the South.

<sup>17</sup> This is supported by one of the scribe's verses in the Ms of Vādirāja's  $Gurvarthadīpik\bar{a}$  (Mys C-1057) .—

<sup>18.</sup> Needless to point out that Keith (introd to Ait Āranyaka, Oxford p. 12) is wrong in making Viśveśvara a contemporary and immediate disciple of Madhva himself! Viśveśvara also imitates Jayatīrtha's phrase अन्येरन्यथा व्याख्यातानि...। (TP introd) in his Ait gloss

<sup>19.</sup> Cf इति श्रीमद्वेदेशतीर्थं पूज्यपादशिष्येण यदुपतिना विरचितायां सुधाटिषण्याम्.....॥ (colophon)

living The SK gives his father's name at Yādappayya (p. 182). It further states that Yadupati's elder brother Rāmappa received sannyāsa from Vedavyāsa Tīrtha and that he subsequently became his brother's teacher in Vedānta. This teacher was presumably the same as Vedeśa Bhikṣu the distinguished commentator and acknowledged Guru of Yadupati. The latter was thus a contemporary of Vidyādhīśa Tīrtha of the Uttarādi Mutt

Not only was Yadupatı a distinguished scholar himself, but a trainer of equally able disciples. Among his pupils may be mentioned (1) Bidarahallı Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha, (2) Śarkarā Śrīnivāsa and (3) Umarji Tirumalācāiya, who have made lasting contributions to the philosophical literature of the Dvaita

#### Works

Nine works of Yadupati are available of which only two have been printed. His (1) gloss on the *Tattvasamkhyāna* in 300 granthas, is preserved at the T P L, whilst his (2) gloss on the *Tattvodyota* is available at the Mysore O. L. (C7)

## (3) Nyāyasudhā-Tippanī. (p) D

As already observed, the c on the NS. is the most important work of Yadupati. It is an adequate c on the original bearing the stamp of scholar-ship and originality on every page. The author shows himself deeply versed in the grammatical learning of his days which he brings to the support of the interpretations of his school. His com is distinctly anterior to that of Rāghavendra Swāmin and perhaps also that of Vidyādhīśa. He tries to over-throw the objection raised by some critics (presumably Appayya Dīkṣita) alleging misrepresentation of the Mīmāmsaka view in the AV 1, 1, 1 by pointing out that the author of the AV, has in view the followers of the Prābhākara school of Mīmāmsā, who do hold the view attributed to them by Madhya:

अत्र कश्चिदाह—'भावनाभेदेनैव वाक्यभेदस्य दृष्टत्वात्, प्रकृते च वाक्यभावनाया एकत्वात् नावान्तरवाक्यभेदोऽङ्गीकृत ' इति । ततुच्छम् । न हीदं भाद्यान् प्रत्यापाद्यते ; किन्तु, प्राभाकरान् । तैरन्वये भिन्ने वाक्य भिग्नत एव इत्यङ्गीकृतत्वात् । यथाहुः—" अन्वितपदात्मकं हि वाक्यं तत्र क्यं नान्वये भिन्ने भिग्ने मिग्नेति " । अतो न कश्चित् क्षुद्रोपद्रव इति ॥ (1, 1, 1, 1, p 71) 21

Yadupati quotes also from a number of earlier commentators on the NS (1, 1, 1, p 79; 1,1, 1, p 7, 1, 4, p 152; and i, 1, p 37 and 43) as well as from a c. on Sainksepaśārīraka (40)

As an instance of Yadupati's alertness may be mentioned his interesting remarks on the Uṇādi Sūtra अदिभूम्यां डुतच् (V, I) quoted by Jayatīrtha in his NS, (i, 4, p 228, Bombay) in support of Madhva's interpretation of the term "मायामात्रम्" which is sought to be

<sup>21</sup> This objection has been met by a number of other commentators also like Vidyādhīśa and Vijavīndra.

derived from two roots माइ and बेह् The point is that अदि भुवो हुत्त is the reading generally accepted and found in the printed texts of the *Unādi Sūtras* Yadupati is aware of this for he quotes from one of the commentaries on the Unādi Sūtras (presumably Svetavana's · vide Madras Uni Skt. Series, VII, pt i, p 210 text B.); but points out at the same time that the reading given by Jayatīrtha is the more ancient and genuine one, being found in some Mss and certain commentaries also. It is however unknown to both Nārāyana and Svetavana and probably the same was the case with Ujivaladatta. It is however very unlikely that the reading quoted by Jayatīrtha is a myth for he is a scrupulously honest and very careful writer. Yadupati's remarks are faithfully echoed by Keśavācārya

Yadupati wrote two works on the Bhāgavata-Prasthāna (4) a c on the Bhāgavata-Tātparya of Madhva of which Mss. are preserved at Udipi and in the Mysore O. L. (B. 194 B 200).<sup>22</sup> His c. on (5) chapters I-IX, of the Bhāgavata Purāna has been printed and published from Dharwar The Mysore O. L. (C 1866) has a Ms of his (6) c on the Yamaka-Bhārata His minor works are four (7) a c on the Sadācārasmrti and three Stotras (8) Visnu-sotra, (9) Vedavyāsastotra or Gadya, and (10) a Karāvalambana Stotra in 30 verses (S. M. p 104-12).

#### 5 — SUDHINDRA TIRTHA (1596-1623).

In Sudhindra Tirtha, the disciple and successor of Vijayindra Tirtha, we have a different personality altogether from those to whom we have hitherto been accustomed. For one in his position, Sudhindra was a person of peculiar tastes and equipment. He is one of the few writers in Dvaita Literature who have cared to look beyond their noses into realms other than those of Theology and Metaphysics. Kāvya and Alarikāra seem to have been the forté of Sudhindra on both of which he has left us works of real merit, which stand out like oases in a dreary desert of theological writings. The Dvaitins have often been accused of a lack of interest in anything but their own faith and nothing proves the truth of this accusation so well as the fact that posterity has allowed to sink into oblivion even the few works of purely literary interest left by writers like Trivikrama Paṇdita, Vijayīndra, Sudhīndra and Sumatīndra.

#### DATE

As already mentioned Sudhīndra was the successor of Vijayīndra and the Guru of Rāghavendra Svāmin, on the pītha of his Mutt The Rāghavendra Vijaya of Nārāyana speaks of him as having been honoured with a Ratanābhişeka, by the Vijayanagara King Venkatapatirāya 23 He is also reported in the same work, to have enjoyed the patronage of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. He died in 1623 at Ānegondi on the banks of the Tungabhadrā and his mortal remains lie entombed at Navabridāvana alongside the tomb of Vyāsarāya

<sup>22</sup> The MSS available cover but the first five Skandhas.

<sup>23.</sup> Vide also the S M. (p. 308), verse 8, of Vadindra's Gurugunastava.

#### Works

Besides two works on Alamkāra and a drama, tradition ascribes to Sudhīndra a c. on the *Tarkatāndava*, entitled *Yuktīratnāvalī* <sup>24</sup> This is corroborated by Nārāyana who mentions in his biography of Rāghavendra (VII. 49-50), (1)' a c on the *Tarkatāndava*, (2) com on II and XI Skandhas of the *Bhāgavata* and a drama, probably the same as *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya*.—

व्याख्याव्याजात्तर्कनृत्तस्य महा रङ्गस्थानं निर्ममे श्रीसुधीन्द्रः । व्यासेनोक्तं व्याकरोद्यद्वितीयस्कन्धं प्रायो दुर्गमैकादशं च ॥

× × नाटकं चित्रगद्यम् ॥

(1) Alamkāramañjarī (m)

This is a manual of Sabda-Alamkāras,<sup>25</sup> by Sudhīndra of which we have a palm-leaf MS in the Tanjore P L (no. 5129-30). One of the later successors of Sudhīndra, Sumatīndra, wrote a commentary on this work. The commentary is known by the name of Madhu-dhārā (alias Alamkāramañjarī vyākhyā). Both the commentary and its original are preserved at the T.P.L. But the Editor of the Descriptive Catalogue of the T.P.L has, in ascribing the Alamkāramañjarīvyākhyā to Sudhīndra, confounded the author of the original with the commentator. The commentator himself refers to Sudhīndra as the author of the original and speaks of himself as the author of the commentary Madhudhārā on it:

श्रीमत्सुमतीन्द्रयतीन्द्रः व्यतनीदनीयसीमसीमगुणाम् । व्याख्यां मधुधाराख्यां विद्यतालङ्कारमज्ञरीहृदयाम् ॥

× × अत्रेदानीं तत्रभवान् सुधीन्द्र इति कवीन्द्रः × ×
 × × मङ्गलमाचर्ति × × × (p. 2972, T. P. L. Cat).

Sudhindra deals with bandhas etc., and many passages from this work are quoted by Sumatindra in his c on the *Usāharana*. It would appear from these quotations that Sudhindra's illustrative verses were in commemoration of the greatness of his Guru Vijayīndra <sup>26</sup> An express statement to the effect is also made by Sudhindra in one of the introductory verses.—

अधिकृत्यास्यदाचार्यान् विजयीन्द्रयतीश्वरान् । प्रवृत्तेयमनुप्राह्मा मून्ध्नीलङ्कारमज्जरी ॥ (4) Alamkāra-Nikaşa (m)<sup>27</sup>

This is a treatise on Arthālamkāras (like Upamā, Rūpaka, Drstānta, Višesa etc.) by the same author, composed most probably as a complement to

<sup>24</sup> GVL Cat

<sup>25</sup> इति  $\times$   $\times$   $\times$  शब्दालङ्कारमञ्जरी व्याख्यान समाप्तम् ॥ (MS)

<sup>26.</sup> यथा--- 'विजयीन्द्रवर्य.....' इत्यलङ्कारमङ्गर्याम् । एतदर्थस्तु मदीय मदुधारायां द्रष्टन्यः (p. 324, Udipi)

<sup>27</sup> Madras O L Cat No 129776 (Grantha MS) It is the same work as is wrongly entered as "Alamkāra-nikarşa" of "Sudhendra", by Oppert 4797 (Catalogue

the Alamkāramañarī and as a set off to the Kuvalayānanda of Appayya Dīkṣita. The author is called "Kavı-kanthīrava" on the title page of the Ms. The work runs to 2706 granthas and contains verses as well as prose explanations of them. The author wields a fine alliterative style. He says that the work is meant for the use of earnest students of Alamkāraśāstra.

अलङ्कारशास्त्रभ्यासेच्छूनामत्यन्तोपकाराय सुधीन्द्रयोगिविरचितालङ्कारनिकषाख्योऽय प्रन्थः॥

## (5) Sāhitya-Sāmrājya (m.)

AUFRECHT notices a work of this name (Rice 288) ascribed to Sumatīndra Tīrtha The Catalogue of the Gopal Vilas Library (of the late Dewan Bahadur R Raghunātha Rau) at Kumbakonam, ascribes it to Sudhīndra. Another Ms of the work is reported from the Rāghavendra Svāmi Mutt library at Nañjangūd (Mysore Arch Rep 1917, p 17) and (wrongly?) attributed to Sujanendra Tīrtha There is yet another Sāhityasāmrājya (alias Raghunātha-Bhūpālīya) by Kisna Dīksita or Yajvan (Aufrcht 1, 486 and Madras T C 659d)

## (6) Subhadrā-Parınaya (m)

A damaged fragment of a drama of this name, ascribed to Sudhindra, is preserved at the Madras OL (Vol XXI, D C. No 12729) The Ms (which is in Nandināgiri) runs to 124 pages of 6 lines each and contains some two Acts.

तदन्तेवासिना सुधीन्द्रयतीन्द्रेण विरचितं ॥ × × × अअर्थ—मयेदानीं वलयद्वयनिर्गतवर्णेरवगत सुभद्रापरिणयनाटकमिति ।

A Vidūṣaka Tumburu, Nārada, Satyabhāmā and Arjuna are some of the characters that figure in the play which contains passages in Prākṛt also.

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ASVOI-Annals of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati

AUM—The Allahabad University Magazine, Allahabad
 BRV—Bulletin of the Rama Varma Re-

search Institute

*BV*—Bhāratīya Vıdyā, Bombay

IHQ-Indian Historical Quarterly, Cal-

cutta, Vol xvi, No 1, March 1940 IAOS—Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol 60, 1 March, 1940, Vol 60, 2 June, 1940

IAU—Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol 1x, No 3, June 1940

JBORS-Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, Vol. xxxvi, part 1, March 1940, Vol xxvi, part 2, June 1940

JIH-Journal of Indian History, Madras, Vol xix, part 1, April 1940

ISHS—Journal of the Sind Historical Society, Vol. iv, No. 3, March 1940 IRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland-London, 1940, parts 11 & 111, April and

July JUB-Journal of the University of Bombay, Bombay, Vol 1x (New Series), part 2, September 1940, Vol 1x (New Vol 1x (New

Series), part 1, July 1940 JUPHS—The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society

PO-Poona Orientalist, Poona, Vol v, No. 1, April 1940

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#### NOTES OF THE MONTH

It is indeed a matter of satisfaction that the Progress Report of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Andheri for the period covering November 1939 to October 1940 records, despite the conditions of war, a steady progress towards its main objectives. During recent years the need of studying our ancient culture dispassionately in a a scientific manner has been realized more and more and the coming into existence more or less simultaneously of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay, the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Poona, Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute at Tirupati, and the two schemes of research in Gujarati and Kannada antiquities respectively at Ahmedabad and Dharwar, is a welcome augury of this movement. We trust that the conjoint and collaborative efforts of these institutions, when co-ordinated according to plan, will achieve a worthy object and place before the scientific world a synthetic and analytic study of the different phases of Indian Culture

During the year under report the Bhavan has not only supervised the activities of its constituent institutes like the Shri Mumbadevi Sanskrit Pathasala, but carried on independent research. The English and Hindi-Gujarati journals Bhāratīya Vidyā published under its auspices have already made a mark on the scholarly world. The Bharatiya Vidya Series has been inaugurated by publishing Visuddhimagga under the editorship of that well-known Pāli scholar Professor Dharmanand Kosambi, whose text in Roman script is in print but not yet published in the Harvard Oriental Series. Extension Lectures which form part of the general activities of the Bhavan have been very popular, and some of these have been printed in the Bhavan's journals.

Now that the foundation stone of the permanent headquarters of the Bhavan has been laid we trust that the Bhavan will grow from strength to strength and bring laurels to indological studies and research.



The University Phonetics Association of the Mysore University is to be congratulated on its new publication. The Bulletin of Phonetic Studies, the first issue of which we have just received for October 1940. First founded in November 1938 the Association has been carrying on sure but silent work before launching upon its publishing activities. While Phonetics as a science has made great progress in the West, and was indeed one of the early sciences developed in India as witnessed in the Prātiśākhyas, recent years have seen its decadence in India. It is therefore a matter for congratulation that the Mysore University is taking a lead in these matters. We are hopeful that the Phonetics Department of the Punjab University started by Mr. Firth, the Linguistics departments of the Calcutta University and the Deccan College Research Institute will now co-operate with the Mysore University in bringing up the scientific study of Phonetics to a high level of efficiency.

This inaugural issue of the *Bulletin of Phonetic Studies* contains the following papers: Foreword (1), Report of the Activities of the University Phonetics Association by B S Kesavan, Secretary (2-4), Phonetics and the teaching of English by Prof W G Eagleton, the President (5-10), English as the Kannadiga speaks it by T. N Sreekantaiya (11-19), and the Vedic Circumflex by N Sivarama Sastry (20-31). The *Bulletin* is neatly printed by the Wesley Press and Publishing

House of Mysore, and is priced moderately at Re 1 per issue Full Membership of the Association is open to the staffs of the Mysore University institutions Associate Membership is open to all other persons interested in Phonetics at an annual subscription of As 8 only Members receive the copies of the *Bulletin* gratis.

According to Circular Letter No 2 issued by the Hon Secretary of the Fourth (Lahoie) Session of the Indian History Congress, the session will assemble at Lahore on Monday the 16th December 1940, and will continue its meetings on the two following days. Two excursions to Taxila and Harappa have been arranged on Wednesday the 18th, and there is a possibility of organising another one to Mohenjodaro if more than twenty members express their desire to go there

The subscription for membership is five rupees (Rs 5) and should be sent to the Hon Secretary, Professor J F BRUCE, MA, University Hall Lahore

We take this opportunity of wishing the Congress every success in its manifold activities

#### REVIEW

Kamsavahō of Rāmapānīvāda, Edited, with Introduction, Sanskrit Chāyā with foot notes, Index of verses, Glossary of words, English Translation, Notes and Index of Proper Names, by Dr A N UPADHYE Crown pp 42+51+38+5+35+31+47+2

To a student of Indian linguistics, the importance of the study of Prākrt works produced by scholars belonging to districts where Non-Indo-Aryan languages are spoken, cannot be overestimated, inasmuch as it may throw considerable light on the development and practice of the language in a different environment. Such a study may be calculated to be even helpful in accounting for points of phonological and semantic interests unrecorded in the literature of its homeland. The Prākrt works of such an erudite scholar as Rāmapānivāda, no doubt, deserve to be brought to light, and Professor UPADHYE has to be congratulated for his laudable efforts in bringing out an excellent edition of  $Kamsavah\bar{o}$ , hitherto known to scholars only through catalogues and manuscript libraries

Professor UPADHYE'S Translation and Critical Notes are characterised by earnestness and precision. The Editor will be seen to have handled admirably the limited material that has been made available to him in the matter of the constitution of the text. The observations on the Präkrt dialect of Kamravahō evince Dr. UPADHYE'S elaborate and scientific knowledge of the phonology and structure of the Middle Indian tongues.

It may, however, be pointed out that much of the details about Rāmapānivāda set forth by the Editor in the Introduction appears to be a medley of incidents and facts connected with the lives and activities of two different poets namely Rāmapānivāda and the great Malayālam poet Kuñjan Nambyār. The confusion seems to have arisen from the Editor's relying to the full, upon the information furnished by Messis Mahākavi Ullūr S Parameswara Iyer and M R Balakrishna Warrier who cling steadfastly to the view that the two poets are identical. Their opinion is based upon disconnected traditional accounts of little historical value and is wholly unsupported by internal evidences of any kind. In an article contributed by me on the subject to the Malayālam Journal Sahrdaya, I have shown that the

Sanskrit passages occurring in Kuñjan Nambyār's productions are, for the most part, defective and impossible, on that score, of being attributed to a Sanskrit Scholar of such a thoroughness as the author of Rāghavīya or Sītārāghava. Further, the Prākrt used by Kuñjan Nambyār in one of his works has also been pointed out by me as being quite different from the one employed by Rāmapānivāda. The substitution of Sanskrit s, ś and s by ś and of Sanskrit r by ļ as śalīla- (Sk śarīra-), maśina- (Sk maṣrna-) mānuśa- (Sk mānuṣa-), dōśa- (SK dōṣa-), śōh- (Sk śarira-) and vīla- (Sk vīra-) is a regular feature of the Prākrt of Kuñjan Nambyāi while Rāmapānivāda's Prākrt very seldom exhibits a change in this direction. Besides, Kuñjan Nambyār's works form social satires and are replete with side-splitting humour whereas Rāmapānivāda's works are characterised by dignity and a high level of seriousness. I am sure if Dr Upadhye had cared to make a comparative study of the two authors on the lines indicated, he would have arrived at the same conclusion.

As regards the Editor's observation concerning the Chāyā on page 50 of the Introduction, I do not see my way to believe, as the Editor thinks, that the Chāyā takes some liberty with the verbal forms of the text. The fact that the forms of the Present are substituted by those of the Imperfect and Perfect, is itself sufficient proof to show that the Present forms of the text are used in the sense of the Past If the poet had only wanted to convey the idea of the Present, he would never employ the Past form of the verb in the Chaya The Present forms given as footnotes under the Chāyā, I am afraid, do not serve, therefore, any useful purpose I may also draw attention to a similar extensive usage of the Present in the Prakrt poem Sauricarita by Śrikantha (Travancore University O. Mss. Library, Trivandrum, No. L. 105) See leaf No. 12 front side commentary 'pasavali prūsūta' under the verse beginning with Khaliakhalam, leaf No 12 back, commentary 'vaddaī ēvamēvañca avardhata' under the verse beginning with Aha sō vaamahiānam; and leaf No 14 back, commentary 'na namdai na anandayat' under the verse beginning with tassa kivā. It will thus be seen that it is not so much the question of the Chāyā not according with the text that deserves notice, as the grammatical problem. The sanction of Prakrt grammarians for such a usage is a matter to be investigated, and perhaps Dr UPADHYE is the fittest person to enlighten us on the point

A word has to be said on the diacritical marks adopted by the Editor in transliterating the Prākrt words. So long as Prākrt distinguishes between short and long  $\eta$  and short and long  $\eta$ . I am inclined to think that it will be more scientific to differentiate these in writing. Where there is only long  $\eta$  and long and long as in Sanskrit, there may not arise any occasion for confusion. Nevertheless, even in Sanskrit, to be more scientific, one ought to use the diacritical marks indicating length for  $\eta$  and  $\eta$  as  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$ . But to write acchera (p. 35 Introduction) and pekkha (p. 46 Introduction) using the same e, and moha (p. 35) Introduction) and koccana (p. 36 Introduction) using the same e, and moha (p. 35) Introduction) and koccana (p. 36 Introduction) using the same e does not seem to be desirable. That  $\eta \in \mathcal{U}$  and  $\eta \in \mathcal{U}$  are to be pronounced with long  $\eta$  and long  $\eta \in \mathcal{U}$  is obvious from the lines aho kimacchéraminam samuggae (I, 10) and gane bāla-dinēsa-mōha-mohā (II, 45).

The appearance of the book is fascinating. May it have the success it so richly deserves!

Trivandium K. Goda Varma.

# CAKRAVARTIN

By

# K. A NILAKANTA SASTRI, Madras.

Recently I had occasion to exmaine the rôle of the conception of Cakravartin in ancient Indian thought and to point out that Kautilya gave a practical turn to this quasi-mythical conception by adumbrating the idea of the Cakravartin ksetram confined to India proper. The idea of Cakravartin had, one may well believe, a long history and was the complex result of the coming together of many lines of thought, not all of them exclusively Indian in origin. To distinguish clearly these different lines from one another and to trace the early stages of their evolution or to determine the steps by which the final result was attained may not be easy with the limited data at our disposal. But some attempt may be made to gather the important texts bearing on this interesting conception and see how far they serve to elucidate the antiquity and the origin of a few at least of the different elements that have gone into its make-up

The Vāyu Purāna ch. 57 (Ānandāśrama edn.) has a striking passage on cakravartıns whom it assigns to the Tretā Yuga, and we may well start with this:

prajāyante tatah śūrāh āyuṣmanto mahābalāh nyastadanda-mahābhāgāh yajvāno brahmavādinah (64) padmapatrāyatākṣāśca prthūraskāh susamhītah simhāntakā mahāsattvāh mattamātanga-gāminah (65) mahādhanurdharāścaiva tretāyām cakravartinah sarvalaksana sampannāh nyagrodha-parimandalāh (66)

cakram ratho manırbhāryā nıdhıraśvā gajastathā saptātiśayaratnānı sarvesām cakravartınām (68) cakram ratho manih khadgam dhanūratnam ca pañcamam keturnıdhıśca saptaite prānahīnāh prakīrtitāh (69) bhāryā purohitaścaiva senānī-rathakrt ca yah mantryaśvah kalabhaścaiva prānīnah samprakīrtitāh (70) ratnānyetāni divyāni samsiddhāni mahātmanām mantryaśvah kalabhaścaiva prāninah samprakīrtitāh (70) visnoramśena jāyante prthivyām cakravartinaḥ manvantaresu sarveṣu atītānāgatesu vai bhūtabhavyāni yānīha vartamānāni yāni ca tretāyugādisvekatra jāyante cakravartinah (73)

<sup>1.</sup> See JACOBI on Cakravartin in ERE; and s v. Cakkavaţţhi in Abhidhāna-rājendra.

bhadrānīmāni vesām vai bhavantīha mahīksitām adbhutāni ca catvāri balam dharmah sukham dhanam

anyonyasyā'virodhena prāpyante vai nrpaih samam artho dharmaśca kāmaśca yaśo vijaya eva ca (75)aiśvaryenānimādyena prabhuśaktyā tathaiva ca annena tapasā caiva rsīnabhibhavanti ca balena tapasā caiva devadānava mānusān (76)laksanaıścāpı jāyante śarırasthaır-amānusaih keśāsthitā lalātornā jihvā cāsvapramārjanī tāmraprabhosthadantosthāh śrīvatsāścordhvaromaśāh (77)nyagrodhaparınāhāśca sımhaskandhās-sumehanāh gajendragatayaścaiva mahāhanava eva ca (78)pādayoś-cakra-maisyau tu śankha-padmau tu hastayoh pañcāsītī-sahasrāni te bhavantyajarā nrpāh (79)asangā gatavas-tesām catasraś-cakravartınām antarikse samudre ca pātāle parvatesu ca  $(80)^2$ 

This long passage, one of the most comprehensive known to me, is easily seen to fall into several distinct parts which are assembled together rather loosely The first three verses (64-66) are quite a general description of the appearance and attainments of the Cakravartins of the Treta Yuga, who are also called mahādhanurdharas, a term we shall come across in another The four next (68-71) give a description of the ratnas (jewels) of the Cakravartin, and this description first enumerates seven ratnas, and then gives another list of fourteen, grouped into seven live and seven inanimate ratnas. Verses 72-76 deal clearly with one distinct aspect of the Cakravarti Here the emphasis is on the parallel between the protective functions exercised by the Emperor in the State and by Vișnu in Cosmos, and the index of successful monarchy is found in adbhutām, aiśvarya, prabhuśakti, and the monarch is evalted above the sages, gods and men. Yet another idea, that of the Cakravartin as Mahāpurasa with distinguishing marks on his body, forms the subject of verses 77-79, and the bodily marks are named which remind one strongly of similar statements in Buddhist and Jain works ly, verse 80 gives expression to the miraculous potency of the Cakravartin's car to travel freely everywhere, on water and air as well as on land, without experiencing the difficulties felt by the vehicles of ordinary mortals

<sup>2</sup> Cf Brahmanda II 29, 69-88 and Matsya 142, 62-73 These passages are identical with the verses cited above, with variations due generally to copyists' errors I have not felt it necessary to detail these casual variations in reading which are of no value— $J\bar{a}lahast\bar{a}$  e g occurs as  $T\bar{a}lahast\bar{a}$  in the other texts. So far as I can judge the  $V\bar{a}yu$  text of this passage is the best and most comprehensive

For tāmraprabhosthadantosthāh which seems obviously corrupt, Br has tāmraprabhosthanetrāśca, and Matsya gives the whole line as śyāmaprabhāś caturdamstrāh suvamśāścordhvaretasah, in which the second half is a bad surmise of a scribe at his wit's end.

The Puranic lists of Cakravartins have been collected and discussed by Pargiter in his Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,<sup>3</sup> and the lists of monarchs who performed the Rājasūya<sup>4</sup> and Aśvamedha<sup>5</sup> given in the Brāhmanas are well known. There is also a list of mahādhanurdharāścakravartinah in the Maitrāyani Upanisad<sup>6</sup>, it begins with Sudyumna and ends with Bharata-pra-bhrtayah showing that the list is only illustrative and not exhaustive. Most of the names in these lists are mere names to us, though we have a considerable number of legends centering round some of these names, particularly that of Bharata. The attempts so far made to treat them as historical and to determine the order of their succession cannot be taken to have succeeded

The tradition relating to the ratnas is equally ancient, perhaps even older. We have the rathinam havims, special offerings made in the houses of the ratnuns in the course of the Rājasūya.7 There are several lists of these ratnins which are collected and discussed in the Vedic Index, it will be noticed that these lists vary considerably, though all of them refer to 'people of the royal entourage' as the authors of the *Index* put it, and all lists name many more than seven persons. It is a question however what exactly is the relation between the terms ratna and ratnin. It is tempting to accept the prima facie view that they were identical as Keith does,8 and to suppose that the lists of ratnins that have come down to us belong to a period when the number of ratnas had not yet been defined, and on this view, it may even be argued that ratna originally meant, as pointed out in the Vedic Index, not a jewel in particular, but a precious object, and that in relation to the king the term was applied to the most valued members of his entourage. When later the meaning of ratna as jewel came into vogue, it would seem, the application of the term in relation to the king was extended to some highly valued inanimate treasures, and the grouping of the ratnas into live ratnas and lifeless ratnas was begun But this is certainly not the whole story. For the standardised account of the 'seven jewels' of the emperor seems indeed to go back to a great antiquity. The Brhad-devatā, c 400 BC according to MACDONELL, contains this verse —

Cakram ratho manıı-bhāryā bhūmırasvo gajastathā etānı sapta ratnānı sarvesām cakravartınām V 123

Notice that this verse gives  $bh\bar{u}mi$  in the place of mdh of the  $V\bar{a}yu$   $Pur\bar{a}na$  verse No 68 above Macdonell has pointed out that the śloka is meant to explain sapta ratna in RV vi, 741, which reads

<sup>3</sup> pp 39-40

<sup>4</sup> Ait Br viii, 21-3

<sup>5</sup> Sat Br x111 54, Sank Sr. Su xv1 9

<sup>6</sup> I 5

<sup>7</sup> Macdonell and Keith  $Vedic\ Index$ , 11, 199-201 It may be noted that  $T\bar{a}nd\ Br\ xix$ , 14 mentions 'eight  $v\bar{\imath}ras$ ' who uphold the kingdom,  $r\bar{a}stram\ samudyacchanti$ ,—cf councils of 'eight ministers'  $astapradh\bar{a}na$  of later times

<sup>8</sup> Rel and Phil of the Veda, p 341

<sup>9</sup> Brhad-devatā, Tr p 198

Somārudrā dhārayethāmasuryam pra vāmıstayo'ramasnuvantu dame dame sapta ratnā dadhānā sam no bhūtam dvipade sam catuspade

Likewise the second half of RV v 15 reads

dame dame sapta ratnā dadhāno'gnirhotā nisādā yajīyān

In these verses Rudra-Agm is said to endow each household with the seven ratnas What these seven ratnas given to each household by Rudra-Agni were, we have apparently no means of elucidating now The explanation of Saunaka given in the verse from the Brhad-devatā is obviously a relatively late one and can hardly be accepted as explaining the sapta ratna of every house This explanation moreover is not given at RV v, 15 where it occurs first but at vi, 74, because at this point it serves as a convenient introduction to the story of an emperor which follows in the Brhad-devatā Sāyana's comment at v, 15 reads dame dame tattadyāgagrhe sapta ratnā ramanīyāh sapta jväläh dadhänah dhärayamänah athavā yajamānebhyah saptavidhäni ratnäni dadhānah. Thus he interprets the expression alternatively as 'the seven beautiful flames' of Agni, or the seven precious things given to the sacrificer by him. In dealing with the similar passage at vi, 74 he definitely attributes the sapta ratna to the gods addressed in the hymn, Soma and Rudra, and says: api ca yuvām sapta ratnā ratnām dadhānā dhārayantau. Among modern commentators Ludwig<sup>10</sup> interprets the phrase to mean 'sieben freuden,' 1 e., seven pleasures or gratifications, and says in his notes. according to Grassman, he (Agnı) had seven treasures, but the seven treasures are however only one treasure Grassman in his Wörterbuch suggests that ratna is connected with  $r\bar{a}$  and means a thing presented, which is also the view held by the authors of of the St Petersburg Lexicon where RV. v. 15 is cited Grassman's translation of the phrase in both the contexts is quite straight and assumes that the gods invoked presented the seven treasures to each householder: In Jedeur Hause sieben schatze schenkend sass Agni meder als cler beste opfrer (v 15). In Jedes Haus legt eure sieben schatze, seid uns zum Heil, den Menscham und den Thieren 11

Saunaka's verse is thus the earliest clear reference to the 'seven jewels' of the Cakravartin, but the expression Sapta-ratna is Vedic. It has often been suggested that the idea of groups of seven is traceable in the last resort to Babylon, and that in the recurrence of this figure in Indian idealogy we must recognise evidence of Babylonian influence on Indo-Aryan thought <sup>12</sup> In the number of days in the week, of holy rsis, of lokas, of the walls  $(pr\bar{a}k\bar{a}ra)$  surrounding a large temple and so on, the number seven does play a conspicuous part, and there is reason to think that this feature was really of Semitic origin. It is not impossible that the  $sapta\ ratna$  of the Rg Veda is another such instance, for the earliest contacts between Indo-Germanic peoples

<sup>10</sup> No 341

<sup>11</sup> Grassman Rig Veda, 1, pp 161 and 300

<sup>12</sup> KIRFEL, Die Kosmographie Dei Inder, p 32

and the Semites have been traced 13 to the middle of the second millennium BC.

Before leaving the significance of the jewels and their number, seven, we may note that Przyluski has argued that not only this number, but the entire notion of the Cakravartin is to be traced to Babylon. Buddhist descriptions of the residence of the Cakravartin represent the town as surrounded by seven enclosures of different colours at the centre of which stands the royal palace. These walls enclose a park containing trees entirely made up of precious substances. One recognises in such accounts the seven walls of Egbatana, comparable to the stages of the Babylonian Zikkurat and the image of the Garden of Eden. The notion of Cakravartin, inexplicable in India cut up into a multitude of petty kingdoms subject to local rājas, had its origin in Babylon where the king was a universal sovereign conceived in the image of God.

The first historical empire in India was that of the Mauryas and there are clear traces of Persian influences on the imperial polity and organisation of the Mauryas Przyluski's line of thought seeks to trace these influences to their ultimate origins and I think that, in general, there is much to be said in its favour <sup>14</sup>

If the 'seven jewels' mark the preeminence of the emperor after he becomes one, a number of physical characteristics mark him off even at his birth as a mahāpurusa distinct from other men. The idea of the mahāpurusa and his rôle in the world's economy has been worked out with tedious elaboration by the Buddhist schools in their canonical works, and the comprehensive elucidation of these texts by Burnouf in Appendix VIII of Lotus de la Bonne Loi is well worth studying for any one who seeks a clear and authoritative presentation of the details on this extensive subject, for besides the thirty-two laksanas, we have also eighty anuvyañjanas or secondary marks of beauty, making a total of 112 physical characteristics of the mahāpurusa. Hindu thought accepts some of these characteristics and employs them apparently in a haphazard way in the descriptions of avatāras, heroes and emperors, but does not seem to have ever attained the systematic thorough-

<sup>13</sup> FEIST, Kultur, Austreitung und Herkunft der Indo-Germanen, p. 410

I have not read the article on La ville du Cakravartin, Influence baby-lomenne sur le civilisation de l' Inde (1927), but depend on its abstract given at p 500 of BEFEO, Vol 34 I may make two observations here. First, the seven enclosures of diverse colours are not confined to Buddhist accounts in India, but are known to Brahmanical literature, particularly of a täntric variety I would mention the description of Lalitāpura, the abode of the Devī Lalitā, in Brahmānḍa Purāna IV, 31 34-80 Secondly, Przyluski may be right to derive Egbatana from Assyrian, bītānu, bītūnu, meaning 'palace' with the prefix hag-. But I doubt very much the connections he seeks to establish between this group and Potali, Potala, Potalaka on the one side, and Patala, Pāṭalīputra on the other, as well as Patna, Patana, pattana, and paṭṭana It is well known that Pāṭalī in the name Pāṭalīputra (pura) is often taken to be either the flower of that name whence kusumapura, a fairly early name for the city, on a goddess so designated

ness of Buddhist scripture 15 The Visnu Purāna for instance in narrating the birth of so celebrated an emperor as Prthu is just content to say .16

haste tu dakşıne cakram dıştva tasya pıtamahah Vışnor-amsam Prthum matvā paritosam param yayau Visnucakram kare cıhnam sarveşām cakravartınām bhavatyavyāhato yasya prabhāvastridaśairapi

The verses from the Vāyu Purāna cited above, on the other hand, employ many expressions which are identical or closely similar to the laksanas or anuvyañjanas of Buddhist literature, and it may be interesting to trace these here, giving references to Burnouf's discussion of the terms themselves or their counterparts ·17

Padmapatnāyatāksāh—cf. A. 58 Nīlakuvalayadalasadrśanayanah. A. 28. Susamāhitagātrāh. Susamhıtāh—cf A. 29. Suvibhaktagātraļi. Mattamātangagāmınah—cf. A. 39 Nāgavilambitagatih. A. 40 Sımhavıkıfantagatıh A 41. Vrsabhavikrläntagatih.

Nyagrodhapanmandalāh— L 20 Nyagrodhaparımandalah.

Keśāsthitā—

L 1 Usnīsasīrsakah.

A. 42. Hamsavıkrantah

A 57 Vıśālanetrah

I take this term Keśāsthitā from the variant reading given in Anand. ed of the Vāyu The body of the text has Keśāsthītā which will go with lalatorna that follows, but make no intelligible sense. As may be expected, the Matsya and Brahmānda offer no help. Matsya has Keśāh sthitāh and Br improves it into Keśāh snīgdhāh. In elucidating the term usnīsaśīrsakah Burnouf considered several alternative explanations in the light of the various authorities cited by him and came ultimately to the conclusion that, as indicated by his Tibetan authorities, the term meant that the mahāpuruṣa's head is crowned by a protuberance of the skull-"sa tete est couronnée par une protubérance (du crane)" This interpretation has found universal acceptance since, and is supported by the Buddha sculptures It seems to me that  $Keśāsthit\bar{a}$  also means exactly this, literally it can be rendered

Citations from works on Sāmudrikālaksana are found in Lexicons like the Sabdakalpadruma There are some published works of this class and many mss. Varāhamıhıra's Brhatsamhıtā ch 69 on Pañcamahāpurusalaksanam seems to stand by itself Laksanas are also treated of in medical works like the recently published Kāśyapasamhītā

<sup>16</sup> I 13, 45-46

In the following list L = Laksana, A = Anuvyanjana.

'having a bone in the midst of the hair on the head', and this is the reason why I have suggested this as the correct reading.

It may be noted further that as in the Lalitavistara account of the Buddha, this figures as the first of the Laksanas in a deliberate enumeration of superhuman physical traits of the cakravartin following the statement.

lakṣanaiścā'pi jāyante śarīrasthair-amānuṣaiḥ so that the position of the attribute furnishes some reason for seeing in it an equivalent of usnīṣaśiraskatā.

Lalātornā-

L 4 ūrnā bhruvor-madhye jātā himarajata prakāšā.

Jihvā cāsyapramārjanī—

L 12. prabhūta-tanujihvah

Tāmraprabhosthadantosthāḥ—

Br has Tāmraprabhoṣṭha netrāśca, which seems better.

A 17 bimbosthali, *Dharmapradīpikā* having rattotthatā.

Šrīvatsāh---

A 80 śrīvatsa - svastika - nandyāvarta-vardhamāna-samsthānavešah

Ūrdhvaromaśāh—

L 22 Ūrddhvāgrā - 'bhipradakṣināvartaromā, for which *Dharmapradīpikā* has uddhaggalomo.

Āīānubāhavah---

L 18 sthithā 'navanatapralambābāhuḥ Burnour cites the *Dharma*pradīpikā as saying here ţthitakova anonamanto ubhohi pāṇitalehi jaunukāni parimasati parimajjati.

Also A. 22, paralambabāhuḥ.

Tālahastāh---

L. 30 Jālāngulihastapādah.

Vrsānkitāh—

A. 37. has rṣabhavat-samantaprāsıdıkah, a term by no means clear, and not a close parallel either.

Nyagrodhaparınāhāh—

This is a repetition in the Purāṇa, see above

Sımhaskandhāh---

L 19 Simhapūrvārdhakāyah.

Sumehanāh-

L 23. Kośopagatavastiguhyah

Gajendragatayah-

See under Mattamātangagāminah above.

ness of Buddhist scripture.<sup>25</sup> The *Visnu Purāṇa* for instance in narrating the birth of so celebrated an emperor as Pṛthu is just content to say .<sup>16</sup>

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Padmapatrāyatāksāḥ—cf A. 57. Viśālanetraḥ

 A. 58. Nīlakuvalayadalasadṛśanayanah.

Susamhıtāh—cf.

A 28 Susamāhitagātrāh.A. 29 Suvibhaktagātrah.

Mattamātangagāminah—cf.

A. 39. Nāgavilambītagatih.A. 40. Simhavikrāntagatih

A. 41. Vṛṣabhavikrāntagatiḥ. A. 42. Hamsavikrāntah

N vagrodhabarımandaläh—

L 20 Nyagrodhaparimandalah.

Keśāsthitā—

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<sup>15</sup> Citations from works on Sāmudrikālaksana are found in Lexicons like the Sabdakalpadruma. There are some published works of this class and many mss Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā ch 69 on Pañcamahāpuruṣalaksanam seems to stand by itself Lakṣanas are also treated of in medical works like the recently published Kāšyapasamhitā.

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<sup>17</sup> In the following list L = Laksana, A = Anuvyañjana.

Gajendragatayah-

313

Mattamātangagāminah

'having a bone in the midst of the hair on the head', and this is the reason why I have suggested this as the correct reading

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laksanaıścā'pı jāyante śarīrasthair-amānusaiḥ

so that the position of the attribute furnishes some reason for seeing in it an equivalent of usuisasiraskatā.

 4 ūrnā bhruvor-madhve iātā. Lalātornā.... hımarajata prakāśā. L. 12. prabhūta-tanujihvah. Irhvā cāsvabramārjanī-Br. has Tāmraprabhostha netrāś-Tāmrabrabhosthadantosthāhca which seems better. A. 17. bimbosthah, Dharmapradīpikā having rattotthata. A. 80 śrīvatsa - svastika - nandyā-Śrīvatsāh--varta-vardhamāna-samsthānaveśah. L 22 Ūrddhvāgrā - 'bhipradaksiņā-Ūrdhvaromaśāh vartaromā, for which Dharmapradipikā has uddhaggalomo. Āīānubāhavah---L. 18 sthitha 'navanatapralambăbāhuh Burnour cites the Dharmapradibikā as saving here tthitakova anonamanto ubhohi pănitalehi jaunukāni parimasati parimaiıati Also A. 22. paralambabāhuh. Tālahastāh---L 30. Jālāngulihastapādah. A. 37. has rsabhavat-samantaprāsi-Vrsānkitāhdikah, a term by no means clear, and not a close parallel either. Nvagrodhabarınāhāh-This is a repetition in the Purana. see above. Sımhaskandhāh-L. 19 Sımhapürvärdhakāvah. Sumehanāh---L. 23. Kośopagatavastiguhyah.

See under above.

Mahāhanavah---

A. 13. Simhahanuh.

Pādayoścakra-matsyau, hastayoh śankha-padmau— A. 31. Adhah karma talayoścakre jāte citre arcismatī prabhāsvare site sahasrāre sanemike sanābhike.

This detailed comparison of the Purāṇa text with the Buddhist texts shows that in spite of the differences noticed between them we may well believe that they give only different versions of more or less the same set of ideas that prevailed upon the subject. The Puranic list is selective and gives only a part of the attributes as may be seen by turning to the full lists discussed by BURNOUF. But there is little room to doubt the identity of the ideal of mahāpurusa entertained by both the sets of texts; and it must be confessed that a person who possessed the attributes listed by these texts may not exactly tally with notions of manly beauty current among us to-day. And it is curious to note that the commentary on the Mahapadana suttanta explains the traits of long fingers and toes with the remark. 'And all four, fingers and toes, are of equal length, like a monkey's '.18 It is clear that we do not possess the key at present to the satisfactory elucidation of the conventional ideal of a mahāpurusa Burnour indeed wrote. 'The reader acquainted with the principal productions of Brahmanical literature will recognise here for the first time the sort of beauty that Indians attributed to their heroes.. .. . The description of the characteristic traits of a great man (Mahāpurusa), as the Buddhists conceive him, has been carried out according to the ideal type of beauty imagined by Indian poets I add that these traits that we shall find scattered in the productions of Brahmanic literature are exactly those that according to the best informed observers of our time still exist among the highest ranks of the Indian population.'19 I am somewhat sceptical of any one being able to demonstrate that these ideal traits are drawn from life, and feel more at one with Burnour when he says that there is here a medley of traits belonging to both the sexes, perhaps we might add 'and to some animals', that seems shocking to us

However that may be, this type became among Buddhists the external sign of the most perfect wisdom or of unlimited power Such a mahāpuruṣa would become either a Buddha or a Cakravartin, and there is no third alternative · 'to one so endowed two careers lie open and none other', dve gatī bhavato na trtīvā 20 If he renounces domestic life, he becomes Buddha; 'if he lives the life of the House, he becomes Lord of the Wheel, a righteous Lord of the Right, ruler of the four quarters, conqueror, guardian of the people's good, owner of the Seven Treasures His do these seven treasures become, to wit, the Wheel treasure, the Elephant treasure, the Horse treasure, the Gem treasure, the Woman treasure, the Steward treasure, the Eldest Son treasure making seven'.

Cited by RHYS DAVIDS: Dialogues of the Buddha, 11, p 14, n 4 18

Lotus, pp 618-19 19

Dialogues, n. p 13, Lotus, Burnouf, pp. 580-1.

The enumeration of the seven treasures varies in different accounts, though the Buddhist books adhere to the details in the conventional text just cited from the Mahāpadāna sūtta. Our Purāṇa text gives an alternative account of fourteen treasures, falling in two groups of seven each. The genesis of these texts and the exact course of their development can no longer be traced; it will be noticed, however, that some of these treasures like Horse, Elephant, Mani, and even Woman, recall the legend of the chuming of the ocean for nectar—amrtamathana, in the course of which they issued one after another from the sea before amṛta was secured; others like the steward, purohita and so on clearly recall the ratums of the Vedic period.

It is also of some interest to note in this connection that in the Royal Terrace at Ankor Thom there was discovered by M MARCHAL in 1916 a curious image in high relief of a horse with five heads, very imposing by its dimensions. The debris of another horse not less imposing and with seven heads was discovered near the same monument in 1917. The sculpture of the five-headed horse is reproduced in pl xxi of the Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d' Extreme-Orient (Vol xxviii), and no apology is needed for reproducing here (in translation) the accompanying description of the sculpture by M Golouber and his discussion of its significance

"The giant horse which is in the middle of it, shows its front, very much shortened, its chest swelled and full of assurance, on its fore limbs whose massive forms remind us of the legs of an elephant. The central head is a little bigger than the others The ornaments of the animal are similar to those worn by gods and kings. They comprise a conical mukutam surrounded by three lotus-form circles, a large pendant necklace, and a double pair of bracelets around the legs Besides, each bridle is taken up to the eves and at the point where in certain idols a frontal eye is shown, a flower with four petals is fixed to the forelock which sprawls like a palm-leaf. One more detail which ments our attention for a moment is added to these : on the top of each head, two locks of hair are rolled around the ears and passed through two gold rings, ornamented with pearls, above which is a little pointed horn. The significance of this detail is not clear to us. It does not appear to be borrowed, nor is it the customary ornament of the Khmer idols. nor does it belong to those horses, which are seen on the bas-reliefs of Ankor. But it is perhaps only a simple fancy of the sculptor, suggested by some coiffure of the period.

"What myth is recalled by this curious representation, and what is the name of the mysterious horse? What may appear beyond doubt is the fact that we have before us not a theme of ordinary decoration, but a scene of adoration, and the hero is manifestly a horse of king Cakravart, an aśvaratna. The latter receives all the honours due to his high rank. The triple parasols shade his heads, to the right and left. Dancers accompany him, and some demons with menacing looks, armed with the staff (danda) clear his road paved with lotus from all intruders. And crouching between his fore hoofs,

armed with a scraper is seen a horseman, one who doubtless gathers the ambrosial drug of this sacred beast "2ºa."

If this interpretation of the equine sculpture of Ańkor Thom is correct, we have evidence of the prevalence of the conceptions of the Cakravartin and his attributes in the kingdom of Kamboja in the tenth century A.D. And in fact evidence dating from a time several centuries earlier is seen to point to the same conclusion. Pelliot<sup>21</sup> has drawn attention to an interesting fragment preserved from the writings of two Chinese ambassadors who visited Fu-nan, the predecessor of the Kambojan kingdom, about 245-50 A.D. This fragment<sup>22</sup> from the description of foreign countries by one of the ambassadors K'ang T'ai by name, reads: 'They say in the foreign countries under heaven that there are three affluences, the abundance of men in China, that of jewels in Ta-ts'in, and that of horses among the Yue-tche'. To understand the significance of this text, the reader must recall a similar passage in the celebrated work of Huien Tsang which contains a comprehensive review of some legendary notions of cosmography and polity that seem to have a direct bearing on the subject of our study: Says Huien Tsang:<sup>23</sup>

"In the ocean, resting on a golden disk, is the mountain Sumeru composed of four precious substances; along its middle the sun and moon revolve and on it the Devas sojourn

"Around the Sumeru mountain are seven mountains and seven seas and the water of the seas between the mountains has the 'eight virtues': outside the seven Gold Mountains is the Salt Sea. In the sea (or ocean) there are, speaking summarily, four habitable islands, 'viz P'1-t'1-ha Island in the east, Chan-pu Island in the south, Ku-t'o-ni in the west, and Kou-lo Island in the north. The influence of a Gold-wheel king extends over these four islands, a Silver-wheel king rules over all except the north one, a Copper-wheel king rules over the South and East Islands, and an Iron-wheel king bears sway only over Chan-pu island When a "wheel-king" is about to arise a gold, silver, copper or iron wheel, according to the Karma of the man, appears for him in the air and gives him his title while indicating the extent of his dominion"

Here we see clearly the Buddhist conception of the earth as made up of Four islands in the four quarters and of the universal cakravartin and his lesser compeers. The pilgrim then describes the Anavatapta lake in the centre of Jambudvīpa as he puts it, which should be regarded, as WATTERS observes, 'as a thing of fairy land, as in the Earthly Paradise or Garden of Eden' This lake is adorned with precious metals and substances on its sides, and four great rivers flow out of it, one on each side through the mouth of a specified animal. The whole description may be tabulated thus:

<sup>20</sup>a BEFEO, xxviii, p 230 and plate opposite

<sup>21</sup> La Theorie des Quatre fils du Ciel, TP. xxii (1923), pp 97-125

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p 122

<sup>23</sup> I follow WATTERS On Youn Chwang, 1, pp 31 ff

East	South	West	North
Silver	Gold	Lapıslazuli	Crystal
Oz	Elephant	Horse	Lion
Ganges	Indus	Oxus	Sītā
S E. sea	S W. sea	N W. sea	N. E sea

The pilgrim next speaks of the Four Lords (sovereigns) who divide Jambudv $\bar{p}$ a in the absence of a Cakravarti over that island. The facts given here may be shown thus :

South (India)	West	North	East (China)
Elephant lord	Lord of Precious	Horse-lord	Man-lord
	substances		

Though Hiuen-Tsang's account gives the names only of the Southern and Eastern kingdoms, we get the names of the remaining from another contemporary account cited by Pelliot in a note at the end of his memoir on the Four Sons of Heaven. One of Hiuen-Tsang's assistants who aided him in his literary work after his return from India was Tao-Siuan, and he says (c 664-67 Ad.) explicitly that the Western kingdom over which the lord of precious substances ruled was Persia, and the Northern kingdom of the lord of horses was called Hien-Yun (ie Hiung-nu, here Turcs, etc.) 24

It will be seen that the theory of the four sovereigns is founded rather more in the facts of history and geography than the mystical conceptions of the Anavatapta lake and Cakravartin, still there are some elements in common between them. In his interesting paper Le Symbolisme du Pilier de Sarnath, 25 Przyluski considers the relation between these theories and observes: 'The myth of the lake Anavatapta and the four rivers supposes a division of space in four parts. The theory of the four sovereigns rests on an analogous basis. The two tetrads must have reacted on each other'. 26 'The chances of contamination were very great between the series of the four symbolic animals (of the lake) and those of the four sovereigns: the two series had the horse and the elephant in common and both took up particular directions in space. We can understand, in such conditions, that man, the attribute of one of the sovereigns, could take the place of one of the symbolic animals.' 27

However that may be, K'ang T'aı and Hiuen Tsang are doubtless speaking of one and the same thing though at a great interval and with many differences, the most important of them being the omission of India with its elephants Well might Pelliot ask: 'Did India figure in this narrative originally and K'ang T'aı misunderstand what he heard? Or did India originate

<sup>24</sup> TP. xxii, p 125.

<sup>25</sup> Etudes d'Orientalisme ii, pp. 481-91.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p 495

<sup>27.</sup> Ibid, p 498.

this saying on its three neighbouring empires leaving herself out of the reckoning ? ?28

But this tradition of the four kings occurs in all its fulness in a Chinese work of 392 AD. This work *Che eul yeou king*, a short resume of the mythical genealogy, the youth and the first twelve years of the ministration of the Buddha Sākyamuni, was rendered into Chinese by a monk from central Asia, Kiālodaka by name <sup>29</sup> In a sort of Appendix to this work we read

"In Yen-feon-lı (Jambudvīpa) there are sıxteen great kıngdoms, with 84,000 walled towns, there are eight kings and Four Sons of Heaven. In the east there is the son of Heaven of the Tsin (=China), there the population is prosperous. In the South, there is the son of Heaven of the kingdom of Tientchou (India), the land there produces many renowned elephants. In the west there is the son of the kingdom of Ta-ts'in (Eastein Mediterranean), this land abounds in gold, silver, jewels, jade. In the North-West there is the Son of Heaven of the Yue-tche (Indo-Scythians); the land there produces many excellent horses"

The sixteen mahājanapadas of India of the Buddha's time and the eight kings who partook of his relics are well known. But the account of the Four Sons of Heaven was not so well-known until Pelliot drew attention to it, and pointed out at the same time that this tradition was repeated by the Emperor of China to the Arab merchant Ibn Wahab about 872-5 AD as recorded by Abu Zayd Hasan 30 The tradition is thus traceable to fairly early Buddhist sources of Indian origin, it has also had a long career in India in subsequent times when it underwent many modifications as its original significance was forgotten. When the titles Gajapati, Asvapati and Narapati occur in the literature and epigraphy of the period or among the titles of Maharāna Kumbha as

gaja-nara-turańgādhīśa-rājat-tritaya-toḍaramallena

we see how far we have moved from the ideas underlying the text of Kālodaka cited above 31. And it is worth noting that the earliest account of this tradition so far traced is that of K'ang T'ai who heard of it in the third century AD in Fu-nan, 'one more indication' as PELLIOT puts it 'of the active exchange of ideas, legends and beliefs as well as products between Western Asia and the Far East by way of the Indian ocean' 32

<sup>28</sup> TP xxii. p 123

<sup>29.</sup> PELLIOT, ibid, pp 96-7

<sup>30.</sup> Ibid, pp 117-8

<sup>31.</sup> Colophon to Rana Kumbha's Commentary in Gita Govinda I owe this reference to Dr C K Raja. Lassen cites recent traditions connecting the notions of asvapati etc with the break-up of Pāndava empire JA. 11, 27-8

<sup>32</sup> PELLIOT adds that K'ang T'aı also met an envoy from India who brought to the king of Fu-nan four horses of the country of Yue-tche He also suggests that K'ang T'aı himself might have been of Sogdian origin and travelled to Fu-nan by way of India and the Sea—ib, pp 123-4.

There is an important passage in the  $Kath\tilde{a}$  sanit sagara on the mythical king Vikramāditya which deserves to be reproduced here:

Vikramāditya ity āsīd rājā Pātaliputrake | |
tasyābhūtām abhipretā mittre Hayapatırnrpaḥ |
rājā Gajapatıścobhau bahvaśvagajasādhanau | |
śatrur Narapatır bhūrı-pādatas-tasya cābhavat |
mānino Narasimhākhyah Pratisthāneśvaro balī | |

PRZYLUSKI who cites this in his paper on the Sarnath pillar notes that only three kings appear here and suggests that the Ratnapati was perhaps forgotten after the titles of the king came to be connected with the traditional divisions of the Indian army into corps of chariots, elephants, horse and infantry.

We have thus a long history of the ideas relating to monarchy and imperial rule, in which fact and fancy, religious symbolism and material conditions obtaining in different lands, acted and reacted on one another, and old ideas took new shapes as old associations were forgotten and new ones came to be entertained. There was in general a tendency to substitute the known and the familiar for the mystic and recondite whenever the latter was not correctly understood. But he would be a bold man who would attempt to trace in any detail the various steps in this complicated process. We may trace the beginnings and study the affiliations of ideas, get cross-sections at particular points where the evidence is favourable to this; we can see something of the final result. As for the actual history of it all, we have not the material for hazarding even intelligent guesses at the truth.

To return once more to our basic text. Some of the Purānic expressions employed of the cakravarti attribute to him other amenities and capacities. Thus the vague sentence bhadrānāmāni tesām vai bhavantāha mahāksitām, these kings will have here these auspicious things, may contain a reference to the aṣta-mangalas, eight auspicious things, of which again different lists are given by different authorities. Again, the four adbhutas and the animādi aiśvaryas and so on, take us to yet another sphere, viz., that of a siddha who has accumulated miraculous powers by the successful practice of yoga. And the statement that the cakravartins excel the ṛṣṣs by their tapas need cause no surprise after the description of their eminence in so many directions.

One of the most interesting among the relatively late references to the Cakravarti tradition occurs in a Tamil Jaina work, of about the thirteenth century A.D., the Jivasambodhanai, which is being edited by my friend and colleague in the Tamil department of the University, Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI. The work is in the form of Venbā verses connected by a running commentary, generally written in prose, but occasionally in verse also. Both text and commentary are evidently the work of one author, as the text taken by itself often gives no intelligible meaning without the connecting links furnished by the prose passages Now verses 65-70 of the opening section of this

work contain an elaborate account of Sagara and his imperial attributes, and I give below a detailed analysis of the verses and the intervening commentary;

65. Sagara, a famous 'wheel-king' of Ayodhyā, in the Bharata Ksetra of Jambudvīpa divided into separate regions by the seven Kulaparvatas

Com. Sagara was Ṣaṭkhandādhipati The term Sakalacakravarti is explained thus. 'one who rules a crore of grāmas is a makutavardhana; the suzerain of 500 makutavardhanas is an Adhi (ka) rājan, of 1000 a mahārāja, of 2000 an ardhamandalika, of 4000 a mandalika, of 8000 a mahāmandalika, of 16,000 an ardhacakravarti or vāsudeva, and of 32,000 a sakalacakravarti'. And such was Sagara who had 96,000 queens, 360 cooks, 360 physicians, three and a half crores of bandhus (relatives), besides 16,000 ganabaddhadevas who acted as his body guards

66. Elephant, lion, ālı (a fabulous animal), kıng-kite, moon, fish, poison (?), makara, lotus, sivan, conch, peacock, and pitcher were put on his banners

Com: Besides these a bheri, mrdang, throne, stars, fly-whisks, pañca-mahāśabdas and other innumerable insignia of royalty were also there

- 67. Possessor of the inexhaustible nava-nudhis, measuring at the least eight yojanas in height, twelve in length and nine in breadth
- 68. The names of the nine nidhis (1) vaṇdōgai, (2) mānōgai, (3) piṅ-galigai, (4) padumai, (5) śaṅgai, (6) vēśaṅgai, (7) Kālai, (8) mākālai, (9) sarvarada (na)m, (Sarvaratham).

Com · details in verse of the powers of each of the nidhis, thus—(1) will yield food-grains, cardamom, pepper etc; (2) arms of war including bodily armour; (3) ornaments for men, women, horses, elephants and chariots; (4) textiles, fly-whisks etc; (5) cool wind, sandal paste, scented water, shade etc.; (6) instruments of music; (7) speech, letters and astrology; (8) agriculture, trade and the arts; and (9) precious stones of all sorts and the seven kinds of metals. All these nidhis are at the beck and call of the cakravarti

69 The fourteen ratnas named—first the seven live ones viz, horse, elephant, carpenter (cf. rathakṛt in the Purāṇa list), woman (bhāryā of the Purāṇa), commander, kāvalan or bhandāri (ie treasurer who takes the place of mantri of the Purāṇa list) and astrologer (cf. Purohit of the Purāṇa); then the seven non-living ones (this list differs considerably from that of the Purāna) viz, kākani, cakra, leather, cūlāmaṇi, danda, umbrella and sword.

Com: description mostly in verse, of the nature and use of each of these ratnas in order. Only the peculiarities need be noted here: The 'horse' (mā) is not the ordinary horse, but a fabulous animal of the emerald hue which roams over the entire field of battle simultaneously meeting all opposition of the fighting units put in the field by the enemy, the carpenter is really an architect of great capacity who could plan and execute all types of buildings and towns; the Kākani gives out bright light like the sun and the moon; the leather spreads itself over water at the king's command for a distance of 48

kādams; cūlāmanı is a protection against poisons and magic, the daṇda levels the ground perfectly.

70 He is unrivalled in his wealth, beauty of form, courage, strength, and the glory of being guarded by Devas.

Com. 84 lakhs of auspicious elephants (bhadrahasti), same number of chariots of war, 18 crores of horse, 84 crores of infantry and other paraphernalia attended on Sagara

Perhaps the attribution of so much puissance to a mythical ruler like Sagara in a late scriptural work of the Jainas should cause no surprise when it is recalled that in a much earlier work of the Bauddhas, the Mahāvamsa, which professes to be a historical chronicle, we find the Mauryan emperor Ascka already endowed with the power to command the services of the devas and nagas, birds and beast's for the fulfilment of the daily routine of his life.33 When exactly this practice began of endowing califavartins with miraculous powers, it is not easy to determine now; but as has been pointed out by PRZYLUSKI, it is necessary to guard ourselves against the notion that this was always so 'In the beginning', he says,34 'the Cakravartin was without doubt a king more powerful than his neighbours, exercising his power over an extensive but still limited territory. Then this real notion was transported in the domain of legend; they imagined fabulous kings, masters of the universe, commanding all kinds of creatures'. Przyluski then proceeds to use this conclusion as a canon of criticism for dating his texts on Asoka, holding that a text which admits any defeat or discomfiture for the Emperor must be taken to date from a relatively earlier period when the conception of the unlimited power of the Cakrayartin had not yet come into vogue. But there seems to be room to doubt the validity of both parts of PRZYLUSKI's thesis—that regarding the relation between historical fact and quasi-religious theory, as also that about the priority of certain texts to others on the score of their accepting limits to the power of the emperor. The relative chronology of literary texts is always a difficult problem, and the undoubtedly early character of some of the texts we have considered in the course of this paper and others which may be easily produced, may well raise a doubt if Przyluski's ground here is as sure as he seems to have thought.

<sup>33.</sup> Mahāvamsa, V 23-33.

<sup>34.</sup> La legende de l'Empereur Asoka, p. 102.

# EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYALAM PROSE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS

## By

# L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Ernakulam.

#### CONTENTS

- I. INTRODUCTION.
- II. PEANIUS' TRANSLITERATION OF MALAYALAM.
- III. PALÆOGRAPHY.
- IV. PHONETICS.
- V PHONOLOGY.
- VI. MORPHOLOGY.
- VII. VOCABULARY [NATIVE ELEMENTS, IA ELEMENTS]
- VIII. SYNTAX.

### I INTRODUCTION.

The discovery and the publication within the last two decades of a number of ancient Malayālam prose manuscripts have revealed the existence of quite a respectable prose literature for Mal. in the earlier stages of its history. The publication of these works [Dūtavākyam, based on a 14th century Ms.: Brahmāndapurānam gadyam, based on a 15th century Ms.; Bhāgavatam bhāsa, based on Late Mal. Mss.; Utterarāmāyanam gadyam, based on two Mss., one of which is a 16th century Ms.] has dispelled once for all the impression that the only prose compositions that existed in Kēraļa prior to Kōyilttamburāŋ's "Akbar" (early 19th century) were only a few commentaries written in pedestrian prose besides the so-called "gadya" of the campus, which "gadya" is after all only thinly concealed "padya" in Dravidian metres.

The early prose works that have been unearthed within recent years are not devoid of literary beauty and artistic excellence. Here and there in these works, one comes across passages of rare vigour and appeal, though side by side with such brilliant patches the old *clichés* also abound.

All these prose works appear to have been written by scholars who wished to popularise religious and puranic lore among the masses who were not acquainted with Sanskrit The influence of tradition on these authors was so strong that the language employed by them cannot be said to represent the actual colloquials of the respective periods, though colloquial elements exist also in varying proportions in the different texts.

The recently published prose work called "Varttamānappustagam" written by an eighteenth-century Malayāli Christian, is however written in a language that is nearer allied to the colloquial speech of the author. The

author, Pārēmmākkal Tomā-k-kattanār, gives in this work a graphic and circumstantial picture of the itinerary and experiences of Karıyatti Yauseppu Malpan who, accompanied by the author himself, undertook a journey to Rome primarily with the object of memorialising the Pope regarding the need for freeing the Catholic Syrian diocese of Malabar from the domination of European missionaries and for conferring on the Kērala Syrians autonomy in the government of their own religious affairs. This Malpan appears to have been a man of such extraordinary independence and firmness of purpose that defeats or temporary reverses did not daunt him in pursuing his self-imposed task of liberating the Malangara Syrian community from the domination of European missionaries Toma-k-kattanar, the author of the Varttamana ppustagam, who practically acted as the Secretary, shared his chief's hatred of European missionaries, as is shown by his powerful indictment of their "tyranny" in Malabar.-The book is written in a very vigorous style and it bears the stamp of sincerity on every page. The language used in the work is based on the colloquial current at the period in the regions occupied by the Syrian Christians (viz North Travancore and South Cochin).

The colloquial that was studied by some of the European missionaries who came to Kērala during this period was this same colloquial of the Catholic Syrian community. The language used in the eighteenth-century Samkṣṣpavēdārtham which has been proved to have been written by an Italian Carmelite friar who knew Mal fairly well and who got the work printed in Rome in 1772 after getting the Mal. types cast in Rome itself, is (except for some peculiarities of syntax) fundamentally the same as the speech of the Catholic Syrians of the time

This Carmelite friar also wrote a Latin work called "Alphabetum grandonico-malabaricum" dealing with the letters of the Mal. alphabet (Ārya Eluttə) and their sound-values (so far as he could observe them). This book contains a Preface (written by J C. Amadutius) followed by eleven chapters (besides a Prologus) written by Peanius himself. In the Preface, Amadutius deals in general terms with Malabar and Christianity, offers a few observations on Kērala literature, mentions the names of the Mss. of religious and secular works of European missionaries and Indian priests, kept in the archives of Italy and other parts of Europe, and concludes with a brief discussion of the question of Kērala and St Thomas, the apostle. In the Prologus, Peanius treats about a variety of topics, in the treatment of some of which he makes mistakes <sup>1</sup> The Prologus is followed by eleven chapters dealing consecutively with the following:—vowels, simple consonants, consonants embodying superscripts and subscripts denoting vowels, conjunct

For instance, Peanius attempts to distinguish what he calls "Grandonic" from "Sanscrudonic", though he is forced to admit that the distinction is only one of script employed in the writing of works

Again, in the course of a few very superficial observations on Mal. grammar, Peanius wrongly equates the genitive case to the dvitiya, the dative to the tṛtiya, the accusative to the caturthi, and so on.

consonants, consonantal geminates, absolute consonantal finals, different consonantal groupings, correct pronunciation of consonants, "letters" wanting in Malayājam, shapes of Mal. numerals, and a few extracts from Mal. religious writings.

I have also referred, in the course of the following pages, to a Mal. translation of the four gospels, printed at the Courier Press in Bombay in 1810, which contains numerous words and forms that are similar to those met with in Varttan anappustagam and Sanikse avedagtham. This translation. I am told, was made by a Jacobite Syrian Ramban of Central Travancore at the instance of Buchanan. The rendering is said to have been made directly from the Syriac Bible. Though many old Mal. words, forms and usages are used, there are also peculiar corruptions, strange constructions (due to the influence of the syntax of Syriac, I am told) and artificial transmutations that definitely betray the interference of non-Malavalis cumstances in which the translation was printed in Bombay might perhaps Notwithstanding these defects, I find in this explain these artificialities translation a number of old words and forms identical with, or very similar to, those used in Vartt, and Samksenavedartham.

Another Christian work of this period, a few passages from which have been extracted by Dr. P J. Thomas in his book on the "Christian Literature of Kērala", is a Mal. rendering of the rules, injunctions and prohibitions, issued by the Synod of Diamper; the Mal. translation is said to have been made in the 17th century(?) by one Cākkō-k-kattaṇār. So far as I can judge from the extracts supplied by Dr. Thomas, the language of the Mal. rendering is very much the same as that of other 17th and 18th century Christian compositions.

Here I must refer also to two dictionaries of this period (roughly speaking) which were composed by Christians and which may be presumed to embody words and expressions current in the language of the Christians

The Portugese-English and English-Portugese Dictionaries, called by GUNDERT the "Verapoly Dictionaries", are (to cite the words of GUNDERT who has freely utilised the materials of these dictionaries for his own work) "very valuable works compiled by the Portuguese and Italian missionaries of Verapoly, which though completed in 1746 rest upon materials accumulated in the 17th, perhaps even the 16th century, and rank as the oldest monuments extant of European scholarship in India."

No copy of this work is available to-day; but the numerous items cited by Gundert in his work sufficiently indicate that the work may have been mainly based on the language of the Christians. It will be seen from the section on vocabulary below that most of the words (from the Christian texts Vartt., SV and even BG) are represented in the Verapoly Dictionaries.

The other dictionary to which I refer here is the one composed by the Rev. B Bailey (of the Church Missionary Society) Though the work was printed in 1846, the materials were collected (as Bailey observes in the Preface) somewhere about 1816, and so the language should have been

closely allied to that of the 18th century. The title of the book indicates that both literary and colloquial words were incorporated. Though BAILEY was a Protestant missionary, his dictionary contains numerous words that occur in Vartt and in SV eg cemmörttə, tittadi, patţānha, camayam, caradam, janmāhdaram, hidānam, yāvana, vyāpti

In the following pages I shall discuss the phonetic and palæographic data furnished by Peanius' book "Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum" (abbreviated as P Alph), and also analyse the linguistic peculiarities of the following  $\text{texts}^1$ :—

"Samksēpavēdārtham" (abbreviated hereinafter as SV.)

"Varttamāṇappustagam" (abbreviated hereinafter as Vartt.)

Jacobite Syrian Gospels printed in Bombay in 1811 (abbreviated here-mafter as BG).

Now, the language used in these books (i.e. Varttamāṇappustagam, Saṃkṣēpavēdārtham as also the language discussed and excerpted in Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum) has a number of common linguistic peculiarities (which I have classified below) Whether all these peculiarities were exclusive to the dialect spoken by the Kērala Christians of the localities mentioned above during the period under reference is a matter that requires further investigation. Prima facie one would expect that the cultural separation of the Kērala Christians from the Hindus, so rigorously enjoined and enforced by the Synod of Udaiyampērūr in 1599 should have brought in its wake the "crystallization", so to say, of a number of linguistic peculiarities in the dialect of this community.

It has to be remembered in this connection that prior to the Synod of Diamper the Christians had unrestricted intellectual contacts with the Hindus, as is shown abundantly by the large number of Hindu usages condemned by the Synod as unworthy of orthodox Catholic Christians.

It is quite possible that the influence of European missionaries and of the increasing popularity of the study of Latin and Portuguese may have contributed to the creation of some syntactic and vocabularial peculiarities in the "learned" dialect; and once such peculiarities arose in the language of learned priests, they may have tended to percolate in some measure to their parish "flocks" whom the priests "fed" and "tended." All this, however, requires to be checked by further investigation along the following directions:—(a) comparison of the features of this speech with those of other communities during the same period, and also with the language spoken today by the Christians of the same localities; and (b) an intensive inquiry into the influence which the syntax and vocabulary of Latin and Portuguese (the two chief European languages popular in Kěrala during the period)

The reference made, in the chapter on vocabulary, to the Verapoly dictionaries and Bailey's Dictionary are indicated respectively by the abbreviations VD and Bailey enclosed within square brackets.

may have exercised on the language of at least the learned Christian writers of the period.

It is not my intention in these pages to determine to what extent the peculiarities of the language of the texts under reference were exclusive to the Christian community. The materials available are far too scanty to enable me to do this. I have, therefore, chiefly contented myself with discussing the peculiarities of the language when viewed in comparison with the modern standard Mal. colloquial of the Cochin State (i.e. the speech with which I am best acquainted). Here and there in the chapter on vocabulary, I have tried to connect the works with the social and religious life of the Christians, I

## II. PEANIUS' TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration adopted by Peanius for the representation of Mal. sounds through Roman symbols is interesting.

#### Α

In the lists of vowels and consonants, PEANIUS distinguishes the "nomen" of each sound from its "potestas". He attempts to reproduce the names given to the sounds when the letters of the alphabet are taught or reproduced in Kēraļa in the orthodox way.

According to this orthodox system of "naming" the letters of the alphabet, the following are some of the values still heard among old  $\bar{A} \pm \bar{a}_1$ 's or preceptors.

- (i) Long vowels are "named" āa, īi, ūu, kāa, kīi, and so on. Peanius' transliteration "aá", "kif" appears to reverse the values. Peanius may have mistaken the slight pausal accent of the short final for increased length.
- (11) t, t, 1, 1 are, according to the orthodox system of naming in Kēraļa, ezu, erūu, elu, elūu. Peanius gives "iru", "iruú", "ilu" and "iluú".
  - (iii) The anusvāra is am. PEANIUS has "am".
  - (iv) The visarga is ah. PEANIUS gives "ah" "finalis aspirata"
- (v) Consonants when "named" always incorporate a: k is ka, and so on.
- (vi) The absolute finals l,  $\tau$ , l, n,  $\underline{n}$  are "named" uul etc, or as ul, etc today.— Peanius gives the following "el", "er", "el" (=el),

<sup>1.</sup> So far as one can say now, the effect of the cultural separation on the language of the 17th and 18th century Kērala Christians may have made itself felt more in the departments of vocabulary and syntax than in phonology and morphology. In the two latter spheres, the effect of the cultural separation may have been largely to solate collectively a body of native features originally current in the speech of the entire area.

In vocabulary, new adaptations of old words and the association of new meanings with old words, made in order to convey orthodox Christian religious ideas, may have been unique. In syntax, the influence of foreign speeches (Portuguese and Latin) may have been specially active in two directions (1) non-Dravidian government of cases in learned words, and (11) religious phrases and constructions, literally translated from European languages.

- "ız" (= it), "en" (= en), "en" (= en) and "am"; he gives also "il", "ır", at p. 65 of his book
- (vii) ky, cy, py, vy are all kiya, cīya, piya, vīya, etc (with a half-long value for i) when "named" by  $\widetilde{\text{Asa}}_{\underline{0}}$ 's even to-day —Peanius mentions these "names".
- (viii) Consonant groups with r as the second constituent are evaluated as kēra (for kr), pēra (for pr), and so on.—

Similarly kl, pl, etc. are  $k\bar{e}la$ ,  $p\bar{e}la$ , etc.; and kv, tv, rv, etc are  $k\bar{u}va$ , etc. Peanius mentions them all

- (ix) Consonant groups formed of  $\tau$  followed by other consonants are "named" erkha (for  $\tau h$ ), erpha (for  $\tau p$  or  $\tau pp$ ), etc.—PEANIUS has "erkka",
- (x) Long consonants like kk, cc, etc are ikka, icca, etc.; these are also mentioned by PEANIUS—Today wkka, wcca, etc. are alternative values I have heard.
- (x1) PEANIUS gives "inda" for both  $\underline{nd}$ ,  $\underline{nd}$ ,  $\underline{nd}$ ,  $\underline{nd}$ , "itta" for both  $\underline{tt}$  and  $\underline{tt}$ ; and "illa" for both  $\underline{tl}$  and  $\underline{tl}$ . "ippa", "imma", "igna" (for  $\overline{n}\overline{n}$ ), "inga" (for  $\underline{n}\overline{n}$ ) are other transliterations used by PEANIUS.

#### В

As for the transliterations of the actual values or "power" of the sounds, the system adopted by PEANIUS calls for the following comments.

- (1) The length mark is not consistently or uniformly indicated by PEANIUS. The marks of the accent argu and the accent grave are often confusedly interchanged
- (ii) Apart from the length-marks referred to above, no diacritics or special ligatures are used by PEANIUS, so much so that the same symbol stands for different sounds, as when the symbol "s" stands for s and s or "t" for t, t, etc
  - (111) The dipthong ai is transliterated both as "ai" and as "ei".
- (iv) mrgam, etc. (with t) are transliterated as "mrugam" "kruva" (with t1 following t2)
- (v) Mal  $\dot{n}n$  is represented as "ng" though, as I have already observed, there is no element of explosion at all in this group. The common transliteration of this Mal. group is even today "ng" when no diacritics are employed; cf, for instance, the place-name "Angādippuram".
- (v1) Mal. c is represented as "c1" in accordance with the Italian system of representation where the palatal character of c is thus distinguished. Similarly, Mal. j is "g1"
- (vii) Mal  $\tilde{n}$  is transliterated by Peanius as "gn", since this symbol-group in Italian has the value of a palatal nasal very much resembling the Mal. sound in phonation.
- (viii) The aspirate plosive consonants appear as "kkh" "ggh" "tth", "ddh", etc.—I may say that the Kēraļa evaluation of aspirated plosives, es-

pecially when deliberately uttered, certainly strikes the hearer as embodying a long or half-long stop element

Unaspirated voiced plosives are also sometimes represented with an h following as in "visarggham", "púghikkelláye", etc

- (x) The fricative y is represented as "j" according to the old Italian method of writing.
- (x1) The fricative \$ 18 represented as "sc1" which is the nearest Italian symbol standing for this fricative.
  - (x11) l is symbolised as "z" by PEANIUS.
- (xiii) While " $\lg$ " is the transliteration of the group formed of l and short k, the symbol " $\lg$ " is used when long kk follows l; similarly " $\lg$ ", but " $\lg$ ".

These symbols used by Peanius represent actual pronunciation, just as his "Ip" also indicates the voiceless value of p in actual speech, even though it is short.

The voicing of the plosive is correctly indicated in "nd" and "yd" (native Dravidian).

It is quite interesting to note that while the Skt. groups "st" and "pt" show voiceless p, the representation "kd" for the Skt. group constituted of k and t (as in  $\hat{s}akti$ ) shows how in the Malayāli evaluation of this group the t was partially voiced in Peanius' days just as it is today.  $\hat{s}akti$ ,  $\hat{s}hakti$  are often heard as  $\hat{s}akkudi$ ,  $\hat{b}hakkudi$  today

(xiv) Though at p 86 Peanius has only the symbol "r" to represent  $\underline{r}$ , he distinguishes  $\underline{r}$  (at p. 72 of his "Alphabet") by representing it as "rr", and in the excerpts given at the end of the book he transliterates  $\underline{r}$  as "rr" in instance like  $mariam\bar{e}$ , porukka, piramma, etc. At p 86 itself, Peanius distinguishes  $\underline{r}$  from  $\underline{r}$  by the phrase "asperium valde".

#### III. PALÆOGRAPHY.

Through the efforts of Peanius, Mal. types were for the first time cast in the Press of the Propaganda in Rome in 1772, as referred to by Amadutius in his Preface to Peanius' "Alphabet". Peanius' description of the symbols of the letters of the Mal alphabet in his work is invaluable for the study of eighteenth century Mal. palæography Many of the symbols are similar to those used today, but there are striking divergencies deserving of notice.—These peculiarities are given below. I also indicate below the resemblances and differences between the symbols given by Peanius and those employed in the late 16th century manuscript (now being edited by me in the columns of the Bulletin of the R. V R Institute) containing the text of Kural and a Mal. translation thereof.

1 Long  $\bar{e}$  and long  $\bar{o}$  are not symbolically distinguished from the corresponding short sounds Peanius indeed refers to the existence of symbols for long  $\bar{e}$  and long  $\bar{o}$ , of which the former is like the modern symbol while the latter is represented in two ways, one of which is peculiar in that the length is marked by a loop inside , but Peanius points out : "his scribendi modus ab omnibus constanter non observetur"

In inscriptions and mss of an earlier period, long  $\tilde{e}$  and long  $\tilde{o}$  were not symbolically marked off from short e and short o.

The observations of Peanius show that in the eighteenth century there already existed symbols for the long sounds, but these were not commonly used. Down till the end of the nineteenth century the old practice of using the same symbol for the long and the short sounds appears to have persisted.

2 The candrakkala symbol introduced today (at the right-hand top of the symbols of the consonants preceding) in order to denote the Malayālam pausal a came into existence only in the nineteenth century when GUNDERT and the Mangalore missionaries suggested the adoption of such a symbol to mark off the a from u.

The pausal  $\vartheta$  is not distinguished by any special symbol in old works; on the other hand, the practice was to use either the consonantal symbol with the ligature for u embodied (as in the oldest mss. and inscriptions), or the consonantal symbol without any ligatures as if the sound  $\vartheta$  here was a weak accented a (as in manuscripts and documents of the Late Old Mal. and New Mal periods).

Peanius invariably adopts the latter practice wherever the pausal  $\mathfrak{g}$  occurs; in non-pausal positions where the sound is more like a close u, Peanius uses u itself as in  $k\bar{a}ttu$   $kolv\bar{a}u$ , etc., though not consistently, since there are phrasal units like valatta  $bh\bar{a}gatta$  also.

The manuscript of Kural mixes up both the practices ( mentioned above ) indiscriminately.

- 3 The symbols used here for  $t\bar{u}$  and  $r\bar{u}$  differ in the fact that in the former the outward loop on the right is on a much lower level than in the latter.
- 4. The usual symbol for kr is different from what is used today, though Peanius refers to an alternative symbol corresponding to the one used today.
- 5 The symbols of  $\dot{n}\dot{n}$  and  $\ddot{n}\ddot{n}$  are distinguished only by the fact that the latter has a loop between the two bends on the extreme right

This is true of the representation in the ms of Kural.

6. Long cc is represented in Peanius' works by two c symbols, one being placed above the other.

In the ms of Kural, the symbol is different: the initial curvature for the symbol for c is repeated twice and placed on the same level.

7 In Peanius' works the symbol for the absolute finals t, l, l, g and g are all similar to modern symbols. That for l alone is old. In the ms. of Kural the symbols mark the transition stage from the practice of the insertion of a circle on the top of the consonantal symbol (as in Tamil even today) to the modern Mal. practice of connecting the end of the consonantal symbol with the dot by means of a line or loop—In the ms. of Kural, already the modern symbols for the absolute finals l and l (modifications respectively of original symbols for absolute final t and t of Skt., which developed the respective sound-values of l and l) are very clearly anticipated; and the

symbol for final m is either an "anusvārappulļi" as in modern times, or the symbol for m with a dot above.

8. The symbols for native internal consonant groups formed of homorganic nasals and plosives were of two types in ancient times in Ārya Eluttə:—either the anusvārappulli followed by the symbol of the voiceless plosive concerned, or special conjunct symbols in which the ligatures for the nasals and the voiceless plosives are entwined.

Both varieties are to be found for  $\dot{n}g$  and mb in Peanius' works, but for native internal  $\dot{n}d$ ,  $\ddot{n}_1$  and  $\dot{n}d$ , only the conjunct symbols are common

So far as Skt. words are concerned, the internal consonant groups formed of homorganic nasals and voiceless unaspirated plosives are generally represented in either of the two ways mentioned above, particularly for  $\hat{n}k$ ,  $\hat{n}c$ ,  $\hat{n}t$ ; but for consonant groups formed of nasals and voiced plosives (whether simple or aspirated) and of nasals and voiceless aspirated plosives, the former practice alone obtains.

9 The symbol for <u>nd</u> deserves special notice Both PEANIUS' representation and that of the ms. of Kural have two r symbols (apparently, with a view to the alveolar plosive being marked off clearly thereby), while in modern representation only one r symbol is embodied.

There is however one difference between the symbol for  $\underline{nde}$  used by Peanius and that found in the ms. of  $Ku\underline{ral}$  while Peanius arranges the symbols in the order of pulli (ligature) for e followed by the symbol for  $\underline{n}$  and then by the two  $\underline{r}$ -symbols, in the ms of  $Ku\underline{ral}$  the symbol for  $\underline{n}$  is placed first and it is followed by the ligature for e and then by the two  $\underline{r}$ -symbols. This latter practice is common in the oldest mss.; and this follows the Tamil arrangement of symbols

10. The symbols for tru kru,  $\dot{s}$ ru,  $\dot{s}$ ru,  $\dot{s}$ ru have two loops on the right to indicate the incorporation of the vowel u. When long  $\bar{u}$  is incorporated, the curvature used for  $r\bar{u}$  is added.—The Kural ms. shows the same symbols.

# IV. PHONETICS

## Vowels

- 1. In accented positions, a has its "correct" value, as Peanius' transliteration shows; but in unaccented syllables the sound becomes centralised to a and then frontalised in the direction of a in the neighbourhood of front consonants —"ramen", "peretta", "siven", "paler", "putrer", etc.
- 2. The symbols and ligatures denoting u stand for (i) fully liprounded u in accented positions (as for instance in radical positions of words); (ii) as the final of the Mal. tense-finities; (iii) the centralised u which is the actual value (in unaccented positions) of what in writing is represented with the ligatures for u; (iii) the lip-spread u occurring in words like paxannu, etc.

PEANIUS uses "u" throughout for all these sounds.

3. The "neutral" vowel a occurring in Mal. as the final of certain words and forms is represented in these texts by the symbol of the preceding con-

sonant being shown without any "vocalic" ligatures as if the vowel sound involved here is an unaccented a (= a). PEANIUS adopts this practice.

Mal. a is a value which appears in the following other contexts also:-

- (i) The value of unaccented a in medial positions of words and forms; as already observed above, the a is frontalised in the direction of e in the neighbourhood of palatal consonants, in which case the symbol for transliteration used by PEANIUS is e.
- (ii) The a appearing immediately after initial y, r, l, and voiced plosives of Skt. loans, and after native initial r (in rondo) and c (in a very few words like cori, coli) has the value of o or frontalised o or e (the last value being very frequent in the mass-dialects). PEANIUS uses "e"; and the mss. of other texts also show e sometimes in the spelling.
- (iii) The unaccented u in medial unaccented positions and in the neighbourhood of retroflex sounds has often the value of an a, as in colloquial kodatta, velatta and in literary ara-kk- ( < older aru-kk-), kara-kk ( < older karu-kk), alakka ( < alukka), etc. This is not marked off anywhere in the texts under reference.
- (iv) The unaccented o in the colloquial ippolp, appolp loses the lip-rounding and tends to become a. Thus is shown by the spelling indicating a ( = a in unaccented positions).
- (v) The a of allo, when occurring in unaccented positions, has the value of a or e. The spellings in the mss. of the texts, and Peanius' translateration shows allo and ello.

PEANIUS consistently uses the spelling "pad-" (for modern pad-) in SV and Alph, but transliterates it (in his Alph.) as "ped." Since the value pad- had arisen fairly early in Mal, it is possible that PEANIUS followed mere tradition in using the spelling "pad-".

4. There is no distinctive anusvāra sound in native Mal. The anusvāra that forms a part of the alphabetical classification of Ārya Euitə and for which the śūnya symbol is used, has the value of (i) m before vowels (in external sandhi), before pauses and before y, r, l, ś, h, s, and (ii) a vargāntya nasal before plosives (both in external and in internal sandhi). In native words, the use of the śūnya symbol in final positions of words or in internal positions (m which latter the use of the symbol is rare today, though in old manuscripts it is sometimes met with) is purely graphic, since the value given to it is that of an m or of a vargāntya nasal according as it is followed by the one or the other of the sets of sounds referred to in the above scheme.

PEANIUS observes: "Littera am quae nobis consona esset, apud Malabares vocalis habetur, sicut et in Brammhanicis elementis ang vocalibus annumeratur."

The reference to the evaluation "ang" of the Brahmins is very interesting. To whom does he refer when he speaks of Brahmins? Elsewhere in the course of the book he refers to the "Brahmin professors of the University of Trichur," and these very probably are Kambūdiri scholars connected

with one or other of the Mathas of Trichur. It may however be noted here that the evaluation of the anusvāra by the Nambūdiris when reading or reciting Sanskrit is different from that of the other communities in Malabar. The sound-value given by Nambūdiris for the anusvāra before r,  $\pounds$ , s, h, v is always that of a nasalized v or sometimes almost a labio-dental m, as in savrambham, savsayam, s

Peanius, curiously enough, classifies the anusvāra symbol among consonants also, and makes the following observations: "Littera o am eadem est, ac consona finalis m apud Latinos. Sic sambhramam metus; samrambham superbia"

PEANIUS adds: "In medio tamen dictionis aliquando sonat, ut n, quod praesertim accidit, cum invenitur ante litteras k and b: tunc enim fit ne. nb: unde engilum quamvis ;sangadam afflictio ; sanbatta divitiae." 1-These observations suffer from a confusion of ideas. So far as Sanskrit words like are concerned, in the Malayalam representation of sankata- and sambat(ta) these and other similar Sanskrit words, the anusvara symbol is never given the value of n. Before -k in internal positions, the value of the anusvāra is always that of the vargantya  $\dot{n}$ ; and similarly before  $\dot{p}$  the anusvara is evaluated as m .- As for native forms in internal positions, forms like envil munha which have n before the plosives concerned and which are pronounced "correctly" with this n by many had also "corrupt" values in the masscolloquials which convert the n to the vargantya's corresponding to the plosives following This assimilation of n to vargantya's started very early in Mal as a colloquial feature; and the symbols for original  $\dot{n}g$  and the  $\dot{n}g < ng$ and for original mb and the mb < nb were either conjunct ligatures or the anusvāra symbol followed by the symbols of the plosives. In "correct" pronunciation, the n of munbe is still heard, while in engil the modern pronunciation shows only no.

The conjunct ligatures for ng and mb used in Peanius's time (and today) are actually formed respectively of the symbols for  $\underline{n}$  and k and of those for  $\underline{n}$  and p. It is perhaps this fact (along with the alternative values like  $mu\underline{n}b\bar{b}$  and  $mumb\bar{b}$ ) that led Peanius to make the unwarranted generalisation that the anusvāra symbol followed by k and p has the value of n

5. The visarga h which appears in the orthodox classification of the sounds of the modern Mal alphabet is correctly explained by Peanius as a sound which "cum aliqua levi aspiratione, atque conatu proferatur; illi enim duo circuli quorum alter alteri supereminet in fine additi sunt signum conatus et aspirationis, qua littera pronuntiatur, clara tamen, et aperto voce."

Medially, however, in the common evaluation in Kērala of words like duhkham, antahpuram, the visarga is evaluated as a mere breath (or as a

<sup>1</sup> Following this wrong rule, in the excerpts at the end of the book, PEANIUS wrongly transliterates tamburān as "tamburan", kumbiḍ- as "kumbiḍ-" etc.

1940.]

suspension of voice), and the plosive following is doubled. These facts are noted by PEANIUS: "Si vero in medio dictionis inveniantur dicycli, ut in hac voce duhkhham tristitia, denotant ipsi suspensionem vocis in anteriori littera pronuntianda, atque conatum, quo subsequens efferri debet."

The difference between the visarga and the initial and medial h of Skt is not of course expressly pointed out by Peanius; but the terms in which he has described the phonation of the visarga, together with the description of h as "h germanico ore prolatum" show that Peanius did note some difference. It may be noted here that in the Kērala evaluation of Skt. loans, initial h is partially voiced, intervocal h is fully voiced and the final visarga is voiceless.

The question whether the visarga should be classified among vowels or among consonants appears in the days of Peanius to have been subject to dispute, as the following observations of his indicate: "Nec video, cur hæc littera inter vocalium numerum a quibusdam non adscribatur, cum inter vocales distincte eam tradant tam Brammhanes magistri in praeclara Universitate Tricciurensi, quam ceteri Grammatici Malabares in ipsorum Scholis kalari vulgo dictis, et jure quidem"

6. ai and au are recognized as diphthongs by PEANIUS: "Quare litteræ at, vel ci et au, quae debent exacte proferri, ita utraque vocalis distincte audiatur, potius dicendae sunt Diphthongi, quam vocales"

The alternative value ei for the diphthong ai is interesting. The value of ei seems to have existed from a very early period for this diphthong; and it is the existence side by side of both values, that gave rise to forms like 'aidə for ceyda (common in inscriptions and in old Mss.), mai for mey body', aidaida ( $=evd\cdot evda$ ) in Uttararām, gadyam.

Among the present texts, Vartt. has nai for ney and mai for mey, and SV uses cai- for cev-.

#### Consonants

PEANIUS devotes two chapters to the description of consonants; in one he refers to the absolute consonantal finals of Mal., and in another entitled "De recta pronuntiandi ratione" he tries to indicate some of the sound-attributes of Mal. consonants by comparing them to European sounds known to him. At the outset he says "de earumdem litterarum vi, ac recta pronuntiandi norma aliquid attingamus, potius quam explicemus; in aliquibus enim Malabaricæ Linguæ litterarum sonus Latinis litteris exprimi haudquaquam potest." And at the end of the chapter he again administers the advice: "genuinus enim ipsarum sonus non scriptis sed voce est acquirendus."

This chapter is full of interesting and acute observations which do credit to this eighteenth-century Malabar missionary.

1. Medially k is pronounced "like g" "as in maghen "filius."

This is a correct description of the intervocal value of the velar stop in Malayālam. It is voiced; and the area of actual occlusion is slightly reduced, with the result that a fricatival phonation immediately precedes and follows

the voiced plosive—Medially, the sound has a clearer fricatival element than when it is initial; this is what has misled some European scholars into thinking that medially the sound is a pure fricative

- 2. "Kh pronuntiatur, tamquam duo kk, et profertur cum aliquo conatu, et aspiratione." In the attempt to bring out the aspirate element of the sound, the tendency to elongate the stop is common in Kērala
- PEANIUS adverts to the absolute consonantal final k of Skt words, and observes that this is "quoddam k, quo solum utuntur in poesi, ac in ipsorum Grandonicis scriptis; ipsius sonus efformatur in interiori gutture."
- 4. Mal.  $\dot{n}$  which Peanius wrongly transliterates as ngh, is the velar nasal. There is absolutely no explosion in the mouth, but the air is allowed to pass continuously through the nose, the release of stoppage in the mouth being gradual.

PEANIUS says that the sound is pronounced "attracta retrorsum lingua, ita tamen ut g vix audiatur."

- 5. Mal. c is compared to the Etruscan "c" and the translateration used by him for this sound is "ci".
  - j is "ut gi Italicum, leviter tamen in gutture expressum."
- $\tilde{n}$ , "ut gn Italicum, efformatur prope dentes cum alıquo narium mınisterio."

This series of sounds in Mal. may be brought out either by the foreblade touching the alveolar region or (what is not very common) the tongue-tip touching the frontier between the alveolar and palatal regions.

- 6. Though Peanius transliterates the retroflex sounds  $t\ th$ , d, dh, n without any distinctive diacritics, he has noted the retroflexion of the tongue in the articulation of these sounds . "huius litteræ sonus ...est autem Europeis admodum difficilis, ac pronuntiatur inversa omnino retrorsum lingua, adeo ut interiorem palati summitatem attingat"
- 7. t is compared to Latin t (as evaluated by Italians and other continentals of Europe), because t is in many countries of Europe given the value of a dental in which the area of occlusion is fairly large

PEANIUS evaluates the intervocal sound as d; in actual value there is a slight fricatival element immediately preceding and following the stop, as a result of the area of contact (for the stop) being reduced in intervocal positions.

- 8 Peanius' description of Mal n is inadequate and unsatisfactory. He refers only to one n which he compares to a "clear Latin n" Perhaps his European ear was unable to detect the difference that actually existed between Mal blade dental n and the point-contact alveolar n.
- 9. r (post-dental) and  $\chi$  (palato-cerebral) are, however, distinguished by Peanius: "r, ut r; dulciter tamen, et tenerrime profertur prope dentes, usdem quasi compressis", "r, asperum valde, et durum."
- 10 It is strange to hear Peanius observe that Mal v is like b "aliquando," and to see the initial v of words like viral uniformly transliterated in

the "Alphabet" as b. I also find in SV sometimes Mal. spellings like  $b\tilde{a}$  (for  $v\tilde{a}y$ ), bisam (for the Skt loan visam) etc. Perhaps the bilabial value of the Mal v, struck his European ear as nearer to b than to the labiodental v which is so common in European languages

- 11. s is described thus: "inter s et z pronuntiatur, inflexa ad palatum lingua cum aliquo sibila."—The reference to the sound being midway between the voiceless [s] and its voiced variety means that the sound was partly voiced in the utterance of the speakers. Even to-day this is true of the folk-colloquials. The retroflex nature of the sound is also adverted to by PEANIUS. While he describes s as being produced with the tongue turned to the palate, with a certain amount of hiss, he distinguishes s as being produced "prope dentes",—a distinction which is quite correct
  - 12. For l. Peanius refers to the retroflexion of the tongue.
- 13. The continuant *l*, the phonation of which is so difficult for non-Malayālis and non-Tamilians, is described thus: "quasi *z* Latinorum, dentibus labiisque vix apertis pronuntiatur, retracta tantillum lingua."

The retraction of the tongue is only just indicated; the essential features of the sound are not fully described In Chapter VI, PEANIUS says that this sound is pronounced "cum aliquo sibilo"; perhaps what he refers to here is the passage of a stream of air, which (it must be stated) never amounts to a hiss because of the large space between the tongue and the mouth-roof.

14. The long voiceless alveolar plosive tt is only imperfectly described in the following terms: "si vero hæc littera r ( $= \underline{r}$ ) duplicetur, efformatur duplex tt, quod effertur compressis quasi dentibus, lingua ipsos impellente."

The alveolar nature of the sound appears to have escaped the notice of Peanius.

## V. PHONOLOGY.

The changes mentioned below are mostly those characteristic of colloquials. The language of Vartt is largely based upon the colloquial dialect, though there are attempts made here and there to employ literary and rhetorical flourishes. The saeva indignatio, however, makes the writer drop the artificial mask in most parts of the book. SV attempts to be literary and dignified, but remains largely "colloquial". The authors of these works were not influenced by the "classical" literary style of Mal—This fact is proved by the use of colloquial phrases and expressions and also by the adoption of phonetic spelling for the following types:—

(a) The Tam.—Mal. evaluation as frontalised θ or as e, of the a immediately following voiced plosives or r, y, l, kş (in radical syllables of IA words) is embodied in the spelling of numerous forms like gerbhini, jehtu, yejamānan, resi-kk- (Skt. rasa), reññippə, ksemi-kk- (Skt. kṣama), kṣeyam, behu, etc.

Native cari- and cali are colloquially evaluated as cari- or ceri- and cali or cels; the forms are spelt ceri- and celi in Vartt.

- (b) The colloquial change of i to e and of u to o when i and u of initial accented syllables are immediately followed by a short consonant and an open vowel in the next syllable, is embodied in the spelling of words like inerappa, korala. orakkam. colali-k-kātta. etc.
- (c) The assimilation of voiced plosives to the homorganic nasals in adaptations of Skt. groups ng, nd, nd is shown in the spelling of forms like vahince (Skt. vand-), cahinran (Skt. candra), rennippo, bhamaram, mannabam.
- (d) The change of r to r is embodied in the spelling of forms like curud: (Skt.  $\acute{s}ruii$ ), puttaran, attarayum [BG].
- (e) PEANIUS' transliterations "ramen" (for  $r\overline{a}ma\underline{n}$ ), "peretta" (for peratia), "kaleri" (for kalari) show how in spelling the tendency in colloquials for unaccented a (=  $\theta$ ) to become frontalised towards e was embodied.

### VOWELS

- 1 Both -allō and ellō (< allō) exist side by side
- 2. In the final syllables of *karaccil*, *cāccil*, *tigaccil*, the *i* is derived ultimately from original *a*. The unaccented position together with the neighbourhood on either side of palatal consonants has brought about the change.
- 3. The lengthening of the final -a of Mal. polite imperatives (old optatives), as in kolgā, celgā, edukkā, is common in other 18th century texts
- 4.  $(K\bar{u}da \cdot p ) purappugal$  shows u (< i) on account of the influence of the blabial.
- 5. "Vulgar" colloquialisms like the following in which i appears instead of u in the neighbourhood of palatal consonants, occur in the texts:—cimadugal, perima, etc.

ortkkal, in-kk, pōriga, tarıga, orımbādə, occur in literary Mal.

6. Kettō, kittō (with centralised i), kittō, kittō are common colloquial variants of the phrasal expletive  $k\bar{e}tt\bar{o}$  'did (you) hear?' used frequently in conversation. Owing to the weakening of the syllable containing  $\bar{e}$ , allegroforms like the above are common in the colloquials. The spelling kittō used in Varit. stands for one of such colloquial forms

ellāppəlum, ippəlum, appələ $\,$  show the unrounding of the original o and the production of a variety of  $_{\partial}.$ 

- 7. o is raised to u in the forms kula (for kola 'murder', perhaps under the influence of word kula which means 'bunch'), muli (for moli 'statement' word'), puli (for poli 'falsehood')
- 8 Old -a of verb-bases appears as -e in forms like kureo., ude-kk-, are-cco, etc
- 9. Final  $\partial$  [<older u] has become still further opened out to a in forms like the following  $-\bar{a}nnala-y-\bar{a}yir_ikkunna$

paṭṭānna-y-um bhannappāḍa-y-um muṣka-y-um īṇadappāḍa-y-um The change is attested by the use of the glide -y- before the samuccaya um, if the old a had been preserved, then it would have been elided.

This change is not absent in the other colloquials: patfanna [< patfanna ], anna [< anna ], anna [< anna], anna [< anna], anna [< anna], anna], anna], anna[< anna]

Some of these forms with -a are used in the literary dialect also.

10 Instances of vocalic contractions shown in the spellings are the following, all of which are common in other colloquials also:—

-ōļum [G]<-ōļuvum; ōlōm, appears beside oļum already in K Bhāg. and K Bhr.—ōlum is a variant that occurs in SV and Vartt.

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<oklēne<okka y·n·e [accusative form]
kāļē<kāla-y·e [accus]
kaļudē<kaļud a·v·e [acc.]
pūjāyi<ptija-y·āyi
rakṣillāññu<rakṣa-y·illāññu
saṅnadila<saṅnadi-y·illa
ammāguhna<amma-y·āguhna
cenwāytt<<cmmu-yarutta 'what bring</pre>
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cemmortto<cemmu-varutto 'what brings about prosperity' 'religious benediction'.

(To be continued.)

# INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD\*

Βv

# D. B. DISKALKAR

## MŪLI

No. 125]

v. s. 1685

[25-1-1629

Mūli is a fourth class state in Zālāvad. The Thakur of the State is a Paramāra Rajput. The following inscription is found in the Sun temple, popularly called Māṇḍavarāi temple in Mūli. It is in a good condition and measures 16" by 15".

The first five lines of the record are devoted to the praise of Gaṇapati, Sūrya and other deities. Then follows a verse descriptive of the greatness of the name of Rāma. Then the date is given, viz, Sunday, the 11th day of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1685 or Saka 1550 the samvatsara being Īśvara, when in the victorious reign of the emperor Shah Jahan and of the paramāra king Rāmji, Gopāla son of Bhagavatidāsa and his wife Amulā of the Nanduānā community caused the temple of Maṇḍaparāya to be made. This is again expressed in a verse.

# Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरदायै नमः ॥ श्रीपरमगुरुभयो नमः ॥ ॐ नमः परमात्म
- 2 ने नम ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीजैयो मंगलाभ्यदयश्च ॥ यं ब्रह्मवेदांतविदो वदंति । परं प्र
- 3 धानं पुरुषं तथान्ये ॥ विश्वाहृतेः कारणमीश्वरं वा । तस्मै नमो विव्नवि
- 4 नाशनाय ॥ १ ॥ नमः सिवत्रे जगदेकचक्षुषे । जगत्प्रसूतिस्थितना
- 5 शहेतवे ॥ त्रयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मधारिणे । विरंचिनारायणशंक
- 6 राहमने ॥ २ ॥ कल्याणानां निधानं कलिमलमथनं पावनं पावना
- 7 नां । पाथेयं यन्मुमुक्षोः सपदि परपदप्राप्तये प्रस्थितस्य ॥ विश्रा-
- 8 मस्थानमेक कविवरवचसां योगिनां ध्यानगम्यं । बीजं धर्मद्रमस्य
- 9 प्रभवतु भवतां भूतये रामनाम ॥ ३ ॥ श्री[म]तृपविकमार्कसमया
- 10 तीत ॥ संवत् १६८५ वर्षे शाके १५५० प्रवर्त्तमाने शालिवाहनना
- 11 मि शकाधिपत्तौ ॥ ईश्वरनामि संवत्सरे उत्तरायन(ण)गते श्रीसर्थे
- 12 विविरऋतौ महामांगल्यप्रदे मासोत्तमे माघमासे शुक्लपक्षे एका
- 13 दश्यां पुण्यतिथौ रविवासरे आर्द्रानक्षत्रे ॥ पातसा[हश्रीदााहाजान]
- 14 [अदलश] वाईविजयराज्ये परमारश्रीरामजी वि[जयराज्येनंदु ]
- 15 **आणा**ज्ञातीय **मादेका**श्रीचेलागृहे भार्या बाई कर्मादे तत्स्रत मादे
- 16 का देवा गृहे भायां बाई लर्ष[मि]दे तत्स्रत मादेका गोपाल गृहे भा
- 17 र्या बाई देवकी तत्सुत भगवतीदास गृहे भार्या बाई अमुला नं

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from Vol. III. p 288

- 18 दुआणा गोपाल ए श्रीमडपरायजीनो प्रासाद कराव्यो छे ॥ गोजधर गो
- 19 विद्युत महादेव । नांदीमुख ज्ञातिकुळावतंसः श्रीचेळनामा द्विजव
- 20 र्य आसीत्।। तस्यात्मजो देव इति प्रसिद्धो धरातले देवसमो बभूव॥ १॥
- 21 बलदर ॥ रूपमल ॥ मजडो ॥ मंगलं लेषकाना च ॥ कर्त्रणां चै[व] मगलं ॥
- 22 मंगलं सर्वभतानां । भूमिभपतिमंगलं ॥ श्रम भवत कल्याणमां स्त् ]

## GADHAKĀ

No. 1261

v. s. 1687

[15-3-1631

This inscription is copied from one of the  $p\bar{a}li\bar{a}s$  standing near the Kothāri Vāv at Gaḍhakā in the Khambhāliā Mahal of the Navanagar State.

The inscription records the death on Tuesday, the eighth of the dark half of Phāgaṇa of v.s. 1687 of Jādejā Hālā Śrī Rāhabhji, in a fight at Ga-ḍhakā.

Some other palias record the deaths of other warnors on the same date. Hālā  $\acute{s}$ ri Hardholji was one of them.

# Text

- 1 संवत् १६८७ वर्ष फा
- 2 गण व. ८ भम जाडजा
- 3 हाला श्री राहभजी ग
- 4 दक भग्ने देवातण पा
- 5 माछे।

## MANGROL

No. 127]

v. s. 1687

15-5-1631

A bilingual (Persian and Sanskrit) inscription is lying in the Deli of Sadmiya in Lalpura in the fort Mangrol The Sanskrit version is very much damaged so that it cannot be wholly read. It measures  $12\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ .

It opens with the date, Monday (?) the 15th day of the bright half of Vaisākha in v.s. 1687 or Saka 1552 and refers to the reign of the emperor Salim Shah. It then mentions the name of the viceroy appointed over Saurāṣṭra, but unfortunately his name is missing. In the last line are preserved some letters of an imprecatory verse which shows that a grant was made by this inscription.

The Emperor of Delhı at the time of this inscription was Shah Jahan and not Selim Shah which is the other name of Jahangir. Such a mistake is excusable in this distant part of the country.

## Text

- 1 ॥ संवत् १६८७ वर्षे शाके १५५२ प्रवर्तमाने...वसंतऋतौ महामांगल्यप्रदे
- 2 वैशाषमासे शुक्लपक्षे १५ सोमे\* अद्य श्रीम...पातसाह श्री **० शलेमशाह**विजयरा

<sup>\*</sup> The week day does not agree unless  $\frac{1}{4\pi^2}$  is meant. There was a lunar eclipse when the grant was made.

- 4 जी श्रीमाहालणिशालमध्ये नंदवाणस वंसे वांकाणी तस्य भार्या बा सविरा तस्य पुत्र ३ प्रथम ठाकर वाळा तस्य
- 5 भाषी बा जसमादे दोता वा जीवादे तस्य भूव ३ वा कल्याण ताज रावता ता त्रीकम । तथा भाई जवत । तस्य
- 6 भार्या वा जमणदे । तृतीय भाईश्रीनो कष्णदास तस्य भार्या वा कल्याणदे तस्य पुत्र ४ प्रथम नागोकलाना ? ना
- 7 रायणताना वरेरताना मोहनदास त गोकलना पुत्र ३ प्रति भाणजी ता भीमजी ताना लीलाघर ता नाराय
- 8 ण सु ओधवर्जी ठाकर कष्णदास दुआमण्ये राज्य झाला श्री ५ मोकाजी सुत भुपतजीना दुआमण्ये श्रील
- 9 क्याँनारायणनो प्रासाद शिखरबंध कराव्यो छे नंदवाणो कष्णदासे कराव्यो छे। तस्य भार्या वा कल्याणदे प्रसा
- 10 द कराव्यो छे श्रीरणछोडजी दयाए करी ते की घो छे। संवत् १६८५ वर्षे वैशाष शुद २ सुहुर्त की घु छे संवत् १६
- 11 ८८ ना आपाद शुद्र २ संपूर्ण कीवो छे। मौजे हुआमध्ये भोम्य प्राजापना १ सेटा २ सेटो २ पचासीआता मात्र उपरे छे संटो १
- 12 वीजो गामनी उगमणि मेरे छे। झाले श्री मोकेजीसुत भूपतजीए अघाट पुत्रपौत्रादीक अप्यो छे कण्णार्पण बुधे
- 13 आप्यो छे। श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणने प्रसाद मुक्यो छे एजे ताकड तेने परमश्वर प्रछे...

# HALVAD

No. 1321

v. s 1690

[30-3-1634

This inscription is copied from a  $p\bar{a}h\bar{a}$  standing in the sixteen-pillar deri to the north-east of Bhavānī Mātā's temple in ' $R\bar{a}jehara$ ' to the east of the town Halvad.

The inscription records the death of Mahārāṇā Āsakaraṇji on Sunday the eleventh of the bright half of Caitra in v.s. 1690.

#### Tort

सवत् १६९० वरषे चई त्र सूद ११ रवे माहारां ण श्री**आसकरण** जी

# JHINJUVĀDĀ

No 1331

vs 1692

[28-2-1636 [6-3-1636

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab built in the kotho near the temple of Rajabai Mātā in Jinjhuvādā, which is sixteen miles north of Khārāghodā Railway Station The inscribed portion measures 3 ft. in length and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  ft in breadth.

It records that a ruler—whose name is missing—of the Makayānā family repaired the fort and built the kotho, etc at great cost on Sunday, the third of the bright half of Phāgana in v.s. 1692

#### Text

- 1 संवत १६९[२] वैष फागणनासे सुकलाषे रवीवासरे वा
- य म झझुवाडा...महास्थांने नरपती राअ मकआणा
- 3 वसे रा. माहाराजाअ गढ सम...
- 4 व कणेनो कोटो पाआमाथी करावो आध्रमणी रांचनो कोटो
- ...करावो चोगीर्द कोटानां थीगडां क
- 6 रावां गढकेडे द्रव घणो घरचो उनमणी रांघ ऊची करावी गढ

# **JĀMANAGAR**

No. 1341

v s. 1696

[14-2-1640

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of the image of Sambhavanātha in the Comukha temple opposite the Rājasiṣā temple in Jāmnagar. In the central part of the inscribed pertion is carved a beautiful figure of a galloping horse on which are engraved the letters 'श्री संभवनाथ विवस '. The inscribed pertion, which is in a good condition measures 34" in length and only 5" in breadth. The poet, who composed this inscription, but who has not given his name, seems to be a learned man

The record opens with the date, which is Friday, the 3rd of the bright half of Phālguna of vs 1696 and refers to the reign of Jām Lākhāṇi of the Yadu family of Navānagar Then the name of Āryarakṣitasūri is given, who was descended in a regular line of succession from Lord Mahāvīra, in the Ancala gaccha. His successor was Dharmamūrtisūri, who was again succeeded by Kalyānsāgarasūri. Under his instructions Sah Rājasi son of Tejaši son of Bhojā, son of Hirā, son of Narapāl, son of Samarā, son of Muntā, son of Jāhala, who was the son of Sah Udā of the Nāgada gotra and Uṣakeṣa (i.e. Osvāl) community, caused an image of Sambhavanātha to be set up In the latter portion of the inscription the qualities of Rājasi are described and an account is given of his family as also of that of his younger brother Sah Nensi.

- 1 संवत् १६९६ वर्षे फाल्गुन सुदि ३ शुक्ते श्रीनव्यनगरे श्रीयदुवंशोत्तंस यामश्री-रुाषाजीविजयिराज्ये श्रीअंचलगच्छे श्रीमहावीरपद्यानुकमायातश्रीचकेश्वरीदेवीविहत ऽ प्रसाददरीकृतनिखिलकुमतिमनोन्मादशीविषिपक्षगच्छसंस्थापकसिद्धांतोक्तसन्मागंश्रकाशकप-
- ज्यश्रीआर्यस्थितसूर्यस्वे(स्ते)षां पद्मानुक्रमेण श्रीजिनशासनप्रधा
- 3 नसाञ्चिकयासावधानसकलगुणनिधानपूज्यश्रीधम्मैमूर्तिसूर्यस्तत्पद्दोदयाचलामलमौलिससुद्यत्-प्रद्योतनोपमसांप्रतं विद्यमानयुगप्रधानपूज्यभ० कल्याणसागरसूरी
- 4 श्वराणामुपदेशेन श्रीउपकेशज्ञातीनागडागोत्रे सा० ऊदा पुत्र सा० जाहरू पु० सा० मुंटा [पु० सा०] संमरा पु० सा० नरपाल पु० सा० हीरा पु० सा० भोजा पु० सा० तेजसी पुत्रानेकजनाधारश्रीजिनधम्मेंदी

- 5 प्रिकारितानेकजिनागारलेखितज्ञानभांडागारल्लपागात्वारयशोधवलीकृतसंसारमंखितानेकसन्ना-गारकातधनप्राप्ति( ? ) सार श्रीसम्यक्च मृलद्वादशबतधारसा० राजसीहेन भावी
- ठ श्रीराणादे राजलदे पु॰ सा॰ रामसी भा॰ सिरियादेव्या युत्तेन सा॰ राजसी लघुश्रातृ सा॰ नयणसी भा॰ श्र[थ]मवरंगदे पु॰ सा॰ सोमसीसहितेन द्वि॰ मोहणदे पु॰ सा॰... भा॰ धनादे पु॰ सा॰ इरसी प्रजादिपरि...

# WADHWAN

No. 135]

vs 1699

[21-4-1642

This inscription is engraved on a  $p\bar{a}li\bar{a}$  called 'Rāthod Māno pālio' (the memorial stone of the Rathod mother), in Wadhwan city Many of the letters in the record, which measures 1'-8" by 1'-5" are too much weatherworn.

It records that Rājoji's queen, who came from the Rāthod family became a sati at the death of her husband on Thursday, the second of the bright half of Vaisākha in v.s. 1699 or Saka 1565.

The king Rājoji, mentioned in the inscription was the younger brother of Sultānji mentioned in the Vānkāner inscription of v.s. 1679 He founded the Wadhwan house and his brother did the Vānkāner house.

### Text

- श्रीगणेशाय नमः स्वस्ति श्रीजयोमग
- 2 लमभ्युदयश्च सं. १६९९ वरषे शाके १५
- 3 ६५ (४१) वर्तमाने उत्तरायने गते श्रीसर्थे वसंत
- 4 ऋतौ महामांगल्यप्रदमासोत्तम वैशाखमासे
- 5 शुक्लपक्षे २ गुरुवासरे महाराणा [चद्रसेनजी ]
- तस्य भार्या वाई पु...सुत...[पृथ्वीराजजी ]
- 7 ...जी तस्य भार्या बाई...तस्य सुत
- 8 श्रीराजोजी.....
- 9 श्री राजा राठोड श्री...सुत राठोड श्रीइ
- 10 सवरदासजी तस्य भार्या बाइ हरषबाई तस्य सुता बाई
- 11 श्रीरामकुअर सागवन कीधा सुभं भवतु क
- 12 लाणमस्तु जयो मं...

# RAJASITHAPUR

No. 1361

vs. 1700

[25-6-1644

This inscription is engraved on a white marble stone fixed in a niche of the Siva temple near the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyana in the town Rājsithāpur, formerly called simply Sithā in the Dhrāngdhrā State. The inscription is very incorrectly engraved. It measures 12½" by 20".

It opens with the date, Tuesday, the second day of the bright half of Aśādha of v s. 1700 or Śaka 1566 and refers to the rule of the Emperor Shah Jehan (of Delhi) and of the king AMARSIMHAJI, son of Mahāraṇa CANDRA-

SENA of Zālāvād with his capital at Halvad, when Libada Goiā (?) of Paramāra family at Sīthā caused temples of Visnu, Siva and Hanumān to be built

The epithet  $\overline{\text{gaq}}$  used with Shahajehan in this inscription deserves to be noted. It is well known that Sivaji began to use this epithet just about this time.

#### Text

- शिगणेशाय नमां श्रीहरीहर नमां स्वरसती
- 2 अनमां ॥ संवत १७०० वरषे शाके १५६६
- 3 प्रवत्त्माने उत्तारायने आवाढ स्र
- 4 द २ घटीका ६ २५ तदोपरांत द्वीतीयायं पुण्य
- 5 तिथ भोमवासरे पुष्यनक्षत्र घटी ५० २४
- 6 हरिषण नम्नजोग घटीका २५ ३५ ते दन प्रासा
- 7 द सांपुरण श्रीहरीहरन प्रासाद हणंमतन
- 8 प्रसाद उधार की[ध] परीआ एकोतरस्य अद्या
- 9 रा (१) छत्रपती पतसाहा श्रीसाहाजांन देस
- 10 पती श्रीभोमपालक झालावाड श्रीहलवदे मा
- 11 हारांणं श्रीचंद्रसेनना सुत वजराज श्रीअमरसंघजी
- 12 जेहना रजपत श्रीसीधामां परमारश्रीलीवडसवा
- 13 सुत चदा सुत वीभा सुत लीबडमुंगल सुत हलधर
- 14 ग्रहे भारजा तु अरमेघबाई सुत लीबडजमल संघ
- 15 ना झब अजमल प्रेहे भारजा अभकलहाअना डोडी
- 16 आंणी अनवाई सुत चार ४ तेमां लीवडगोइ....
- 17 कराव गोईआब्रहे भारजा सुकलना राठड...बा
- 18 ई जलमदे तस पुत्री अमलाबाई दूतीए...भार
- 19 जा सीघववालमदे बाई[ दू ]तीए भारजा चाअडा
- 20 भातु बाई तस पुत्र सबल अरजन समभवतु
- 21 देरान करनार गजधर रामजी आणंद प्रेमाभाई

#### BEYT

No. 137]

v.s. 1702?

[1645-46

This inscription is found near the ruined tank called Juni Sankhataļai in the small island called Beyt Sankhoddhār near Dwarka. It measures about 16'' by 11''.

In the third line the name Vikramasimha is given probably of the king of the place, who fought with the enemies for the protection of women, children and other people The object of the inscription seems to record the death of a man, who fell in the fight in v.s. 1702 (?).

- 1 संवत [१७०२]वर्षे...
- ... लकरणे प्रतिब...

- 3 म॰ श्रीविक्रमसीह...
- 4 ...स्रीबालादिप्रजारक्षार्थ
- 5 ...राज ० [षीमाणदेव ?]...
- 6 ...घणाणीआ....
- 7 मृतः ॥ ग्रभं भवतः ।

## KHĀRVĀ

No. 138] v s. 1715. [8-5-1659

This inscription is found in a well to the west of the village Khārvā, three miles to the south-east of Dhrol. The inscribed portion measures 1'.5'' in length and 1' in breadth.

It records that on Sunday, the thirteenth of the dark half of Vaisākha in v.s. 1715 in the reign of the Jādejā king Jaṇaji, evidently of Dhrol, a well was built in Khāryā a village dedicated to the god Siva by Bhānji, Gangadāsa and Karama, sons of Patel Ratnā at the total cost of 1250 koris.

## Text

- 1 संवत १७१५ वर्षे वैसाष
- 2 वद १३ रवी जाडेजा श्रीजणजी
- 3 ना राज अवीचलप० रतना स
- 4 त भणज तथा सत गगदास क
- 5 रमण वाव करावी छ सदासी
- 6 वयाम षाखा क ८२५ क
- 7 डीआ देवराज चण ४२५ षर्चा
- 8 छे १२५०। श्री

# SHEKHAPAT

No. 139] v. s. 1719 [16-2-1663

These two inscriptions are copied from two pāluās, raised in a deri in the village Sekhapāt in the Jamnagar State

Both the inscriptions are of the same date The first records the death in a fight at Sekhapāt of Jām Rājasimhji on Monday, the third day of the dark half of Phālguna in v.s. 1719 or (Saka 1584). The other inscription records the death in the same battle of Kumāra Bāmaniyāji, son of Jām Rājasimhji by his wife Cāpjibai

At the death of Jām Ranmaljī in vs 1717 without any issue his brother Raisunhji, who was staying at Āmarana succeeded to the gādi; but Ranmalji's widow did not like this Through her brother she invited Kutubuddin, the subā of Ahmedabad to invade Nawanagar. In the fight that ensued Jam Raisunhji was slain as stated in the inscription, and Nawanagar fell into the hands of the subā.

# Text

(9)

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः संवत् १७१९
- 2 वर्षे शाके १५८४ प्रवर्तमाने रिव
- 3 उत्तरायने गते श्रीसूर्य शिशिर
- 4 रता महामांगल्यप्रद मसो
- 5 तम फलगुमासे ऋष्नपक्षे नृति
- 6 यां तथौ बारे श्रीसोमवासरे त दि
- 7 ने जामश्री ७ राजसिंहजी रणे
- 8 भूमे शोषपात युधे मृत स्वर्ग प्रा
- 9 प्तः श्रीज्ञमं भवत् श्री
- 10 कल्याणमस्तु [।\*]

( ? )

- श्रीगणेशायनसः संवत् १७१९
- 2 वर्षे शाके १५८४ प्रवर्तमाने र
- 3 वि उत्तरायने गते श्रीसर्ये शि
- 4 शिरस्तौ महामांगल्यप्रद
- 5 मासोत्तम फालग्रमासे क
- 6 ष्णपक्षे त्रतियायां तिथौ श्री
- 7 सोमवासरे तदिने जामश्री ७
- 8 राजसिंघजी तस्य जाई बाई श्री
- 9 चापजी तत्स्रत कुअरश्री ५ बाम
- 10 णियाजी रणभूमे युधं कत्वा स्व
- 11 र्ग प्राप्तः श्रीशुमं भवतु ।

# BEYT

140] v.s 1720

19-1-1664

This inscription is copied from a *pāliā* standing in front of the temple of the new Śankhanārāyana temple in Beyt. It records the death, of Rānā Akherājaji, son of Rānā Sangrāmyī, evidently the Vāḍhel Rānā of Aramdā and Beyt, in vs. 1720 Bhādarava Sud 1

# Text

- 1 संवत् १७२० भादरवा
- 2 सुद १ राणा संप्रामजी सुत
- 3 राणा आखेराजजी सरण पाम्या

#### ANINDARĀ

No. 141] v. s. 1721

[10-5-1665

This inscription is engraved on a white stone built up in the Bhāṇa well in the village Anidarā in its western part, at a distance of 8 miles to the north of Wadhwan. It measures 11" in height and 8½" in breadth.

It records the building of a well in v s 1721 (or Saka 1587) on Wednesday the 6th of the bright half of Jyestha, by Bhānji of the Jhālā family, who was son of Lakhmanji, son of Khetāji, son of Sādalļi, son of Asoji, son of Jodhāji. Bhānji's mother was Bai Lāchu, daughter of Rānā Nāranjī, son of Bhavānji, son of Monguji, and his wife was Pārvati His three sons were named Sādalji, Vāghalji, and Hamirji.

# Text

- श्रीगणेसायनमः स्वस्त श्री जय
- 2 मंगलाभ्यदश्री संवत १७२१ वर
- 3 वे साके १५८७ प्रवर्तमाने उत्त
- 4 रायने गते श्रीसर्य प्रष्म
- 5 ऋतौ महामंगत्यप्रदमासो
- 6 तम जषमास सुवलपक्ष अय ष
- 7 ष्रदीन बधवासरे राजक
- 8 लभालीय [श्री ]झाला राणा सुत जो
- 9 धाजी सुत आसोजी सुत सादाल
- 10 जी सत बताजी सत लबसणजी
- 11 सुत भाणजी भारजा बाई पार
- 12 वती सुत सादलजी तथा वाघ
- 13 जी तथा हमीरजी, मसालपक्ष रा
- 14 णा श्रीमंगुजी सुत भवनजी सु
- 15 त नारणजी स्त बाई लाखंबाई
- 16 सुन बाघेला भुआली बाघेला भा
- 17 णजी कुओ संपरण कर छे
- 18 छखतंग गोकल सलार दसकत

# HALVAD

No. 1421

v.s. 1722

[29-1-1666

This inscription is copied from one of the pāliās standing near the thirtysix pillared deri in Halvad.

It records the death of Gohel Lākhāji who was son of Āsāji by his wife Potbai and grandson of Gohel Chachāji on the eighth day of the bright half of Aśvina in v.s. 1722, while fighting on behalf of Mahārāṇā Gajasinhji, evidently the Zālā ruler of Halvad, who reigned from 1661 to 1673 A.D.

- 1 सन १७२२ आसा ग्रुद
- 2 ८ दने गोहल छछाजी स
- 3 त आसाजी भारया
- 4 पोतबाई शत गो

- 5 हेल लवाजी महाराण
- 6 श्री गजरांघजीने कांमा आ
- 7 बाह्य.

# MULI

No 1431

v.s 1735

[14-8-1679

This inscribed  $p\tilde{a}lia$  is standing in the  $p\tilde{a}dar$  of Muli It records that Pathak Dhanji son of Lila stabbed himself to death on hearing of the death of Paramāra Visāji, on Thursday, the second of the dark half of Sravaņa in v.s. 1735.

This Visāji (or Visoji) is probably the youngest brother of Bhojrājji II, the Paramāra ruler of Mūli (see Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 556).

# Text

- 1 स्वस्त श्रीसंवत १७३५ वर
- 2 षे श्रावण बढ २ गुरुवासरे पा
- 3 ठक लीलासत पाठक ध
- 4 नजीओ कटारी परमार
- 5 बीसाजीने (१) उनरे गले भा
- 6 जी छे हरीशरण थया
- 7 छे

#### BEYT

No. 1441

v.s 1738

[31-5-1682

The  $p\bar{a}iia$  bearing the following inscription is standing half buried in the ground near Laksmiji's  $vakh\bar{a}r$  in Beyt Sankhoddhar. It has the sculpture of a king riding on a horse and with a sword in his raised right hand. The saddle, the reins and the ornaments of the horse are very exquisitely carved. Behind the king is standing a servant holding an umbrella over the king's head. The inscribed portion, which measures  $16\frac{1}{2}r'' \times 15r''$  is illegible in the lower portion.

It records the death of Rāṇā Bhīma, most probably a Vāḍhel king, on the fifth day of the bright half Jeṭha in v.s. 1738.

#### Text

- 1 :॥ संवत् १७३८ वर
- 2 षे जेठ शुद ५ दीने रा
- 3 णाश्री ७ भीमजी
- 4 ... श्री: श्री

# GADHAKĀ

No. 145]

v.s. 1740

120-10-1683

This inscribed  $p\bar{a}la$  was found in the village Gadhakā. It records the death of Sutăr Parbat while fighting against the VÄGHERS in GADHAKĀ

# Text

- शिगणेशायनमः संवत १७४८ व
- 2 र्षे जेठ सद ३ सोमे रा श्री**हमीर**
- 3 सुत राश्री **जेसा** सुत राअ कुअर
- 4 श्रीसबलसंघजी सत माहाराण
- 5 श्रीगजसंघजी सत कूअर
- 6 . . . .

# HALVAD

No. 150]

v. s. 1749.

[5-5-1693.

This inscription is copied from a pālia standing near the thirty-six pillared den at Halvad.

The inscription records that *Gohel Vasāji* son of Gohel Karanji by his wife Jivibai, and grandson of Gohel Govindjī was slain in a battle while fighting on behalf of *Mahārāṇā Jasvantsimhji*, on the tenth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1749.

Mahārānā Jasyantsımhji was the Zālā ruler of Halvad, who ruled from 1683 to 1723 AD.

# Text

- श्रीगणशाय नमः संवत् १७
- 2 ४९ ना वैशाख शु. १० गोहेल गो
- 3 विदजी सुत करणजी भार्या बा
- 4 ई जीविबाई सुत गोहेल वसा
- 5 जी महाराणा श्री**जसवतसं** 6 **घजीने** काम आव्या है।

#### KHAMBHALIA

No 1511

v. s. 1749

[5-5-1693.

This inscription is engraved on a palia raised in one of the Deris to the north of the temple of Khambhanātha Mahādeva in Khambhāliā in the Nawanagar State It records that a Gugali Brahman woman named Lädbai became sati at the death of her husband, Sankar Raghunātha on the 10th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1749 (or Śāka 1615).

- संवत् १७४९ वर्षे शाके १६१५ प्रवर्त
- 2 माने वैशाषमसे शुक्लपक्षे द
- 3 शमी तिथी गुगलीज्ञातीय जो
- 4 सी रघुनाथसुत शंकर तेणे शिव
- 5 उपर कमलपूजा षाधी छे तेम
- 6 ला (ना) स्त्री लाडवाईए सहगम
- 7 नकीधुंछे॥...

#### GOPANĀTHA

No. 1521

v. s. 1750.

[25-6-1694.

This inscription, measuring 7" in length and breadth is found in the well to the north-west of the celebrated temple of Gopanātha in the possession of the Maharaia of Bhavnagar.

The inscription records that a well was built by a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmacān named Ānanda on Monday, the twelfth of the bright half of Āṣāḍha in v.s. 1750. The political connection of the Maiāthās with the province had not yet begun.

# Text

- 1 श्रीसदाशिवाय नमः
- 2 संवत १७५० वरषे अ
- 3 शांड स. १२ सोमवास
- 4 रे दक्षिणी माराष्ट
- 5 ब्रह्मचारी आनंद
- 6 विष्णुप्रसादात् गो
- 7 पीनाथ ऋपास्थकी वा
- 8 पी संपूर्ण ग्रुमं भवत

(To be Continued.)

with regard to each part. In relation to the part known there can be no knowledge while in relation to the other part there cannot be the desire to know. This latter desire seems indeed to be inconsistent both with knowledge and with ignorance. The difficulty is persistent and insurmountable, so long as knowledge is conceived as an external relation between a subject and an object. Is knowledge at all possible? Certainly, The self knows itself, it cannot doubt or deny itself, since it is the self of him who doubts or denies But the self is self-luminous, it is not known as an object to a subject, it is itself knowledge, neither the object nor the subject thereof. Whatever is cognised succeeds in being cognised, only in so far as there is revealed its identity with the intelligence which is knowledge, and this could not be the case, if the object were really independent. It is because object and subject are both abstractions from the one intelligence, it is because both alike are super-impositions on the basic infinite identity, that the knowing relation is at all possible

A relation exists either between independent terms or between related terms. If they be independent, the relation would require other relations to connect it to the terms; thus there would be infinite regress. If already related, are they related by this same relation? If so there is the defect of self-dependence. If by another relation, with regard to that too our inquiry will anse, leading again to infinite regress. Relation thus presupposes a non-relational substrate. And this substrate must be self-luminous intelligence, since the non-intelligent, as dependent on intelligence for manifestation, cannot be non-relational. Thus the basic reality has to be of the nature of intelligence which accounts for both the existence and manifestation of the non-intelligent, called primal nature or māyā. Hence it is that Vișnu is said to be more primal than primal nature.

The real, being non-relational, is beginningless and one. What is not a term in a relation cannot be a member of a temporal series. Time is in it, like other relations If it had a beginning it would be an effect, whereas the causal relation itself is but an appearance superimposed on the real, as will be evident from its failure to be intelligible in the last resort. The causal concept seeks to make change intelligible by discovering the element of identity in the change. It is because of the importance of identity and continuity that the creationist view of the effect as wholly new is condemned by the followers of the Sānkhya, Vedānta and allied schools, who maintain that the effect is pre-existent in the cause, requiring only to be manifested and not created But the advocates of the effect as pre-existent (satkaryavada) do but postpone the difficulty. The effect that is manifested, does it pre-exist as manifest or as non-manifest? Obviously not the former. If it exists as non-manifest, does the manifestation make any difference to the effect or not? If not, it is irrelevant, and an irrelevant factor cannot avail to make a fundamental difference between cause and effect. If it does make a difference, then the manifested effect is not the same as the non-manifested one and there is no justification for treating the effect as pre-existent in the cause. Further, this identity we seek between cause and effect, has it any limits? The effect is something produced, if the cause should be of like nature, should it not also be something produced, ie an effect in its turn? If we admit this, we are committed to an unending series of causes and effects, with no chance of an ultimate explanation, If so much identity is not required, why should we not admit as much discreteness between cause and effect as is involved in the creationist's view that the effect, prior to production, is non-existent? Because of these and other such difficulties we hold that the real is beginningless.

It is also one, since for the reasons mentioned it is non-relational, and a plurality is necessarily in a relation at least of separation. The usual dialectic of difference takes the following form Ultimate plurality is unintelligible, since apart from difference there can be no manifold Difference cannot be conceived either as an

attribute of the particulars or as their very essence. If particulars A and B are distinct as having difference for their attribute, then we have to admit that, at least in so far as they have this attribute in common, they are identical, i.e., nondifferent. In other words, the attribute of difference in so far as it is really possessed by the alleged differents, makes them non-different, this is absord the quality of difference, is this different or not from the particulars alleged to be different? If not different, we merge the quality in the substance, thus A would be identical with difference-of-A-from-B and B identical with difference-of-B-from-A. A in other words would be identical with B. If the quality is different from the particulars, we have interposed, between the particular and its difference, aiother difference, this again will be separated from the terms by another quality of difference and so on ad infinitum. Nor can difficulties be avoided by treating difference as the essence of the particulars That whose very nature is difference cannot be one; the doctrine of difference as essential cannot therefore allow of the recognition of any unit, not even a primal atom, since this too should fall apart into distinct parts, similarly of its constituents ad infinitum; and in the absence of any unit, there can be no manifold either: the very insistence on difference serves to abolish difference

Multiplicity, however, is not unreal, for it is immediately experienced; and what is unreal, like the barren woman's son, cannot be an object of immediate cognition. Nor can it be real, as we have seen, since it fails to stand analysis. It is experienced, yet it is sublated , what is real, like the self, can never be sublated Diversity therefore can be neither real nor unreal. It is a product of Nescience (māyā or avidyā), which obscures the unity and projects a multiplicity.

Such obscuration and projection constitute error; and error refuses to admit of explanation in terms of the real or the unreal. The rope-snake cognition is not ot the real; for then the snake should continue to be perceived for all time and by all people, sublation would be impossible. Nor is it of the unreal, since the unreal cannot be immediately apprehended, much less can it cause trepidation and flight. Two possible ways suggest themselves out of this impasse. One is to admit the reality of the content of the erroneous cognition, but not as cognised i.e., not here and now. The snake is real enough, but not as I perceive it, in the rope; it will be found in its own appropriate hole, ready to cause not only fear, but more serious damage to those who approach What fails us in erroneous cognition, then, is not the content, but the mode. If we cognised the snake as in its hole and the silver as in the cash box, instead of perceiving them in the rope and in the nacre, there would be no delusion. Delusion is not the cognition of the unreal (asatkhyāti), but the cognition of the real as otherwise than it is (anvathā khyāti). Such a view has a good deal to commend it. It does not do violence by asking us to believe in immediate experience of the unreal. It is patently verified in those cases of delusion where there is a transference of properties because of proximity etc, e.g., in the erroneous cognition of a crystal as red, because of the proximity of a China rose, the crystal is real, but not as red, and redness is real, but not as a property of the crystal In such cases, however, both constituents of the delusive cognition—the crystal and the red colour—are present before us, capable of immediate apprehension through sense-contact. But in the apprehension of nacre as silver, silver is not present here and now so as to be perceived; and yet there is immediate (aparoksa) apprehension of the silver; for, we put out our hand to grasp it, and the inducement of such activity is intelligible only in the case of what 15 immediately apprehended. One may postulate some super-normal mode of sensecontact with even that which is not present. This, however, is an unproved and needless hypothesis If its possibility be admitted for all, there would be no distinction between cognitions of the present and the not-present; if the capacity be restricted to a few, yogins and the like, the widespread phenomenon of delusion

would still have to be explained. Further, in the case of delusions, like the perception of a double moon, there is not a real second moon to serve as the content Hence the admission of a real content, so long as it is not real here and now, does not go very far to solve our difficulty. And, if the content be real here and now, the cognition should not be erroneous.

The denial of error and the doctrine that all cognitions are valid constitute the other possibility. In what is called delusion one may distinguish a perceived and a remembered element; the glitter is perceived, the silverness is remembered. Either element is valid in itself and their mere combination cannot result in invalidity. What happens is that in the case of the remembered factor, the fact of its being a memory-impression is forgotten, its memory-ness is lost. We act as if the two factors are on a par, the result is error and confusion in practice (vyavahāra), though the cognition, as cognition, is all right. Such a valiant attempt to banish the elusive negative element deserves success, but does not achieve it. There is still the loss of memory-ness to be accounted for. A number of causes may be postulated, e.g., passion, fear, greed, sense-defect, etc.; but the essential feature is still negative, a loss. To what does this negative element correspond in cognition? It will not avail to say that the negation and failure belong only to the realm of practice, not to cognition. We tail when we put out our hand to grasp the silver, but did we apprehend it as silver before the activity in question? If not, then, that and other similar acts would be unintelligible, not being prompted by the only adequate cause, viz, immediate cognition of the appropriate content. If, on the other hand, there is apprehension as silver, the negative element has entered into the cognition itself and coloured it. It can no longer be maintained that, while the cognition is valid, practice alone is faulty. Non-discrimination (akhyāti) is not merely a conative but also a cognitive defeat, and we have still to account for this defeat without admitting the reality or the unreality of the content.

Another variety of the last-mentioned view maintains that all cognitions are valid, since all contents are so mixed up in the course of evolution by quintuplication of the elements,\* that every object contains in itself in fractions however small the natures of all other things. Where nacre is recognised as silver, the former contains in itself some infinitesimal amount of silver, as relating to this the cognition is valid, though as referring to a larger quantity of silver, it fails us in practice. It is not that the silver-cognition has any unreal content, the content is real though practically inadequate. Here too the negative factor is not suitably accounted for. Our cognition is of silver, not of infinitesimal silver; in the latter case, practical activity would not result. The real content (admitting quintuplication which is only a hypothesis) falls far short of the cognition, and the inadequacy is not merely practical; the negative element enters into the cognition and calls for explanation.

It is because of such difficulties that the advantin postulates māyā or avidyā to explain error Error has a content, but, for the reasons already noted, the content cannot be characterised as real (sat) or unreal (asat). Nor can it be a combination of the two, as that is self-contradictory. The content is māyā, which, not being exclusively determinable as real or unreal or real-and-unreal, is said to be imponderable, indeterminable (anirvācya), and spoken of as a cave.

<sup>\*</sup>A process wherein each of the five elements is divided into two parts, and one of the parts subdivided into four, before there is intermixture and the production of the things as we know them, thus, one half of the earth-element combines with an eighth each of water, air, fire and ether before there results what we know as earth, similarly, one half of the water-element combines with an eighth each of earth, air, fire and ether, and so on. As a result, every object of cognition has in its composition fractional elements of all other objects, hence no cognition can wholly fail of its content.

#### TT

ātmāmburāśau nikhilo 'pi loko magno 'pi nā 'cāmati ne 'ksate ca | āścarvam etan mrga-trsnikābhe bhayāmburāśau ramate mrsai 'va' !!

#### TTT

garbha-grha-vāsa-sambhava-janma-jarā-marana-viprayogā-'bdhau | jagad ālokya nimagnam prāha gurum prāñjaliḥ śiṣyaḥ² []

tvam sānga-veda-vettā bhettā samsaya-ganasya rta-vaktā samsārā-'rnava-tarana-prasnam<sup>5</sup> prechāmy aham bhagayan ||

The entire world (of conscious beings), though plunged in the ocean of Self, sips it not, nor even glances at it; (yet) it delights but delusively in the mirage-presented waters of migratory existence; lo! mysterious is this.

# ш

Seeing the world sunk in the ocean, consisting of entry into the womb, birth, old age, death and parting, a certain disciple (desirous of knowing the real, approached and) said thus to a preceptor, with folded hands

# τv

Thou art the knower of the Vedas together with their angas, the destroyer of the host of doubts (about the sense of the Scriptures), and the expounder

This nescience is collectively one; but each individual empirical self (iiva) has his own limiting adjunct, that is to say, his particular bit of nescience. Else when one slept all would sleep; and on the release of one, there would be universal release. Hence the reference in the verse to 'caves' in the plural.

The self-luminous single intelligence that is the substrate of diversity and the inner ruler of the apparently finite and multiple jivas, is here addressed as Visnu, since it is all-pervasive, because of this pervasiveness it is ever present; hence the appropriateness of appealing to Visnu as the sole refuge.

The first verse states the nature of the Self, the second verse that of matter or the non-self (Prakrtı). It is thus indicated that what is commenced here is the inquiry for discriminating purusa from prakrti. The terminology and approach are characteristic of the Sankhya system. Hence the plausibility of the ascription of the work to Patañjali.

# ш

This verse indicates the qualifications of the disciple—that through ment and study he should have learnt to distinguish the permanent from the impermanent, know that the apparent worldly pleasures do but occasion misery, turn away from them, desire to know the real Self alone, and possess the Scripturally declared qualifications of self-restraint, contentment, capacity to bear up against physical ills, desire for release &c. Such a one looks for a preceptor in a jivanmukta, and approaching him in the prescribed manner asks as follows.

<sup>1.</sup> This and the preceding verse are not found in B, P or V; nor does K have any verse to correspond to this.

2. This is the first verse in P.

<sup>3</sup> P: chettā (v. 2)

<sup>4.</sup> P: rtam vaktā (v. 2) 5. P. taraņam praśnam (v 2)

#### v

dīrghe 'smin samsāre saṃsarataḥ kasya kena sambandhah | karma śubhā-'śubha-phaladam¹ anubhavati (nu)² gatā-'gatair ıha kaḥ ||

#### V

karma-guṇa-jāla-baddho jīvah samsarati kośakāra iva | mohā-'ndhakāra-gahanāt tasya katham bandhanān mokṣaḥ ||

# VII

guņa-puruṣa-vibhāga-jñe dhatmā-'dhatmau na bandhakau'

bhavatah |

ıti gadita-pürva-vākyaḥ prakrtim purusam ca me brūhi6 | |

of the Truth. To thee, O, revered one, I put this question relating to crossing over the ocean of migratory existence

#### V-VII

For him who migrates in this limitless samsāra (migratory existence), whereby is there relation thereto? Who is it that by passing and repassing here (in these three worlds) experiences the karma that gives fruit, auspicious and inauspicious? Who is the jīva that migrates (as some say) bound in the aggregate of karma and gona (sattva, etc.), like a silkworm ['spider' says the commentary] in a cocoon [web?] made of filaments of its own creation? How, for him, is there release from bondage which is difficult to cvercome, being of the nature of the intense darkness of delusion? For him who knows the distinction between purusa and the guṇas, how is it that merit and demerit are not causes of bondage? Along with (the answers to) these questions, tell me about prakrti and purusa.

# τv

The 'angas' are the well-known subsidiary disciplines, viz, Phonetics, Liturgy, Grammar, Prosody, Etymology and Astronomy. The "Truth" is the real Self expounded in the entire Vedānta and denoted by terms like Bhagavān and Brahman

# V-VII

The Self is self-luminous intelligence; it is pervasive and infinite. What is it then that is subject to transmigration? Self-certitude belongs to my existence, while it is my own self that appears to be bound to suffering. How is this intelligible? If the suffering be said to be an appearance due to māyā that is constituted of the gunas (strands, constituents) sattva, rajas and tamas, how is one to account for the association of the self with māyā? It may be set down to kaima, ie the activity of the Self, and its consequences proximate and remote, patent and lauent. But why should the perfect Self act at all? It has no needs to setrify, no motives to prompt, no desires to fulfil. Activity must be due to avidā, while the association with avidyā has itself to be accounted for by activity (harma). Assuming that the association has somehow come about (unintelligibility, the advartin would claim, is an ornament, not a defect in the case of avidyā),

#### VIII

ity ādhāro1 bhagayān prstah sisyena tam sa ho'vāca vidusām apv atigahanam vaktavvam idam śrnu tathā 'pi tvam

sagyam iya jagad asatyam mülaprakrter idam² krtam yena ' tam pranipatyo 'pendram yaksye paramarthasaram idam'

avvaktād andami abhūd andād brahmā tarah pratā-sargah māvā-mavī prayrttih samhrivata iyam<sup>5</sup> punah kramašah !!

#### VIII

The revered one, the support (of the world, ie, Adiścsa), being thus questioned by the disciple, said to the latter. This which is to be expounded to you is difficult even for the learned (to comprehend), yet (I shall expound it to you:) listen!

# IX

I shall expound this Paramarthasara, after rendering obeisance to Upendia (Vignu), by whom, because of primal nature (i.e., his own energy), this non-real would is created, as if it were real.

# x

From the unmanifest (as subjected to the glance of the Supreme Person) arose the Cosmic Germ; from the Germ (arose) Brahmā; thence (resulted

how can this whose origins are indeterminable have an assured end? What is the certainty of release? If you appeal to the evidence of persons alleged to have found release, the jivanmuktas, how is it that they continue to live and act among us, in spite of their reported release? Will not action serve to bind them afresh? If not, whence their immunity? Such is the string of questions put by the reverent but inquisitive disciple.

The word guna is used here, as in Sānkhya texts, to signify a constituent, not a quality It is possible that the usage primarily derives from a doctrine according to which the qualities themselves constitute the substance, instead of inhering in, 'a something I know not what' as their substrate. Such a view is clearly enunciated and defended by the Saiva Siddhantin.\* However this may be, consistently with the general Sankhya approach, our present text uses 'guna' in the sense of a constituent

#### x

The Vedanta agrees with the Sankhya in recognising a primal non-differentiated matter wherefrom the manifold evolves The former insists, however, on intelligent guidance of the evolution; it is not a mere unconscious process, like the secretion of milk by the cow. Hence the commentator's reference to the "glance

<sup>\*</sup>See further an article by the present writer on 'Substance and Attribute in the Saiva Siddhānta' JORM, VIII, 97

<sup>1</sup> P ksityādhāro, in the reckoning of this text, this is the sixth verse, the second verse in K uses the words "ādhāram bhagavantam", which are explained by a commentator, Yoga Muni, as referring to Sesa.
2. P. omits "idam" (v. 7)

This verse is cited in LM, p 280

<sup>4</sup> The corresponding verse in K mentions four anglas (anglacatustaya); this is verse 1 in B and V.
5. P: māyā-mayah kalpānte saṃhriyate (v. 8).

# XI

māyā-mayo 'py acetā¹ guṇa-karaṇa-ganaḥ² karoti karmāṇi | tadadhiṣṭhātā dehī sa cetano 'pi na karoti kiñcid apı³ ||

# XII

yadvad acetanam api san-nikaţasthe bhrāmake bhramati loham | tadvat karaṇa-samūhaś cestati4 cidadhısthite dehe<sup>5</sup> ||

the creation of beings (movable and immovable); the activity (of the Creator) is of the nature of māyā, this (creation) is again re-absorbed in (reverse) sequence.

# ΧI

The aggregate of guna and karana (1e, the body), which is a product of māyā (as inspired by īśvara), though non-conscious, performs deeds (good, bad and mixed), the controller thereof, the embodied one (the jīva), though he is intelligence, performs no (deed) whatsoever (since activity involving a change of nature is impossible in the case of him who is of the sole nature of intelligence).

# XII

Just as iron, though mert, moves in the proximity of the lodestone, similarly, when the body is controlled by intelligence (through the adoption

of the Supreme Person" and the inspiration of Isvara, in this verse and the next. According to the commentary, the second line has to be rendered thus: this creative activity of the Person who has māyā for adjunct is briefly expounded in this sequence by the learned, eg, "nārāyanah paro 'vyaktād andam avyaktasambhayam" etc.

### XI

Activity is characteristic of intelligence, the non-intelligent, i.e., māyā, is per contra inert. But strangely enough, what we mean by activity in the empirical world is entirely a product of the body. It is the body which is born and dies, which longs and strives, which achieves and rejoices or is miserable, all these are characteristic expressions of the gunas—sativa, rajas and tamas—compounded in varying proportions, and manifest through their own products, the organs, internal and external, the antahkarapas and the indrivas, spirit no doubt is active, but its functioning is free and not delimited in space and time, these latter being partial and defective manifestations of that intelligence. In that integral experience there is no distinction of cause or consequence, agent or act, hence intelligence, though the controller of activity as the substrate thereof, cannot be treated as the agent.

How can the inert be active? To this the answer is furnished in the next verse

# xII

The analogy of iron and the lodestone is common to the Sānkhya too. The point of the comparison lies in the induction of change in what is proximate without any change in that which induces. The present text, however, goes a step further in treating intelligence as what is not merely proximate to, but is also the con-

<sup>1.</sup> P. acetano, ninth verse in its reckoning
2. V: ganam (v 2), B. guna-kara-ganam, and B-3.

3 V and B omit "api" (v. 2)
4 P. cestate (v 10),
5 This verse corresponds to V-3

#### XIII

yadvad savitary udite karoti karmāṇi jīvaloko 'yam ] na ca tāni karoti ravīr na kārayatī tadvad ātmā 'pī' ||

#### XIV

manaso 'haṅkāra-vimūrchitasya² caitanya-bodhitasye 'ha | purusā-'bhimāna-sukha-duhkha-bhāyanā bhayati mūdhasya ||

of misconceptions like 'I am a man'), the aggregate of the organs (i.e., the body) becomes active

# XIII

Just as this world of living beings performs deeds when the sun rises, and it is not the sun that performs them or causes them to be performed, so too is the Self (not an agent in any way).

#### XIV

Of these (māyā-products), for the manas, which has become the object of individuation (egoity) as illumined by intelligence (identified with manas),

troller of matter. Intelligence being infinite and pervasive, there is nothing wherefrom it is remote. Matter, for the advaitin, is not alien to spirit, but a superimposition on spirit, due to the failure of spirit to know itself; hence there is not for matter even as much foreignness as in systems like the Sānkhya. The problem which these systems have to face may be put thus: If mere proximity can induce matter to evolve, evolution would never cease and there would be no release (kaivalya), as the infinite spirit can never cease to be proximate; if some kind of control be admitted as necessary, it is not intelligible. What form of control could exist as between two wholly foreign entities? Some community of nature is necessarv as between director and directed. The advaita concept of matter would thus seem to be in a more advantageous position. But here again it may be asked how matter can ever cease to evolve, inasmuch as spirit, to which matter is not foreign, is always, in proximity and presumably exercises control all the time. To that the reply is as follows: matter, which is neither real nor unreal, is proximate to spirit as a superimposition thereon; for superimposition there is needed identification of the self with the not-self; such identification is possible and actual because of beginningless nescience; what is called control by spirit consists just in this identification (appearing in such forms as 'I am a man, a brahmin, old, lame, blind of one eve,' etc.); this nescience is destroyed with the onset of knowledge, i.e., self-realisation, the control of matter as well as matter itself ceases therewith, and thenceforth there is neither evolution nor bondage. An obvious question is how the erroneous identification ever started, to which the equally obvious answer is that it did not ever start, as it is beginningless like time itself.

#### XIII

The commentator says that what binds the Self to samsāra is the body, the puryaṣṭaka, composed of the following eight factors: (1) the five karmendriyas (2) the five Jñānendriyas, (3) the four beginning with manas, making up the internal organ, (4) the five vital airs, prāṇa etc., (5) the elements, ether etc., (6) kāma, (7) karma, and (8) tamas. The authority for this enumeration is not

#### xv

kartā bhoktā drastā 'smi¹ karmaṇām uttamādīnām | iti²tat svabhāva-vimalo 'bhimanyate' sarvago 'py ātmā |

#### xvt

nānā-vidha-varṇānām varṇam⁴ dhatte yathā 'malaḥ sphatikaḥ⁵ | tadvad upādher gunabhāvɪtasya⁵ bhāvam vibhur dhatte' ||

#### XVI-A

ādar\$e mala-rahite yadvad° rūpam vicinvateº lokāh | ālokayati tathā 'tmā viśuddha-buddhau svam ātmānam¹º ||

there comes about, in the case of the foolish, the conceit of being a person, an enjoyer and a sufferer.

#### xv

Therefore (because of this concert), the Self, though pure and omnipresent by nature, entertains the conceit "I am a cogniser, I am the agent in respect of acts, good (i.e., enjoined by the Vedas) and otherwise, I am the experiencer (of the fruit)".

## XVI

Just as a clear crystal takes on the colours of diverse coloured objects (in proximity), even so the all-pervasive (Self) takes on the nature of the adjuncts produced by the gunas (prakrti)

#### XVI-A

Just as people in the world look for (their own) form in a mirror free from impurity, even so does the Self look for itself in the pure intellect

cited by name  $\,$  There is some similarity to the enumeration in Bhoja's  $Tattva-prak\bar{a}\dot{s}ik\bar{a}, \, v. \, 12$ 

#### xv

"Cognisership" is mentioned before "agency" in the translation, in conformity with the logical order adopted in the commentary.

#### XVI

The adjuncts are explained as the state of a divine being, a human being etc., this is the sense of the second line of the corresponding verse in Abhinava-gupta's work.

# XVI-A

Both in the Sānkhya and the Vedānta, the intellect (buddhı), as essentially of the nature of Sattva, is considered capable of reflecting the Self. The Self in itself

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1 B, V: api (v 6).
2 V and B omit "tit" (v 6)
3. B: vimalābhmanyate (v 6).
4 P: varnān (v 14) V: varnād
(v. 7).
5 V and B: sphatikam (v 7)
6 P gunato bhāvitasya (v 14)
7. Corresponds to verse 6 in K, addresse mala-rahite yadvad vadanam vibhāti tadvad ayam |
$\frac{\text{suramānuşa-pašu-pādapa-rūpatvam tadvad išo'pi."}}{\text{9B, V: vacunte (v 10)}}
10. This verse is found in P, as verse in K reads
$\frac{\text{adarse mala-rahite yadvad vadanam vibhāti tadvad ayam | sivasākti-pāta-vimale dhī-tative bhāti bhāti bhāti pād-rūpah" ||
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## XVII

gacchati gacchati salile dinakara-bimbam¹ sthite sthitim yāti | antaḥ-karaṇe gacchati gacchaty ātmā 'pi tadvad iha² |

#### XVIII

rāhur adršyo 'pi ya.hā śaśi-bimbasihah pral:āśate jagati | sarva-gato 'pi tathā 'tmā buddhistho dršyatām eti" ||

## XIX

sarvagatam nirupamami advaitam taci cetasā gamyam ļ vad buddhigatam brahmo palabhyate tisya bodhyam tat il

#### XVII

Here (in the world), the solar oib (reflected in water), moves (as it were) when the water moves, and attains quiescence 'as it were) when (the water is) still; similarly, the Self too (reflected in the internal organ) moves (as it were) when the internal organ moves (and attains quiescence as it were, when that organ is still).

#### XVIII

Just as in the world, Rāhu, though invisible, becomes visible, as present in the lunar orb (it obscures), even so the Self, though omnipresent (and hence not an object), yet, as present in the intellect, comes to have visibility (i.e., the nature of an object of cognition).

#### YIY

That Brahman which is present (as reflected) in the intellect and is consequently cognisable by the intellect (through the I-cognition), that should be understood to be omnipresent (unlimited in respect of space, time, or other entities), unparalleled (bliss), and non-dual (consciousness, devoid of the three kinds of difference).

is essential knowledge, without distinctions of knower, known and knowing. Where it is knower, it is so in respect of cognition, ie itself as reflected in the intellect

## XVIII

The example of the perception of Rāhu is employed elsewhere by the advaiting with greater force and appropriateness to illustrate the cognition of nescience, as non-intelligent it cannot manifest itself; what can manifest is intelligence, which it obscures; yet in the very process of obscuration there is manifestation of itself as obscuring

#### XIX

Difference may be from another belonging to a wholly distinct genus (vijātiya bheda) or only to another species (sajātiya bheda), or it may be a plurality in the entity itself (svagata bheda).

<sup>1.</sup> K: himakara-bimbam (v. 7). The verse corresponds to V-8 and B-8 2. K: tanukarana-bhuvana-varge tathā 'yam atmā mahesānah (v. 7).

# $\mathbf{x}\mathbf{x}$

buddhi-mano-'haṅkārās tanmātre-'ndriya-gaṇāś ca bhūtagaṇaḥ¹ | saṃsāra-sarga-parirakṣaṇa- kṣamā prākṛtā² heyāḥ ||

#### xxI

dharmā-'dharmau sukha-duḥkha-kalpanā' svarga-naraka-vāsas ca utpatti-nidhana-varṇā-'śramā na santī 'ha paramārthe' ||

# XXII

mṛga-trṣṇāyām udakam śuktau rajatam bhujaṅgamo rajjvām | taimirika-candra-yugavad<sup>®</sup> bhrāntam nıkhilam<sup>®</sup> jagad-rūpam ||

#### XX

The intellect, manas, individuation (egoity), the aggregate of (five) subtle elements and (ten) organs (sensory and motor), and the aggregate of (five) gross elements, these products of prakrti have the capacity to bring on and maintain the (cycle of) migratory existence; (hence) they are to be abandoned (as of the nature of the not-self, by those who seek release).

## XXI

Here (in the Self), there is not in reality merit or demerit or the experience of (their fruit, viz.) pleasure or pain, or residing in heaven or hell (for the sake of that pleasure or pain); nor is there birth or death, caste or order (of life).

# IIXX

Like water in the mirage, silver in nacre, serpent in a rope, and the double moon produced by (the optical defect) timira, the entire world-phenomenon is a delusion.

#### $\mathbf{x}\mathbf{x}$

In the Sānkhya, prakṛti is assigned both the functions of binding and releasing; such an exalted notion of prakṛti is difficult to assimilate, and less acceptable than what is set forth here.

# XXI

Here, again, there is an improvement on the Sănkhya view, which, while holding that in truth no one is ever bound or released (SK, v. 62), yet maintains a plurality of spirits, because of the varying incidence of birth, death etc. (SK, v. 18).

#### XXII

The commentary sets forth the inference of illusoriness based on being object of cognition, being finite, and being inert (non-self); the example (udāharana) in each case is nacre-silver. Illusoriness is defined as sublatability by knowledge of the

tadvad dharmā-'dharma-svar-nirayo-'tpatti-marana-sukha-duḥkham | varnā-'śramādi cā 'tmany asad api vibhramabalād bhavati ||

<sup>5.</sup> B, V: candravat (v 14). version quoted by Nagesabhatta in LM. 6 P: akhilam (v 21), this is the p 259.

## XXIII

vadvad dinakara eko vibhāti salilā-'śavesu sarvesu tadvat sakalo-'padhisy ayasthito bhāti paramātmā

kham<sup>1</sup> iva ghatādisy<sup>2</sup> antarbahih sthitam brahma sarvapindesu<sup>3</sup> dehe 'ham' itv anātmanı buddhıh samsāra-bandhāva !!

## XXV

sarva-vikalpana<sup>5</sup> -hīnah śuddho buddho<sup>6</sup> 'jarā-'marah śāntah | amalah sakrd-vibhātaś7 cetana ātmā khavad8 vyāpī9 ||

# XXIII

Just as the one Sun appears in all sheets of water, so does the (one) Supreme Self appear as present in all adjuncts (i.e., aggregate of body and organs)

# XXIV

Like ether in pots etc, is Brahman present in all bodies; (hence) the cognition "I" in respect of the not-self, the body, (is but a delusion which) serves to bind one to (the cycle of) migratory existence.

The intelligent one is (certainly) the (Supreme) Self; (for) it is free from all indeterminacy (being the witness of all doubts); it is pure (unlike the body, associated with diverse impurities); it is conscious (unlike prana);

substrate; the illusoriness of illusoriness is discussed, and the inference of illusoriness 1s said to be ätmaghätaka (self-destructive) like ägama, as exemplified in "ne 'ha nānā 'stı", this text too is not real as a duality over against Brahman, selfdestruction is illustrated by the faggot that starts a fire destroying itself as well as other things; the illusory does not have to make known the real, since the latter is self-manifest; the illusory can and does serve to remove the illusory, as when, in respect of a rope, the illusion that it is a stick may remove the prior illusion that it is a snake, practical efficiency is possible in respect of and with even a greater degree of reality, e.g., the use of a reflection of one's face in a mirror, imagining Vișnu in a sălagrāma etc.; if illusoriness be not granted, there is contingence of nonrelease, since what is non-illusory and cannot be sublated will persist as a cause of bondage, actual or potential.

#### XXV

The syllogism implied is "The jīva is but the Supreme Self, because of being free from indeterminacy, etc.; pot etc. are the negative example." That is to

<sup>1.</sup> V. svam (v. 16), explained in Telugu as "tānuvalenē, like oneself"; this is obviously due to a misreading of "kham" in Devanāgari script.

2 B: khaṭṭādiṣu (v. 16)

3. P sarvesu pindesu (v. 23),

4 B: V deho 'ham (v. 16).

5 B: V vikalpanā (v. 17)

<sup>6.</sup> B. V: avrddho 'jaro (v. 17).

<sup>7.</sup> V: sakyd this (v. 17).
8. V: savat (v. 17).
9 The two lines are transposed in P (v. 24); in that form the verse is cited in LM, p. 281. Verse 11 in K reads thus:

sarva vikalpana-hinam śuddham śantam vyayo-'daya-vihinam yat paratattvam tasmın vibhāti şat-trimsadātmā jagat ||

# XXVI

rasa-phāṇita-śarkarikā- guļa-khaṇḍā¹ vikṛtayo yathai 've 'kṣoḥº || tadvad avasthā-bhedāḥ paramātmany³ eva bahu-rūpāḥ⁴ ||

#### XXVII

vijñānā-'ntaryāmı-prāṇa-virāḍ- deha- jāti-pindā-'ntāḥ | vyavahārās tasyā 'tmany' ete avasthā-viśeṣāḥ' syuḥ ||

it is decayless and deathless (unlike manas which lapses in sleep etc); it is quiescent (unlike the cognitional series subject to perpetual change); it is taintless (unlike the void which is obscured by the taint of samvrti, obscuration, while the self is the witness even of that); it is ever-shining (unlike the self of the Logicians, which is itself inert and possesses cognition only as a quality), it is pervasive like ether (unlike the selves admitted by the pluralists)

# XXVI-XXVII

As of the sugar-cane there are different forms (such as) the juice, molasses, sugar crystals, jaggery and pieces thereof, even so of the (one) Supreme Self there are diverse forms (as it were), viz, (Pure) Consciousness (which has not suffered distinction as intelligent or inert), the internal ruler, the prana (the Jiva, who is Consciousness reflected in sattva-predominant prakrti), the collective cosmic body, and individual bodies characterised by generic qualities (like humanity, etc.), these diverse forms of that

say, what is not the Supreme Self, e.g. a pot, is not free from indeterminacy, being subject to alternative specifications, as to which there is always doubt. Empirical duality being granted, there is no drytantāsviddhi, hence, the opponent cannot ask "since there is nothing other than the Supreme Self, how can there be any example of what is not that Self and not free from indeterminacy?" Nor can supremacy as a probandum be denied, since what is non-established cannot be denied, as Mandana says "labdha-rūpe kvacit kiñcit tādrg eva nisidhyate" That is to say, that which is denied and that in relation to which there is the denial should be already established, there can be no negation either of an unknown counter-correlate or in relation to an unknown locus. If the jīva be not the Supreme Scif, there is the contingence of either of them being not-self (anātman); and this is not acceptable.

# XXVI-XXVII

The internal ruler and the jiva are the intelligent modifications of Pure Consciousness, the collective body and the individual bodies are the inert forms. The illusory transformation of Consciousness into inert forms is possible, because of māyā, the relation of māyā is also due to māyā; this does not lay it open to the defect of self-dependence, as it is of the nature of māyā in the last resort, not to be

## XXVIII

rajjvām nāsti bhujaṅgah sarpa-bhayam bhavati hetunā kena | tadvad dvaita- vıkalpabhrāntir avidyā na satyam idam¹ ||

#### XXIX

etat tad andhakāram yad anātmany ātmatā bhrāntyā | na vidanti vāsudevam sarvātmānam narā mūdhāh² ||

#### XXX

prāṇādy-ananta-bhedair ātmānam samvitatya jālam iva<sup>3</sup> | samharatı<sup>4</sup> vāsudevah svavibhūtvā<sup>5</sup> 'krīdamāna iva<sup>6</sup> ||

self (which is pure consciousness) are different (only because of differences) in empirical usage

## XXVIII

In the rope there is no snake; to what cause, then, is the fear of the snake due (if the illusory have no practical efficiency)? Even so, duality and its delusive presentation are but nescience (the consequence of ignorance of the non-dual self); (hence) this (duality) is not real

#### XXIX

This is the darkness (of nescience) whereby selfhood (is) delusively (ascribed) to the non-self; (hence it is that) foolish men (who have not enquired into the real Self) do not know Vāsudeva, the Self of all (to be such).

#### XXX

Vāsudeva (Brahman that is of the nature of Consciousness), as if desiring to sport (with himself) through his own energy (māyā), spreads him-

logically intelligible through and through, "durghaṭatvam avidyāyā bhūsanam na tu dūsanam."

#### XXVIII

The commentator quotes from *Iṣtasiddhi* (p. 47) "sattve na bhrānti-bādhau stām nā 'sattve' '&c', there would be neither delusion nor sublation in either case, if the delusion were real or if unreal; for the real cannot be sublated, while the unreal, like the square circle, cannot be the object of immediate cognition

#### XXX

Hence it is not as if there are independent real finite consciousnesses different from and apprehending Vāsudeva For the view that creation is an act of sport, as it were, see  $Ved~S\bar{u}$ , II, i, 33

<sup>1</sup> K . trāsam kurute ca mṛtyu-paryantam | bhrānter mahati śaktır na vivektum śakyate nāma || (v. 28). bhāvesu prakāsamaānatyā | ātmānatinktesv api bhavaty anātmā-'bhimāno 'yam || (v. 30). This and the preceding verse are cited in LM, p 280. This and the preceding verse are cited cited in LM, p 280. "anāh" for "narāh" in the last line. 3 Cp K jālena jālakāra iva (verse 32), P indra-jālam iva (v. 29); the first half of this verse in the P version is

# XXXI

tribhir eva viśva-taijasa- prājñaiḥ¹ ādi-madhya-nıdhanā- 'khyaiḥ | jāgrat-svapna-suṣuptair bhrama-bhūtaiś chādītam turyam² ||

## IIXXX

mohayatī 'vā 'tmānam' svamāyayā dvaita-rūpayā devaļi upalabhate svayam evam guhā-gatam purusam ātmānam ||

#### XXXIII

jvalanād dhūmo- 'dgatibhir vividhā 'kṛtir ambare yathā bhāti | tadvad<sup>5</sup> viṣṇau ṣṛṣṭiḥ svamāyayā dvaita-vistarā<sup>6</sup> bhāti<sup>7</sup> ||

self out, as a (spider its) web, in endless diverse forms such as prāṇa (the internal ruler) and the rest (viz, all jīvas and bodies collective and individual), and destroys (ie, takes up all of them into himself, after destroying the ignorance about himself through the knowledge that is himself).

#### XXXI

(He spreads himself out) in the three forms, Viśva, Taijasa and Prājña, (related to three states of) waking, dreaming and sleep, which are called (respectively) origination, the intermediate stage (of preservation) and destruction, by these same (three, though) delusive, is concealed (as it were) the fourth (the real light that is the Self).

#### IIXXX

In this way, the shining one (the Self) himself deludes the Self, as it were, through his own māyā, and (again) realises (as it were) the Self, the person who had been hidden in the cave (of nescience).

#### XXXIII

Just as different forms (black, white, etc.) appear in the ether (which is colourless), because of (the colour of) the smoke rising from fire, even so does this creation, the expanse of duality, appear in Visnu, through his own māyā.

#### XXXI

For further light on the three states and the three forms of consciousness, reference may be made to the Māndūkya Upanṣad and the first chapter of Gauda-pāda's kānkās thereon. Dreaming is referred to as the intermediate stage, compare the term "sandhiḥ" in "Sandhye srṣṭir āha hi" (Ved. Sū, III, 11 1).

<sup>1</sup> P inserts "taih" (v. 30 , also B and V (v. 23).
2 Cp. K srsti-sthiti- samhārā jāgrat svapnam susuptam iti tasmin | bhānti turīye dhāmani tathā pi tair āvrtam bhāti || jāgrad višvam bhedāt svapnas tejah prakāša-māhātimyāt | prājūah svapnā-'vasthā jnāna-ghanatvāt tatah param turyam || vs. 34, 35)

P reads turīyam (v. 30); B, V tūryam (v. 23).
3. P ātmā na (v. 31). (v. 25).
4. P devam (v. 31). 6 B and V: dvaita-vistaro (v. 25).
5. V. tad (v. 25), B tadviṣṇoḥ 7. This verse is cited in LM p. 272.

# INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD\*

Bν

# D B. DISKALKAR, Poona.

# KHAMBHĀLĪA

No. 1531

v. s. 1751

[20-10-1694.

This inscription is engraved on a *pālia* in one of the *Deris* near the temple of Khambhanātha Mahādeva at Khambhāljā in Nawanagar State.

It records the death of the prince VIBHĀJI son of PHULJI by his wife YASUJI, and grandson of Jām RĀJASIMHJI on Saturday, the 13th of the bright half of Kārtika in v.s. 1751 or Saka 1616

Jām Phulji, mentioned in the inscription, is the younger brother of Jām Tamāci, the ruler of Jāmnagar from whom he had received Bhānvad in girās. It will be seen therefore that the prince, whose death is recorded by this memorial stone does not come from the direct line of the rulers of Jāmnagar.

# Text

- 1 श्रीगणपति जयति सगण
  - 2 स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमा अर्क स
- 3 मयातीत संवत १७५१
- 4 वर्षे श्रीशालिवाहनकतशा
- 5 के १६१६ प्रवर्तमाने दक्षिणाय
- 6 न गते श्रीसूर्ये हेमंतऋतौ
- 7 श्रीमहामांगल्यप्रदमासोत्त
- 8 में कार्तिकमासे शुक्लपक्षे
- 9 त्रयोदशी १३ शनिवासरे या
- 10 म श्री ७ राजसिंहजी तत्स्रत
- 11 राजश्री ७ फुळजी तस्य भार्या वा
- 12 ई राजश्री यशुजी तत्कृक्षी जात
- 13 कुअर श्री **विभाजो** त-ग्रामे श्री
- 14 कमलासयुक्तश्रीहरिचरणार
- 15 विंदप्राप्त ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

### THAN

No. 1541

v. s. 1752.

[22-4-1696.

This inscription is copied from one of the sixteen Pālias in the pādar of Thān The inscribed portion measures 2' in length and 1'-2" in height.

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p. 353, of Volume III

It records that when the CUTCH armies had attacked THĀN BHAGAVAT-SIMGHJI, son of GOPÄLSIMHJI, son of ŚEŚAMALJI, son of VAJERĀJJI, fell in the battle while repelling the attack

The genealogy given here is that of the Lakhtar family founded by Vajerājji's father Abherājji. As we know that Karaṇasimhji, succeeded his father Gopālsimhji to the gādi of Lakhtar, Kumār Bhagavatsimhji, whose death is recorded by this inscription must have died in the lifetime of his father or he may be a younger son.

#### Text

- सावाता १०५२ वारषा वइसख ग्रुदि १
- 2 दाना राणा श्रीचाजराजाजी साता राणा
- 3 श्री सासामाळाजी साता राणा श्रीगो
- 4 पाळासांघाजीना काआरा श्रीभागाचाता
- 5 सांघाजा श्रीथानागाडा काळा काटाका फ
- 6 राकारा ? तारा कामा आवा का श्रीसरजने वासा

#### RĀVAL

No 1551

v s. 1753.

[15-5-1697.

This inscription is fixed in the wall above the gate of the fort at the town Rāval in the Jamnagar State. The inscribed portion, which is in a good condition, measures 2'-9" by 12½".

It records that the fort of Rāval in Hālār Deśa was caused to be built, on Saturday, the fifth of the bright half of Jyestha in v.s. 1753 (Śaka 1619) by Jām Lākhāji, son of Tamāci and grandson of Rājasimhji, of Yadu family, which is one of the 36 royal families. Jām Lākhāji is said to have conquered the territory to the south of his kingdom and was ruling at Navānagar

This inscription shows that the statement in the Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 571) that Jām Tamāci built the fort of Rāval in 1679 AD is wrong in both the points. It was Jām Lākhāji, who built the fort in 1697 A.D.

- 1 श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ यावद्वीचीतरंगा वहति सुरनदी जाह्वी पुण्यतो
- या <sup>1</sup>यावदाकाशमार्गे तपित दिनकरो भास्करो लोकपालः ॥ यावद्वैद्वर्यनील
- 3 स्फटिकमणिमय वर्तते मेरुश्गं तावत्त्व पुत्रपौत्रैः स्वजनपरिवृतो राज्यलक्ष्मीवि
- 4 लासः ॥ १ ॥ श्रीमन्नपविकमार्क समयातीत ॥ संवत् १७५३ वर्षे शाके १६१९ प्रवर्त्त
- 5 माने उत्तरायन(ण)गते श्रीसूर्ये श्रीष्मऋतौ मासोत्तमे ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्लपक्षे पंचम्यां तिथौ श्रीज्ञ
- 6 निवासरे हृद्धारदेशे रावल्यग्रामे षड्जिंशद्राजकुलिश्रोमणियादववंशोद्भव जामश्री

<sup>1.</sup> How full of mistakes the verse is can be easily seen. There is no verb. This verse is also used in No 131 above.

- ७ राजिसियजी मृत जाम श्री ७ तमाचीजी मृत महाराजाधिराजेन युद्धविद्याकुशलेन गोहाहा
- 8 णप्रतिपालकेन नृतननगरविजयराज्ये जामश्री ७ लाषाजीकेन दक्षिणदिग्जित्वा शत्रुप
- 9 राजयं इत्वा स्वकीयवंशो[भिः] बृद्धवर्थं स्वप्रजापाळनाय राजदुर्गः कारितः । श्रीश्चमं भवतः ।

#### GUNDI

No. 1561

v s. 1755.

[21-1-1699.

This inscribed  $p\bar{a}li\bar{a}$  is lying in the village Gundi, at a distance of four miles from Ghoghā. The inscribed portion measures 1'-2" by 8".

It records the death in a fight of *Gohel Kānoji* son of Lākha on the second day of the bright half of Caitra in v.s. 1754 (4-3-1698). A *deri* in his honour was built on the second day of the bright half of Māhā in v.s. 1755

Kānoji was an ancestor of the Mahārājā of Bhavnagar. He succeeded his father  $V_{ij}$ oji to the  $g\bar{a}di$  at  $U_{ij}$ mrālā, which was then the capital of the Gohel chiefs.

#### Text

- 1 स्वस्त १७५४ वरखे चइतर शीद
- 2 र दने गोहेल कानोजी लाषाणी
- 3 गाम भेरुते झुझी देवगत थआ
- 4 छे श्रीरामचरणे स्वत १७५५
- 5 माहा श्रीद २ देरी बंधावी छे.

# BERĀJĀ

No. 157]

v. s. 1756

[3-10-1700.

This inscription is found in the temple of Siva in the western part of the village Berājā near Bhalsāna in Navanagar State It measures 1'-3½" by 1'.

It records that on the second day of the bright half of Āso (Āśvin) in v.s. 1756 Jādejā *Devji*, son of *Phalji* caused the Śiva temple to be built. The inscription then mentions some names, whose connection in it is not clearly known: Jām Vibhā, Jām Rāval and Kumārs Nāranji, Lakhāji, Vāghji and Mānji. These seem to be Bhāyātas of the royal family of Jāmnagar. Devji is probably the brother of Vibhāji mentioned in the Khambhalia inscription of v.s. 1751, published above.

- 1 श्रीगणेसाआ नमा। सवत १७५६ दरवे आसो सद
- 2 २ दने जाडेजा श्रीफळजीसत जाडेजा श्रीद्वेजी
- 3 भे सीवनी देरी करावी छ फलधीमाणी
- 4 षोमो भाषाणी भाष जाम बीभानो

- 5 वीभो जामश्री राष्ट्रोलनो ॥
- 6 कुअर श्रीनाराणजी तथा श्रीकुआ
- 7 र श्री लषाजी तथा कुअर श्रीवाघ
- 8 जी तथा कुअर मानजी ॥ रुपत ठाक
- 9 र माधवजी। सुतार पबा कोरे छ।।

# THAN

No. 1581

v. s. 1757.

[19-9-1701.

This inscription is engraved on one of the 16 pālias, lying outside Thān. The inscribed portion measures 2' in length and 11" in breadth. The letters are very badly engraved. The script is more of the Gujarati than of the Devanāgari form.

The inscription records the death, while protecting the cows, of Zālā Sangrāmasimhji, son of Seśamalji, son of Vajerājji, son of Mahārāṇā Abherājji, on Friday the 13th of the dark half of Bhādravā in vs. 1757 or Saka 1622.

The genealogy given here is that of the Zālā chiefs of Lakhtar Abherājji, who was the son of Candrasimhji of Halvad received Lakhtar in gtras from his father and founded the family which reigns to this day. As we know that Gopālsimhji, son of Śeśamalji, succeeded to the gādi of Lakhtar it is clear that Sangramasimhji, son of Śeśamalji, who died in v.s. 1757 as the present inscription says must be a younger son of Śeśamalji. (See No. 154 above).

#### Text

- 1 ॥ গৃ৹॥ संवत ৭[৩]५७ शाके ৭[६]२२ प्र
- 2 व्रतमाने भादवा वदि १३ शुके महाराण
- 3 श्री ५ अभिराजजीसुत वजराजजी सत शे ७
- 4 शमलजीयत सगरामसघजी झाला गायुनी
- 5 वाहारे चढा त्यां तेम जागरो थयो त्याहि काम
- 6 आव्या स्वर्गना लोकना धणी छे सत्यश्रीरणछोड

#### DIHOR

No. 159] v. s. 1758

[8-2-1702.

This inscription is found in the temple of Mahādeva at the village Dihor, which is at a distance of six miles from Talājā under the Bhavnagar State. It measures 12" by 7".

It records that Rāval Hamīrji, son (?) of Rāval Gajasimhji caused the temple of Mahādeva to be built on Sunday, the seventh of the bright fortnight of Māgha in vs 1758.

Rāval Hamirji is most probably the younger brother of Rāval Satrasālji, mentioned in the Bādi inscription of v.s. 1748. But their father's name is given in the Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 389) as Govindji Who was Rāval Gajasimhji, then, mentioned in the present inscription?

The inscription was once published in the Prakrit and Sasskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad p. 166

# Text

- 1 श्रीगणेजाञ्जनम् ॥
- 2 श्रीमहादेवजीना प्र
- 3 रमादान थाईने (१) करावं छे मोजे
- 4 श्रीदीहोरमां रावळ श्री गजसंगजी
- 5 ना.....श्रीह
- 6 मीरजी अं करावुं छे संवत १७५८ वरषे माघ वद ७ रवेउ दने श्री

# NAGICANA

No. 1601

v. s. 1758

[24-5-1702.

This inscription is engraved on a palia found in the village Nagicānā It measures  $11\frac{1}{4}$ " by 14".

It records that Pithiā Ranmal son of Vejānanda fell in a battle in the village Nagicānā on the 9th day of the bright half of Jetha in vs. 1758, during the reign of the emperor Aurangzeb.

# Text

- 1 : नामो संम्वत १७
- 2 ५८ वरखे जेठ शद
- 3 ९ दने **पातसा** श्री
- 4 अवरंगजेब वजा
- 5 राज नगेचाणा गरा
- 6 मैं पीठीआ वेजाणंद
- 7 सुत रणमल सग8 रामे सरीर पाडीय

# BHĀVNAGAR

No. 1611

v. s. 1768.

[9-2-1712.

This inscription is found in the temple of Nilkantha Mahadeva in Bhāvnagar city. It measures 17" by 4½".

It records that the temple of Nīlkantha Mahādeva was built by Seth Bhagvān, son of Seth Kalyāṇa, by his wife Rakhmai, of the śrimāl community and Lagha Uśkhā, on Saturday, the 13th day of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1768 or Śaka 1633. Seth Bhagvān belonged to the village Vadvā, which was in the possession of Jādeiā Śatāji son of Kalāji

- शीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १७६८ वर्षे शाके १६३३ प्रवर्तमाने माध्यगुदि त्र॰
- 2 १३ शनौ श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीय लघुशाखायां श्रीकल्याणश्रेष्ठि रषमाई तत्सूतुः श्रेष्ठिश्री ५
- 3 भगवानेन इद देवालयं कारितं । नीलकंठ सदाशिवन् एहना प्रतापथकी देउ
- 4 ल तथा तलाव सदाशिवने हकमें थुअं छे। साक्षात् श्रीसदाशिवे महिमा प्रकट कीधु छे
- 5 वडवाग्रामे निवास तत्र जांडेजा श्री ५ कलाजी तथा जांडेजा श्री ५ शताजी राज्ये

# BHANAVAD

No. 1621

# v. s. 1771

[27-4-1715.

This inscription is copied from a  $p\bar{a}h\bar{a}$  lying in the village Bhānvad in the Nawnagar State.

It records that Kumār Jethiji belonging to the Yadu family fell in a battle on the 13th day of the dark half of Caitra in v.s. 1771 (5-4-1715). His pālia was raised on Wednesday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha. Jethiji was only a Bhāyāt of the royal family of Jamnagar.

# Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्त श्रीर्ज
- 2 यो मंगलाभ्यदयश्च श्रीम
- 3 तृपविक्रमार्क संवत्
- 4 १००१ वर्षे प्रवर्त्तमाने
- 5 रवौ उत्तरायणगते श्रीसूर्ये महामं
- 6 गलप्रदमासोत्तम चइत्र मासे कश्न
- 7 पक्षे तिथी १३ दिने यदुवंशोद्भव कुअ
- 8 रश्री**जेठीजी** रणसंत्रामे महाबली ? धाराक्षेत्रे हरी च
- 9 रण पाम्या छे प्रतिष्टा वैशाख शुदि ५ बुधे प्रतिष्टां
- 10 श्री शुमं भवतु श्रीजयः ॥ श्रीकल्याणमस्त ॥

# THAN

No. 1631

v. s. 1776.

[31-8-1720.

This inscription is copied from one of the  $P\bar{a}lias$  in the northern  $p\bar{a}dar$  of Than.

It records that Kumar Śri Pratāpsımhji, son of Rānā Sangrāmasımhji son of Rānā Śeśamalji, son of Rānā Vajerāji, son of Rānā Abherāji, fell in a fight, against the enemies who had invaded Thāngadh, on Wednesday, the 11th of the bright half Bhādravā in v.s. 1776. Kumāra Pratāpasimhji was the sister's son of Paramāra Akherājji, son of Nāyāji

It may be noted that Kumāra Pratāpasimhji was only a bhāyāt of the ruling family of Lakhtar, as his father, who was killed in v.s. 1757 (See No 153 above) was a younger son of Śeśamalji

- 1 संवत १७७६ न वरषे
- 2 भद्रव सद १० ना बध
- 3 दन राणश्री अभरा
- 4 **जजी** सत राणश्री**व**
- 5 जराजजी स्रुत राणा
- 6 श्रीससमळजी
- 7 सत राणा सगरमसघजी

- 8 सन कुअर श्रीपरातप
- 9 सघजी श्रीधानगढ क
- 10 टक वालम (?) फरकर तदी
- 11 कम आवा छे श्रीसरज सं
- 12 परमर श्रीनथजी सन
- 13 परसर श्री**अवराजनी**
- 14 ਜ ਮਗੜ ਲੇ

# HALVAD

No 1641

v s. 1779

[1-4-1723

This inscription is copied from a pālia standing near the thirty-six pillared deri in Halvad.

It records the death of Mahārāṇā Jasvantsunhji, son of Mahārāṇā Gajasimhji, and grandson of Mahārāṇā Megharājjī, evidently of Halvad, on the seventh day of the bright half of a Caitra in vs. 1779.

The Kathiawad Gazetteer states that Jaivantsinihji ruled till 1718 AD., which in the light of this *pālia* seems to be wrong.

#### Tort

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः संवत १७७९
- 2 वरषे चडतर सद ७ दने माहारां
- 3 ण श्रीमेघराजजी महाराण श्री
- 4 गलसंगजी महाराणश्रीजस
- 5 वंतसंगजीनी देरी छे। श्री।

# SIYĀNI

No. 165]

v. s. 1781

[15-7-1724.

The following inscription is engraved on a marble stone fixed in a deri on the bank of a tank to the south of the village Siyāni in the Limbdi State.

It records that Kumār Śrī Adāji (Aderājji) son of Bai Rūpakuvar born of a Cāvdā family caused a *deri* to be made in honour of Mahārāṇā Bhojarājji on Wednesday, the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1781 (śaka 1646).

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीज
- 2 यो मंगलाभ्युदय स्वस्त श्रीमनवि
- 3 कमार्कसमयातिथ सवत १७८१ वर्षे
- 4 शाके १६४६ प्रवर्त्तमांने दक्षणांन ग
- 5 ते श्रीसुरें वषारतु मासोत्तमा श्रावण
- 6 मासे शुकलपक्षे ६ षटी बुधवासरे मा

- 7 हाराणा श्री**भोजराज**जीन देहेरि क
- 8 रावि छे बाइ श्रीरुपकुवर चुडाशयी सु
- 9 त कुवर श्री अदाजीये करावि छे ग्रुभ भवत ॥

#### BHÄDROD

No. 1661

v. s. 1792

[30-6-1736.

This inscription is found in the Bhadreśvara Mahādeva temple at Bhādrod, a very old village at a distance of 4 miles to the north-east of Mahuvā in the Bhavnagar State.

It records that during the time of Vālā Khengārji the temple of [Bhadreśvara] Mahādevā was built by Gusāis Rūpabhārati and Jegama-bhārati, on Wednesday, the third of the bright half of Āsādha in v.s. 1792, at a cost of 1125 koris

Vālā Khengārji was a descendant of Vālā Hemalji, son of Cāmprājvālā, who ruled at Bhādrod. Khengarji entertained many Vanāra Ahirs in his service Being much oppressed by them, they united together seized and bound him and threw him into the bonfire lit on the occasion of the *Holi* and burned him to death (See Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 517).

#### Tort

- 1 श्रीगणेससाओ नमः ॥ कोरी ११२५ जे रामभारथी
- 2 संवत १७९२ बाणवानां वरष असाड शुद्रनी
- 3 ३ बुधवारे देर संपूरण की धुं छे गुशा
- 4 ई रूपभारथी तथा ग्रसाई जेगमभा
- 5 रथीओ चणावुं छे वाळा खेगारजीनी
- 6 वारमां काम थीयुं छे माहादेवनुं नां
- 7 णु हतु ते माहादेवने काम आवुं छे
- 8 गुसाई हीरा भारथी तथा गुसाई भीम
- 9 परी तथा बाळा बाइजी तथा बाळा बीरजी
- 10 नी दीलनी टेल छे सलाट मीठा चणुं छे पारे
- 11 ख हरी पीतामर माफ माफ छे सभं भवत

#### LIMBDI

No. 167]

v. s. 1793

[28-3-1737.

This inscription is copied from one of the *pāliās* standing on the bank of a tank at Limbdi. The inscribed portion measures 1½ by 5½".

It records the death of Kumāra Śrī Beherājji on Monday, the eighth day of the bright of Cautra in v. s. 1793 or (Śaka 1659)

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीमनृपविक्रमार्कसमयातित संव
- 2 त १७९३ श्रीमनृपशालिवाहनकत शाके
- 3 १६५९ प्रवृत्ते चैत्रमास ग्रुक्लपक्षे तिथि ८ सो
- 4 मवासरे कुवरश्री वेहराजीनो पालियो छे

# LOLIYĀNĀ

No 1681

# v s. 1794

19-5-1738.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the outer portion of the eastern wall of the Siva temple in the now runed village Loliyāṇā in the Vālā State at a distance of about 7 miles to the north-west of Vālā. The inscribed portion measures 7" by  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ".

It records that DAMĀJI GAIKWAD built the Siva temple on the second day of the bright half of Jvestha in v.s. 1794.

Damāji Gaikvad is the founder of Gaikvad family of Baroda. The inscription is in the Marathi language.

#### Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीशीवचर
- 2 णी तत्पर ॥ दामाजी गा
- 3 णीक्ष **यकवा**स नीरंतर
- 4 ॥ समत १७९४ जेष्ट
- 5 ॥ सद बीज

# LIMBDI

No. 1691

v. s 1794

[17-5-1738.

This inscription is copied from a  $p\bar{a}|i\bar{a}$  standing on the bank of a tank in Limbdi. It measures 1'-5" by 4\*".

It records the death of Kumāra Śri Amarasińhji on Wednesday, the 11th of the bright half of Jvestha in vs. 1794, Śaka 1660

Amarasirihji was the younger brother of Harbhamji, the ruler of Limbdi. He was killed while fighting with the Kāṭhis of Pāliād (Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 534).

# Text

- 1 संवत १७९४ शाके १६६० ज्येष्टमास ग्र.
- 2 क्लपक्षे तिथि १० वधवासरे क्रवरश्री अ
- 3 मरसंघजीनो पालियो चोडो छे॥

# MORVI

No. 1701

v. s. 1797

[21-11-1740.

The following two inscriptions are engraved on two of the many  $p\bar{a}h\bar{a}s$  standing in the crematory to the north of the Morvi City. The first measures 2' in length and  $1'-2\frac{1}{2}''$  in breadth, and the second 2'-1'' in length and 7'' in breadth. Both of them are incised with big letters and are of the same date, viz, Friday, the 14th of the bright half of Māgassara in v s. 1797 (Saka 1662)

The first inscription records the building of the Deri of Thākur Aliyāji, son of Káyāji of the Jādejā family. The second inscription records the

<sup>\*</sup> This letter is engraved here through mistake.

erecting of the  $p\bar{a}la\bar{a}$  of Jādejā VISĀJI, son of BHĀRĀJI, while fighting together with Thākur  $Aliy\bar{a}ji$ .

The event referred to in these records is that Thākur Aliāji, son and successor of Kāyāji of Morvi was treacherously murdered by Hāloji, the Girasia of Padadhari, when Aliyāji was returning from pilgrimage to Dwarka (See Kathiawad Gazetteer p 549).

# Text

(9)

- 1 ॥ संवत १७९७ ना वरषे साके १६
- 2 ६२ प्रवर्तमाने खी दक्षणाने गिते]
- 3 श्रीसूर्य मांहामांगल्य पवीत्रकारी [मा]
- 4 गसरमासे शुक्रलपक्षे १४ मृगुवास
- 5 रे ठाकर श्रीकांहींआजी सुत जाडेजा श्री
- 6 अलइआजीनी डेरी संपुरण करी पालिओ...

( ? )

- 1 संवत १७९७ वरषे सक ब्रषे (१६६२) मागसर सुद १४ वा
- 2 र सोकरे जाडेजा साहिबो भाराजी सत वीसाजी का
- 3 म आवा छ ठाकर श्री अली आजी आगल काम
- 4 आवां छे साहेब वीसाजीनो पालिओ उभो कीघ छे

# WADHWAN

No 1711

v. s 1797 [20-8-1741

This inscription is copied from a pāliā standing in the place called after 'Hāḍimā' in Wadhwan. It measures 12½" by 16".

It records that Devakuvarbāi, daughter of Hādā Amarsimhji burnt herself (i.e. became sati) with her husband, Mahārāna Arjunsimhji on Thursday, the 5th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in vs. 1797. The deri was built in her honour by the Mahārānā Sabalasimhji, son of Achābā(?), of the Paramāra family.

- श्रीगणेशाय नमः स्वस्ति श्रीमन्नपविक
- 2 मार्कसमयातीत संवत् १७९७ शाके १६६३
- 3 प्रवर्त्तमाने दक्षिणायने गते श्रीसूर्य वरषारतो
- 4 मासोत्तममासे श्रीश्रावण वदि ५ गरी तहिने
- 5 महाराण श्रीअरजनसिंहजीसाथे हाडाश्री
- 6 अमा र\* सिंहजी सता बाई श्रीदेवकुवर सागवन
- 7 न लीधु छे।। परमारजी श्रीआछबसुत
- 8 महाराणश्रीसवल्लिंहजीओ प्रसाद क
- 9 राव्यो छे श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

#### BEYT

No. 1721

# Date Lost.

This inscribed slab was found in the Rāmavādi on the bank of the Ranchod talay in Beyt-Sankhoddhār

The inscription is in Marathi and records that the tank was dug up by Bhagavant Dādā Kulkarni, inhabitant of Jāmb Jalgaon in the Wai Deśa and in the employ of Samsher Bahadar Subhedar Damāji Gaikwad, son of Pilāji.

A Gujarati inscription on white marble fixed in the right hand wall of the stairs to the Ranchod talav shows that in subsequent times when this tank which was called Dāmāsar was out of repairs it was rebuit in v s. 1861 by Bābāji Appāji Kalambeker of Satara. It is clear from this that the present Ranchod talav was originally called by Dāmāsar

A question arises here how could Damāji, son of Pilāji, who ruled from v.s. 1788 to 1824 have built a tank in Beyt which was conquered by the Gaikwads in v.s. 1873 (1817 A.D.)?

#### Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनमः । श्रीरणसोडराय ॥
- 2 श्रीभगवंत दादा...कलकर्णी मौजे
- 3 जांब जलगाव प्रांत वाई देश दी
- 4 मत पिलाजीसन दमाजी गायकवा
- 5 ह समेदार समशेर बहादर
- 6 याणी तलाव करविला...
- 7 भीवाजीपंत ह...
- 8 ... जाला
- 9 कडिआ ... संवत
- 10 ...९ माघ सुद...

#### PĀTDĪ

No. 1731

v. s. 1801

125-3-1745.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in a wall of the *devadi* at the inner door of the Darbargadh at Pātdi. The inscribed portion measures 26% by 10%.

It records that during the time of the emperor Muhammad Shah (of Delhi) Desai Udakarana of Viramgaon to be built and his son Bhāvasimha caused the fort of Pātḍi to be built. The cost of this was Rs. 40361. Names of several officers of Bhāvasimhjī employed at Pātḍi are given The date, third day of the bright half of Caitra of v.s. 1801 probably refers to the time when the Pātḍi fort was completed and when the inscription was set up

This Desai Bhāvasinghji fought bravely against the Marathas in defence of the Viramgaon fort. (See *History of Gujarat*, p. 323).

#### Text

- 1 श्रीगणेसाअ नमः [ ।\* ] पातसा श्रीमहमद्साहानी पातछाइम मेजे
- 2 वीरमगमना देसईउदकरण मजे वीरमगमनो कट कर॰ तेना सत देसई
- 3 भावस्य मोजे पटडीनो कट करो तेनी बेसरण ६० ४०३६१ थआ छ तानो भाई केस
- 4 वदास ता. भा वेणीदस उदकरण भा० पीतमरदास भणोजी भवानीदास दीवन परस
- 5 तमदस ताः हरखजी वाहाला तः पा॰ जेगता वीठलदास त्रीकमदास तः मोज॰ पाटडीना साच
- 6 घा अबा सकराण उपट रहीने कट कराव छ दसई भावसंघजीना अमराव ज
- 7 रोसी हमादभाई ता. सोलंकी जाफरा तथा मा० कमाल ममदा तथा
- 8 खेकरा जमुभई तथा सोता० रहेमतखान तथा सोता दरीआखन
- 9 तथा खरोसी नाथु ता० ठाकर नारख तथा पणगी (१) डोसा तः सेलकी अमद
- 10 जी तथा खेकरा जमाल मेमदा तथा मोजे पाटडीना पटल अपरव तथ० प०
- साखा आलेसा तथा संघवी अमरा भीमजी स्वंत १८०१ वरखे चईतर सुद ३ तथा स सकरजी

#### MAHUVĀ

No. 1741

v. s. 1805

[12-12-1748.

This inscription is found in a well called 'Dholia vâv' in the Darbargadh at Mahuyā. It is much worn out. It measures 14" by 15".

It seems to record that during the time of Vakhatsimhji, evidently the ruler of Bhavnagar, some men belonging to the Khatri community caused a well to be dug up and made a gift of 60 bighas of land on the fourth day of the bright half of Pauşa in vs 1805.

This inscription was once published in the Pkt and Skt inscriptions of Kathiawad p. 167.

#### Text

- 1 ......नाराय...
- 2 . . . . . .
- 3 पाणळरादा ! ... करावी
- 4 राज्य श्रीचखतसीं .. विजय[रा]
- 5 ज्ये .... खोरगढमधे परागयी ? तथा
- 6 क्षत्री मानजी .... सेठ मेता दे
- 7 वजी तथा मित...यालाई संनी दौ
- 8 घोलो क्रवो बंधाव्यो ... धरति विद्या ६०
- 9 .....बाबा रामदास तलसीदास रामा
- 10 .....संवत् १८०५ पोस ग्रद ४

## INDO-EUROPEAN GM-SKÓ OR GM-SKHÓ?

## Ву

## SIDDHESHWARA VARMA, Jammu.

- C. R. Sankaran's very learned article on "GM-skó versus GM-skhó" in the January number (pp. 632 ff.) of Vol. I of this journal has deeply interested me. In this article he advances a new theory that in Greek forms like
- ed me. In this article he advances a new theory that in Greek forms like [skhídē], [skhízō], when, normally, "the accent preceded the cluster of the dental sibilant and the voiceless guttural stop phonemes, the voiceless guttural became non-aspirate; otherwise aspirate in Greek" (pp. 634, 636). But before this theory can be accepted, there are a few additional points which must be taken into account.
- (1) As examples of Greek aspiration, SANKARAN gives forms of only one Greek stem, namely [skhíd—] and a theory based on only one stem has little chance to be established. In fact Greek has only this stem or the phonetically allied stem [sk̂(h)ēi-] in [skháō-] to offer [vide Boisacq, Dict. Ety. de la La Greeque (1923), p. 932] as a clear example of aspiration after [s].
- (2) But even this aspiration in the single stem [skhíd-] or [skhēi-] may be an illusion, or just a sporadic phenomenon, for side by side with the aspirate forms of This stem, we have also the NON-ASPIRATE forms, Cf. Gr. [skídnēmi] side by-side with [skhízō], (cf. BOISACQ Ib. p 932) [skidarón], [skindalmós] side by side with [skhindalmós] (WALDE-POKORNY'S Lexicon, II, p. 544).
- (3) The inference from SANKARAN's statement that "we find the accent immediately after the voiceless guttural aspirate stop phoneme," (p. 634) is that if the accent does not follow the consonant-group *immediately*, the stop is a non-aspirate. But this inference is disappointed by the following examples, in which the aspiration is maintained, although the accent does not immediately follow:—

[skhistós], [skhindalmós], [skhasmós], [skhastérion], [skhastéría] (Vide WALDE-POKORNY, II, 544, BOISACQ, p. 932)

- 4. WALDE-POKORNY (I, 137) give another example of aspiration in Gr. [érkhomai], Skr. [rcchati], and if this etymology is accepted, we would expect ['érkomai] by SANKARAN's theory, for the accent immediately precedes the consonant group. WALDE-POKORNY, however, connect the stem, not with [skho-] but with [sko-], [er-sko].
- (5) On p. 635, footnote 5, Sankaran notes [skor] as an exception, but there are a few more exceptions, such as the following, collected from Walde-Pokorny:—

Greek		Sanskrit
[skúlos]		[chavi-]
[skiá]	[skánā]	[ chāyá ]

(6) Greek [skedánnūmi] "I break into pieces" mentioned on p. 634, has no bearing on the main issue, for, according to WALDE-POKORNY (II, p. 558), it is connected with Skr. [skhadate] "he splits," and so has the Indo-European stem [sqhed-] or [sqed], not [skhed-].

In my opinion, the very occurrence of an Indo-European [skh] or even [kh] is extremely doubtful. The first article attempting to establish an Indo-European [ kh ] was by BARTHOLOMAE, who. in KZ 27, pp. 366 ff gave examples like [chadávati], [púccham], [chāvá], the [ch] of which is now traced to a composite sound [sk], without any aspirate element, cf. WALDE-POKORNY on these words. The occurrence of [kh] has been once mentioned by BRUGMANN (Grundriss 13, 548), but the only sure example he gives thereof contains a composite sound, viz. gr. [skhízō] and he has not further mentioned [kh], even in the Indo-Iranian section, while HIRT has cut the Gordian knot by eliminating [kh] altogether, for he does not mention it at all in his Idg. Gramm. I, 245 (1927). He mentions only [kh], nor does he mention [skh]: he gives only [skh]. In fact the motive to keep a [kh] seems to have been a feeling to complete a series, though no positive element was available to do so. No single sound in any Indo-European language is available, which may be traced to [kh].

Skr. [ch]. as has been established by WACKERNAGEL and others (cf. WACKERNAGEL, Ai. Gramm. I, 156) is a composite sound, being a product of internal Sandhi. But to trace [ch] to an Intermediate group of spirants [śś], [śśh] (Wackernagel Ib., 157) is a phonetic impossibility. [Ch] has been considered to be an affricate, but there is no conclusive evidence that it was so. Ancient Indian Grammarians never mention that it was an affricate, they always treated it as a plosive [sparsa-]. That it was possibly a plosive is further supported by some of the modern Indo-Arvan dialects, in which it is a plosive, cf. my "phonetics of lahnda" JASB, 1936, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 72, 75. Now when once a group of complete spirants like [ s s ] has been established in a language, it is not possible for it to develop into a sound with considerable occlusion like [ch], which was possibly, or very nearly plosive. In my view, Skr. [ch] preserves the traces of a very ancient Proto-Indo-Iranian stage in which [sk] had not yet become [ss]. Sankaran's hypothesis (p. 633) is therefore certainly a definite improvement, as he deduces from [gmskho] a series of forms, in which the occlusive element has been maintained, viz.  $[\hat{skh}] > [\hat{sk'x'}] > [\hat{st'\hat{s}}]$ : only his adherence to aspiration in [kh] has no convincing evidence, as has been shown above. When there was already in Indo-European a spirant with a palatalized plosive in [sk], the ground was possibly enough for the occurrence of [ch]: the supposition of an additional aspirate [h] is an unnecessary and unproved encumbrance.

I would therefore prefer [gṃskhó] to [gṃskhó] as the origin of Skr. [gáccha-].

A few minor points in SANKARAN's article deserve some consideration:—

- (1) On p. 632 he says, in Sanskrit "[g] and [gh] came to be represented by [1] and [h] remaining thus in an intermediate stage of development," the other Satem languages further changing the intermediate sounds to sibilants. Now this is true of [j], but not of [h], for [h] cannot precede a sibilant in the development of a language rather the reverse is the case. We know, for instance, that even in Sanskrit [s] has become [s] has become [s] has become [s]. The fact, therefore, seems to be that Sanskrit further developed the sibilants into [h]
- (2) On p. 633, footnote 4, there occurs the following quotation from POULTNEY:—"Sanskrit [chinatti], Lat. [scindo]......give good evidence for the existence in I. E. of a nasalized root-form [sqind-]". A little inaccuracy has here crept in. It is not Skr. [chinatti], but [chinatnti] which is an evidence for an I. E. nasalized root, for forms like [chinatti], as BRUGMANN (Gundriss II<sup>2</sup>, 3, 276 ff.), (MU, III, 150, 153, 154) has pointed out, are pure Indo-Iranian innovations: the exact correspondent of Lat. [jungit] is not [yunakti] but [yunakti]. The fact that in Sanskrit forms like (bhunakti] [rundhati], exist side by side with [bhunakti], [runadadhi] indicates the preservation of the inherited forms with an infixed nasal side with the analogical forms like [chinatti].

#### NOTES OF THE MONTH.

The royal court was the patron of learning in ancient India. Its place has now been taken up by the learned bodies, which stand for promotion of learning in modern times. These bodies, however, are in many cases too poor to help materially all the learned men of the land who have completely dedicated their lives to the advancement of knowledge but they appreciate occasionally at least the work of some select scholars who have already put their stamp on the subjects they have made their own and who have thus made themselves famous throughout the world by their life-long intellectual effort guided by the inner vision only. In accordance with this practice of honouring learned men the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society presented last month medals of honour to Diwan Bahadur Dr. S K. AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph.D., and Mr R P. MASANI, M.A., the present Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. The tribute paid to these two scholars by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay on the above occasion is well worth putting on permanent record as it voices the genuine feelings of admiration we entertain for the services of these scholars in the cause of knowledge.

"Diwan Bahadur Dr. AIYANGAR'S contributions to a knowledge of the history and traditions of this vast sub-continent," said His Excellency "will be guide and an inspiration to all future explorers in these fields of difficult and laborious study. It is in every way fitting that one who has made by his teachings and writings, such a great contribution to history in South India should be honoured by this Society.'

"Mr. R. P. MASANI has a special place of his own in the life of Bombay and India. He is indeed one of the 'wise men' whom Plato would have loved to appoint as a ruler of his perfect Republic, for he has combined high intellectual effort in the sphere of pure knowledge with practical ability in the world of everyday affairs, a versatility which is given to very few indeed. We are indeed lucky to have him today as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University" The history of Indian literature bears ample testimony to the fact that Indian Scholars of old, Jama, Buddhist or Brahmanical, unmindful of the political conflicts of their days, kept on the torch of learning ever burning through centuries of unsettled conditions of life due to political turmoil and occasional vandalism caused by foreign invasions. We of modern times maintain the same tradition in minding our own business and by honouring our learned men at a time when the greatest of the modern wars is now raging in Europe. There is undying optimism in the human breast even in the pursuit of the mundane things. Things of the mind are not of clay and that touch of the Immortal which has enlivened our ancient glorious history and civilization will safely guide us through the present gloom, if we but stick fast to our aims and ideals in the pursuit of knowledge, pure and simple As Kalidasa said .

''हेम्रः संलक्ष्यते हामौ विश्वद्धिः इयामिकापि वा "

Verily the test of gold hes in the fire!

## EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYĀLAM PROSE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS\*

By

#### L V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Ernakulam

#### CONSONANTS

 Old -cc-, denoting a stage anterior to-śś-, is retained in the following:— Kurōcce < ultimately Kuras y-a-c-ceydə; vācca, the past relative participle of vāy-kk-.</li>

In modern  $kur\tilde{e}$ sse or  $kur\tilde{e}$ ssa, the stop element in the long affricate has completely dropped out.

The other form  $v\bar{a} \pm a (< v\bar{a}cca)$  is not heard in the Cochin State today.

2. t and d become changed to -s- in vulgar corruptions like the following:—

kausukham < kautuka-; [Skt.] the influence of sukham [Skt.] has also perhaps been operative.

 $s\bar{o}ppa$  'garden'  $< t\bar{o}ppa$ .  $d\bar{e}vasa < d\bar{e}vat\bar{a}$  [Skt.]

aevasa < aevata [Skt.]

 $varasa\underline{n}$  'uninvited guest' <  $varatta\underline{n}$ .

dīnasa-ppeṭṭə <dīnata [from Skt. dīna]

agimossiyam, a corruption of aikamatya [Skt]

 $a\underline{n}uvasicco$  'having allowed'  $< a\underline{n}uvadıcco$  [ from Skt. anuvad-)

carasi-kk-' to be careful,' "corrupted" from 'sraddhi-kk- adapted from Skt. 'sraddhā

sarggam, a "sanskritization" of the native word tarkkam 'quarrel," under the influence of Skt. sarga

3. Colloquial forms like the following show the assimilative change of the alveolar nasal  $\underline{n}$  to other nasals:—

tinga-y-illa [ < tinnuga-y-illa]

 $mumba \lceil \leq munba \rceil$ 

ımbam [ınbam]

tımma [tınma]

kāmmān [kānmān]

- 4. velmadam [ < vermadam ], kalman [ < kanman] show <math>l < n
- 5. n is substituted (by analogy) for n (arising from the meeting of l and m), in beinjanmär, kanmanmär.
- 6 Skt b- appears as v- in forms like vendicco (Skt bandh-), vālyam (Skt. bālya), etc.
- 7. solppan (Skt svalpa) in collocations like solppan poluda has final n < m, of vulgar colloquial samayan for samayan.

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p. 337 of Vol. III.

- 8. Forms like  $p\bar{o}r\bar{a}liga$  ( $<p\bar{o}r\bar{a}yga$ ),  $var\bar{a}liga$ ,  $m\bar{e}t\bar{a}liga$  are met with; these are heard occasionally today.
- 9.  $ell\ddot{a}ppolum$  or  $ell\ddot{a}ppalum$  does not have the y of modern  $ell\ddot{a}yppolum$ .
- 10. sandhiga (for Skt sandhyā) and pralegam (for Skt pralaya) have -g- in the stead of -y-. Instances like colloquial candriya beside candrika, istiya beside iştika, etc. may have led to the feeling that the velar plosive was original in popular colloquial sandhiya (from sandhya) and praleyam. Such a process of wrong back-formation has operated in tirige (tiriye < tiriya) and olige (olive<oliva), both of which are modern
- 11.  $K\bar{a}r$ -kk- for  $(k\bar{a}$ -kk-) and kanar-kk- (for kana-kk- formed from Skt ghana) have an intrusive r. These are colloquial. Literary Mal. has kalar-kk-,  $k\bar{o}r$ -kk-,  $p\bar{i}lar$ -kk-, in all of which r is an intrusive Tam colloquials have  $k\bar{a}r$ -kk-,  $k\bar{o}r$ -kk-.
- 12. The change of the post-dental r to the palato-cerebral  $\chi$  is met with in forms like  $pallikk\bar{a}\chi ar$  which shows the dissimilative change of old r to  $\chi$ .
  - 13. Skt. s is adapted as l in ilal, anvali-kk-, purulan, etc.
  - 14.  $K\bar{u}dal$  'hesitation' [  $< k\bar{u}sal < k\bar{u}sal$ ] shows the change of s > d.

#### SANDHI.

- 1 The colloquial practice of using the front on-glide after consonants preceding, even where there is no breath-pause, is represented in some of these texts, as in *avar yengilum*, etc.
- 2. The Mal fondness for the front glide y which from an earlier period began to replace in many contexts the back glide v (which was originally normal in these contexts) is reflected in instances like  $vanin\bar{u} \cdot y \cdot enin\bar{u}$ , etc.
- $3\,\,$  Rules regarding doubling of stops are here not consistently or "correctly" observed

#### FOREIGN NAMES.

There are a number of names of European places, towns, countries, subjects of study and religious functionaries, which are sought to be spelt in Varttamāṇappustagam according to the pronunciation current at the time in the Mediterranean countries (particularly Italy and Portugal). The spellings used in Vartt. are transliterated here—The interpretation of the phonetic facts has to be made separately with reference to the actual sound-values of the European names

allemāññə 'Germany' āsya 'Asia' grammatīca 'grammar' ittālya 'Italy' iṅglēsə 'English' ispāfina 'Spain' iṅda 'India' evaṅgēhōŋ

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evuroppa 'Europe'
kardināl 'cardinal'
kāppa dē boņo esperālisa 'Cape of Good Hope'
kumbasāram 'Confession' from Portuguese 'confessare'
konsūi 'Consul'
kvārentēna 'Quarantine'
lishōa 'Lishon'.
tronos
doie 'Doge'
pātriārkanmār 'Patriarchs'.
pilosūpia 'Philosophy'
pvirēnsa 'Florence'.
plenipotensārio 'Plenipotentiary'.
prāsan 'Frenchman'.
prattugal 'Portugal'.
proppaganda phide 'Propaganda fide .
Bolonna 'Bologne'
 munsiññôr 'Monsignor'.
miserakkördia 'Misericordia'
läsaretta 'Lazarette'.
 Viskôńti 'Visconti'
 visköńtessa 'Viscontessa'.
 vattıkāna 'Vatican'.
siyenna 'Sienna '.
sıññōra 'Signora'
 sekretäri 'Secretary'.
 rettorikā 'Rhetoric'.
 rōma 'Rome'.
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#### VI MORPHOLOGY

- 1. The third case postposition konda is used in contexts where to-day the postposition  $\vec{al}$  would be preferred.
- 2 The Skt. prati when used as a postposition in this dialect has not only the meanings 'concerning' 'towards', but also the force of 'for the sake of', as in avar prati, davatte prati, etc.
- 3. -ēl, as in marattēl, kayyēl, appears fairly often; this type is still heard in parts of Travancore
- 4.  $ed\bar{o}$  for singulars and plurals, masculines and feminines, as commonly in the older stages.
- 5 The frequency with which the terminative expletive  $\bar{e}$  is used in instances like  $irikkayıl\bar{e}$ ,  $adm\bar{a}l\bar{e}$ , etc., is a noteworthy old feature
- 6 Among pronouns, the following are noteworthy .—iμikka a colloquial form < enikka.</p>

 $n\bar{o}m$  [for  $n\bar{a}m$ ] owing to the influence of the bilabial  $n\bar{o}m$  and  $n\bar{o}m$  are heard to-day.

tande tande 'of each', modern avanavande; tannal tannalude 'of each group', modern avaravarude, ā dēham 'that personage' [modern addēham the honorific third person singular pronoun].

- 7 Among feminine forms, one may note the old  $adiy\bar{a}tii$ ,  $padal\bar{a}tii$ ,  $agadiy\bar{a}tii$ .
- Rational plurals like dōsāttāļar, kūli-y-āļar, punya-v-āļar; paļļikkārar, paļļikkārar and kartanainal are other old plurals
- 9 Though the personal endings of finite tense-forms had disappeared already in Mal., certain traditional forms continued to be used in formal prayers and utterances. Since the history of the Malayāli Christians goes back to a period when these personal endings were still current, there is nothing surprising in the fact that such endings were retained in their prayers and formal ceremonies. The prayers cited in SV contain many types of personal endings
- 10. Past stems like vinn. (for vin-) and (conversely)  $\bar{u}ni$  (for  $\bar{u}ni$ -i-) are peculiar
- 11 The "indeterminate" tense with  $\bar{u}$  is represented in more contexts than those in which they are used to-day '—vāstavamāyirippū; avide parkka hallū.
- 12. Okka which originally was a pure infinitive began to be declined (like a noun) in the New Mal period. Okkakkum, okkayude, okke are all met with here
- 13. The collocations formed of the relative participles and  $\vec{a}_{\vec{l}\vec{l}}$  express 'manner'; future relative participles followed by  $\vec{a}_{\vec{l}\vec{l}}$  (as in *ceyyum-* $\vec{a}_{\vec{l}\vec{l}}$ ) express 'effect' also, past relative participles followed by  $\vec{a}_{\vec{l}\vec{l}}$  denote 'time'—Older  $k\vec{a}_{l}m\vec{a}_{l}$ -unda, vicaripparunda
- 14. The combinations of present relative participles and appōl, like ceyyunnappōl are rare to-day.
  - 15.  $Kolg\bar{a}$ ,  $celg\bar{a}$ ,  $elu\acute{n}\acute{e}kk\bar{a}$  are imperatives with final long  $\bar{a}$ .
  - 16. Vēnduvadə or vendvadə for modern vēndadə.
- 17. Verbal nouns with -ga, -kka are used with the "seventh case" ending -il, as in (paraninott-) trikka-y-ıl- $\bar{e}$ ; this is uncommon to-day in Cochin colloquials.
  - 18 Among negative tense-forms the following may be noted :-
- (1) Beside the negative finite type of  $ceyy\bar{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{n}u$ , the type of  $p\bar{o}g\bar{a}ttu$ ,  $ill\bar{a}ttu$  so common in 18th century Mal. literary texts, is also used.
- (ii)  $t\bar{e}masir\bar{e}d\bar{e}$ ,  $b\bar{o}dhir\bar{e}d\bar{e}$ ,  $vic\bar{e}rir\bar{e}d\bar{e}$ ,  $sammadir\bar{e}d\bar{e}$  which show an r instead of the glide-developed y. This r is met with in the negative participles of dissyllabic verb-bases which have i for their past stems
- (in) Negative "purpose"-participles with <u>āyvān</u> occur fairly frequently in the texts under reference:—udappinde avagāšam kodukkāyvān; veļiccamākkāyvān; āgāyvān; pūgāyvān, vighham varuttāyvān; etc.

- (iv) 'nillādē, perattadiyādē as negative imperatives (met with dialectally even to-day).
  - (v) pūgikkollāyē is another old form with ollā

#### VII VOCABULARY

#### Native elements

The words that I have discussed below are (a) those which are not in common currency to-day, except (if it so happens) in regional or communal colloquials; and (b) those which show structural or semasiological peculiarities.

These words include (1) old words forming part of the native heritage, (ii) words and forms specially adapted for expressing purely Christian religious ideas, and (iii) peculiar pseudo-Sanskritic formations derived from native words

Many of the words discussed below are, it is true, met with in non-Christian texts and documents also; but the question how far some of these words enjoyed a special popularity in the language of the Christians (in respect of structure, meaning, connotation or associations) is a matter deserving of a more intensive investigation than I have been able to make in the course of these pages. I have, however, indicated in connection with a few words that they may have had a 'communal' popularity on account of social, cultural or historical considerations

Wherever a word in the following lists is listed in VD (as cited by Gundert), or in Balley, I have indicated the fact within square brackets. Though presumably the materials gathered by the compilers of VD (in the 17th and 18th centuries) and by Balley (at the very beginning of the 19th century) were chiefly drawn from the language of the Christian communities of North Travancore and South Cochin, it must be understood that the mere fact that a word is listed by VD and Balley does not necessarily mean that it was "communal" or that it enjoyed a special popularity among the Christians This question, as I have pointed out more than once in the course of these pages, is a complicated one, and further materials (not available now) alone will satisfactorily solve the problem

The words discussed below are all taken from Varit, SV or BG. Many of the words are common to all the three There are, however, a few which are exclusive to one text or the other; and these have been marked off as such by me.

adutta 'suitable, fitting' and adātta 'unworthy, unsuitable.' as in the following, are not common to-day; tanikk-adutta yōgyahnal or makkalkk-adutta āśarna, and varggattin-adātta krtyahnal, etc.

attal 'sorrow'.

amali 'tumult' [VD]

 $ambo\underline{n}$  'fine gold' not  $aimbo\underline{n}$  'five metals', but cf Tam. am, 'beautiful', or cf. Tam  $paim \cdot po\underline{n}$ 

ayarpya 'estrangement' 'discord' [VD] Cf. Tam. ayar-kk- 'to forget.'

- arisam 'revengefulness' [SV defines it thus as 'revengefulness']—In literary Mal, it means 'anger'. 'Black pepper' is the meaning in Tam.
- an asar-irikka-sthanam 'seat of kings' 'capital of a country'.
- alarino 'having become fatigued, on account of a long march' [Vartt,] appears to be a blend of alañño and ayarino. Perhaps there is also the influence of ular-'to be hot, dry'
- azappo 'qualm' 'aversion' [VD]; the verb arai-kk- 'to feel aversion' also exists in Mal.

Tam. arai- does not have this meaning; perhaps Tam. arai-pō- to become bewildered or nonplussed' may ultimately be related to the Mal. form.

The form arappo is used in expressions like arappu kett. without any qualm or aversion.

aliva' repentance' [VD], as in manassinde aliva in SV Cf. 'loosening of the mind', 'distress', a meaning that is associated with the word in classical literary texts. 'Distress' is a meaning shown by Tamil also

izummal 'gnashing' in pal-l-izummal 'gnashing of the teeth'—VD has irambal.

udappa offence [VD] .-- Cf. Tam. udai-kk- 'to kick,' 'to strike.'

uyır-kk- 'to be resurrected', uyirppu 'resurrection' [Bailey], uyirovar 'those alive.'—Cf. Tam uyir- 'to be animated to life.' uyir-kk- and uyırppə (as in mariccavarude uyirppə) convey the Christian idea of 'resurrection.'

uvavi [also upavi [VD] incorrectly perhaps owing to a dissimilative change] 'love.' VD has a new upavi-kk-'to love' based on upavi.

uvavi is based on the old base  $uva\cdot kk$ - 'to feel glad.' Tam. has uvavu 'great pleasure' 'religious ardour.'

uvavi is a classical word met with in Rāmacaritam, but upavi and upavi·kk- appear to have been specially popular in Christian literature. uni huzbi-kk- to consider carefully or intently'

 $\overline{u}m < \overline{u}nm < \overline{u}nd$ , the conjunctive participle of the verb  $\overline{u}nd$  to be fixed, steadfast, etc.

The peculiarity here is the somewhat rare change of  $\acute{n}\acute{n}$  to n (through an intermediate stage of  $\acute{n}$  simplified from  $\acute{n}\acute{n}$  after a preceding long syllable). The cerebralisation (raising of the tongue-tip on the mouth roof) arises from the influence of the back yowel preceding.

There are some rare analogies in Mal:— < āno < ā

- \$\vec{u}\lam^\text{ turn' [VD and Bailey], as in \$pala \text{\text{\$\sigmalset} \text{\$\sigmalset} \text{\$\sigmalset}\$ many times'—Cf. Tam \$\vec{u}\text{\$\sigmalset} \text{\$\text{\$\sigmalset} \text{\$\sigmalset}\$ turn' 'turn' 'turn'. Has the pseudo-Sanskritic form \$\vec{u}\sampa \text{\$\sigmalset} \text{\$\sigmalset}\$ and \$\vec{u}\text{\$\sigmalset}\$ form \$\vec{u}\sampa \text{\$\sigmalset}\$ as in BG for \$\vec{k}\sigmalset\sigma \text{\$\sigmalset}\$ anskritic form \$\vec{u}\sigma \text{\$\sigma an.}\$—Cf. the from \$\vec{k}\sigma \text{\$\sigma an.}\$ used in BG for \$\vec{k}\sigma \text{\$\sigma an.}\$ \text{\$\sigma an.}\$
- erivə 'religious zeal' [VD].—Cf. Tam. erivu 'burning' 'agitation' 'wrath,' which meanings exist for the Mal. word also even to-day —The meaning may have been specially adapted in the religious vocabulary of Christians:

- elläppclum 'always' appears in this dialect often without the intrusive-yof modern elläyppolum
- $ell\bar{a}va\underline{n}$ -um' all people' is a "corruption" with "wrong" singular masculine ending— $(a)\underline{n}$ , occurring in BG—The "correct" form is  $ell\bar{a}\iota ar$ -um
- elima 'humility' [VD and Bailey]—A common word in the 18th and 19th century Kërala Christian vocabulary
- $\bar{e}g$  'to rebuke' [VD and Bailey]. In classical Mal  $\bar{e}g$  generally means 'to direct, command,' 'to order a boon to be conferred'—This classical  $\bar{e}g$ -corresponds to Tam  $\bar{e}v$ -.
- ērakkuravə [VD and Bailey], ērakkurayam 'assault' 'indignities,' 'illtreatment—The first word is a noun, while the second is a noun formed from the old infinitive ēra-k-kuraya.—ērakkuravə occurs in old granthavaris [Cf Cochin Arch Report for 1103 M E].

Tam. ērakkuraya-p-pēś-means 'to vilify or abuse.'

ēţṭam and kai-y-ēṭṭam 'assault' derive their meaning from ēẓ-' to attack', whereas ēẓakkuravə derives its meaning from 'what is more or less than propriety.'

oppāri 'comparison' 'parable'.

- orimbādə, orumbādə 'concord' [Bailey]. Cf. Tam. oruppāduu 'unanımıty' 'concord', Tam orum-pad-and Tam oru-mana-b-bad-
- karēr-and kēr-'to climb, ascend' are both met with in this dialect——The former base appears to have disappeared in Mal colloquials by about the 19th century [see my EMM, p. 42].
- kalalappāda 'election,' 'nomination' [VD]. Cf Tam kalal-' to become loose, free, marked off as a separate unit' Bailey's kalalappāda means 'groin'.
- $k\bar{a}\tau$ -kk-'to guard, watch, etc.' [Vartt. and BG].—The intrusive - $\tau$  in this word is not met with in other Mal. colloquials.—Kayar-kk—[BG] is another base which has an intrusive  $\tau$  not heard in other colloquials.

The intrusive -r- appears in literary Mal. pilarkk- [cf. Tam. pila-kk], kōr-kk- [cf. Tam. kō-kk-], kalar-kk- [cf. Tam. kala-kk-] and in colloquial Tam. kōr-kk-, cumar-kk- [for cuma-kk-] and kār-kk- [for kā-kk-].

The  $\tau$  is inserted in these forms as an intrusive, on account of the analogy of forms like  $kuli\tau$ -,  $kuli\tau$ -kk-.

- kili-kk. 'to cover or traverse a distance of [Vartt].
- kuraı-kk- 'to cut short' is used literally in kureccu konna ;cf. nilattil kurayādē in Uttirarām. gadyam.
- kūdal 'hesitation' < kūsal [the usual modern Mal. form] < kūsal [cf. Tam. kūsal, kūcal].</p>
- kūtt-arutta 'definitely'.—Cf. aruttu para-'to speak decisively,' arutta palisa 'fixed interest,' vila-y-aru-kk-'to fix the price.' VD has arātta vākka 'conditional promise.'

Bailey equates  $k\overline{u}ttaruppa$  to 'want of friendship' 'arrogance, haughtiness,' in which azu-kk- appears to have the meaning 'to sever.'

- kai-y-āļ- 'to rule' [VD], and kai-y-āli-kk- 'to entrust, hand over charge to' [VD and Bailey].
- kuraļa 'backbiting; calumny'.—Eļuttaccan has kuralakkāran.—Cf. Tam. kuralai.
- caval- 'to be soiled'. [VD and Bailey]—Cf Tam caval 'to become crumpled.'
  —Tam—Mal. cavatt-, cavitţ- 'to trample on, to tread on' are causatives of caval-, cavit-.
- cittalma 'services performed by personal attendant' [VD] —Cf. Tam. cittal. cey- 'to do' appears very often as cai- in SV and BG —This cai or cay- is common in old mss and inscriptions
- cemmörttə.[VD and Bailey], cummörttə, cemmürttam [this last in Vartt only] 'blessing, benediction.' VD has also cemmör- (<cemmuvar- 'to become prosperous') and cemmörtt-(<cemmuvarutt- to make prosperous 'to bless')</p>
  - cemmuvar-occurs in Krsnagatha and other old classical texts. The structural contraction and the particular meaning 'benediction' for the derivative cemmortta are due probably to the incorporation of the form in the religious terminology of the Christians
  - The u of  $cumm \bar{o}rtto$  is due to the bilabial following; and  $cemm \bar{u}rttam$  is a corrupt variant.
- tagarppp 'demolition, destruction,' as in manassinde tagarppp 'contrition of the mind,' used in religious phraseology.
- tanma 'lowness, vileness.'—This is the sense in which the word is sometimes used in classical texts like Kṛṣṇagātha. Cf tan-ped- of this 15th century text.
- tanuppa 'comfort' is another meaning, as in rakṣayum tanuppum [SV].
  tanya 'wicked,' as in tanya hrdayam 'wicked heart,' shows in its formation the influence of tan above and of Skt dandya—tanya does not occur in any classical texts, so far as I know.
- tatra-p-ped- 'to be in a hurry' 'to hustle' [VD] —Cf. Tam tattaram 'flurry.'
- tala-p-ped- 'to be the first' 'to commence'-Cf Tam., talappad-
- tigai-' to be fulfilled' 'to be completed' is used in phrases like pustagainal tigayuwān which is the literal translation of "in order that the scriptures might be fulfilled."
- tirva and tirmma 'final settlement' In Vartt, tirmma y atto means 'definitely'
- $t\bar{e}_L$  'to become aware of (fault), to be mended or reformed,' as in  $pilaccadinm\bar{e}l$   $t\bar{e}_L$ .
- tudarmāṇannal 'continuations.'—The -āṇam- here is due to analogy of forms like tīr-māṇam.
- tudassam 'beginning' [VD and Bailey] (for tudakkam, todakkam) owes its -ss- to the analogy of tadassam perhaps
- turassa 'opening' [Bailey] is another form with -ss-introduced on account of the analogy of words like balassa.

telinia 'having become glad.'

hade 'formerly, for the previous time' This is used in classical Mal. and in some modern regional colloquials - hadade 'for the first time,' heard in the northern parts of Cochin State, is derived through haplology. from nadanade.

nandi 'gratitude.'—The "correct" Mal. form is nanni [ < older nandi]; but the influence of Skt. nandi 'joy' has led to the spelling nandi in the "learned" Mal of some people. In literary Tamil and in older Mal the form has both the meanings 'goodness' and 'gratitude'

'narunian' insolent language' 'abuse' [VD] The form is connected with narukk-'to mash, cut into pieces'.-- I have not come across narunnani elsewhere.

nerabba, nirabba [BAILEY] 'reconciliation, levelling of differences' 'peace' -Eluttaccan has nirappu parai-.

'nigalam' pride, haughtiness' [VD and BAILEY]; this is perhaps a popular back-formation from nīlam, like tegal 'scorpion' [BG] from tēl.

nombaram 'pain' 'distress' [BAILEY]—Cf Tam nombalam and North Mal. nomhalam

pattanna, pattanna [BAILEY], pattalnna [BG] 'truth'. The "correct" form is pattanna [cf Tam. pattangu!.

pattanna with final a instead of  $\theta$  appears to be a colloquial variant. BAILEY has pattānna-y-ude as the "sixth case" form of pattānna

pattalnna occurring in BG is a "corruption", with an intrusive 1. badava 'boat'.

bammatta 'deceit' [BAILEY].

poruļ padavārtta, (porul) padārtha, pidārtha [this last in BG].—In Vartt... the word has the meaning 'religious discourse' in contexts like the following: upavi mēl uļļa porulpadārtta,

porulpadartta paraññadınde sesam; ī nagariyil ulla porulpadartta-k kārarudēyum.

The same meaning exists for the expression in SV:-ottum porulpadavārttayum, and tannal tannalude pēccil padārtta paravugavum.

pidārtha (which is apparently a corruption appearing in BG) means 'speech' 'expression' in innude pidartha innne ariyikkuinu.

padavārtta occurs in the old commentary on Līl in pāl pole padavārttayum where padavārtta may mean 'speech' or 'expression'.

GUNDERT cites VD as explaining it as 'disputing'. This appears to me to be unsatisfactory-In the Christian texts under reference, the expression appears not only as padārtta but also as porul padavārtta. Can it be that the expression was phrasal to start with, and that from the collocation porul pada vārita parayuga 'to hold a discourse in such a way as to make the meaning clear' the expression porul padavārtta was isolated?

parava 'bird' [BAILEY] 'bird in general' .--

- peśar 'rain'—Cí Tam. puyal 'storm', colloquial, peśal 'beating rain.'—Cf. piśir 'rain-drops.'
- buravar 'outsiders'.-This form occurs in Uttara-rāmāyanam gadyam.
- punnāram or ponnāram 'false praise, flattery' [VD and BAILEY], as in punnāram āya vacananial.
- peratia 'adultery', as in the sixth commandment perati-adiyādē 'non moechaberis'—Neither the literary dialect nor the colloquials that I know of have this meaning for peratia.
- $p\bar{u}g$  'to enter' (a Mal base formed from older pug-) often interchanged with  $p\bar{o}g$  'to go'
- paidalățti 'young woman or girl'—Note the association of -ātti with paidal, in order to indicate the feminine gender
- perpho 'copy.' [VD and BAILEY]—pagarpho is a comparatively late form, popula 'forgiveness, pardon', [BAILEY| as in dosattinde popula 'forgiveness of sins'
- poruppānum 'Arrangements for lodging', as in tinnānum poruppānum poruppānum porukk. has the meaning 'to abide', 'to stay' in Mal
- porum 'enough' [BAILEY], beside madi
- pōriga in madi pōriga 'sufficiency' 'ability.'—BAILEY has pōrima with the same meaning
- marudali-kk-'to oppose' 'to contradict', from maru-tala, 'opposition'.—
  Cf. maru-kk- 'to oppose.'
- mind-adain- 'to be silenced.'—VD has mindu-may-, and BAILEY has mindāttam mutt- with the same meanings
- mundugār literally 'those who wear the loin-cloth' is used for native Christians as distinguished from kuppāya-k-kār 'those who wear coats' i.e Eurasian Christians (who are called callakkār to day)
- mundu murigal 'miscellaneous sămâns'.—The generalisation of meaning is evident in contexts like ponnum velliyum kondulla mundumurigal.
- mēśakk-iri-kk-,mēśa-kali-kk-, literally 'to dine at table' means 'to take food' in contexts like pul purattu mēśakk-iruttuvūn mēśa-kali-kk- or mēśakk-iru-kk- is generally used to-day only in connection with the dinner or meals of Europeans.
- $m\bar{e}_{ni}$  'rank' 'honour', as in  $m\bar{e}_{ni}$ -kṣayam [SV]. VD has  $m\bar{e}_{ni}$ -y-ariyunna-van 'courteous man'.
- maiyal 'twilight' 'dusk' [VD and BAILEY] Cf Tam mai-'to be dim'
- mōnn-'to bark or howl, like a dog' [VD], as in mōnnuvān pōguńna nāya.
  —Cf. molann-, mulann-.
- mrunnali-kk- to become benumbed '[BG] is a corruption of virannali-kk-. In corrupt colloquials, v changes to m, cf mikk- for vikk-, amasaram [BG] for avasaram
- vaga- 'to arrange,' as in vagaññundākkiya pustagam VD vagaccal is equated to 'composition of work, fiction', and BAILEY has 'to compose a work'.

- vadugar 'bondsmen or slaves' [VD and BAILEY].—These were generally Pulayas. Though slavery has disappeared, Pulaya servants (and families, sometimes) remain attached to Christian families permanently even to-day in Kērala
- varattar 'uninvited guests' [VD and BAILEY], from varatta 'coming, arrival'—BG has varasan (with s<t<tt).</p>
- valarmi-kk- 'to rear up' is based upon the colloquial valarmma ( = literary valarcca).
- valanni-kk- 'to hatch a plot' [Vartt]
- vācca 'some', 'any' is the past relative participle of vāy-kk- The meaning has undergone considerable generalisation—Balley has vāśśadum 'anything'.
- vīccugār, literally 'throwers (of nets)' 'fishermen'—VD has vīccalkkāranvīndu vīluvān 'in order to redeem or recover.' vīl- is a Late Mal. base corresponding to Early Mal. and Tam mīl-
- mittaccan 'pater familias'.

1941 1

- vēnduvadə, vēndvadə 'what is required' -- Modern vēndadə.
- vēṇḍādhīṇam 'objectionable, malicous words'—A corruption of vēṇḍādaṇam under the influence of forms like Skt. parādhīṇam. One hears in the corrupt colloquials ācchādhīṇam for Skt āchādana.
  - Bailey has  $v\bar{e}nd\bar{a}sa\underline{n}am$  which is also a "corruption" with  $s{<}t$  (through the fricative stage).
- velusam in velusamāyi ppara. 'to speak openly'.—Cf valusam and palusam. vellangudi (vellam kudi), literally 'drinking of water', is used for 'food taken during a journey' and for 'food' in general. BAILEY gives the meaning 'provisions for a journey'.
- velmādam 'terrace', for venmādam.
- sargam 'quarrel' for tarkkam, is one of those numerous pseudo-Sanskritic forms that abound in this dialect.
- soppe 'garden' 'a tope' [VD] shows s for the initial t- of toppe.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD\*

Ву

## D. B. DISKALKAR, Poona.

#### LĀTHĪ

No. 175]

v. s 1808

[6-8-1752,

This inscription is found in the temple of Bhīḍbhanjana Mahādeva at Lāṭhi. The length and breadth of the inscribed portion is 6".

It records that Sanghavi Hemarāja and Vithal, sons of Kalyānji, belonging to the Vanik Kapol community caused the temple of Bhīdbhanjan Mahādeva to be built in Lāthi during the time of GOHEL ŚRISIMHJI, on Thursday, the eighth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in vs 1808.

This inscription was once published in the Pht. and Shi. Inscriptions of Kathiawad, p. 168.

#### Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः। श्री सारदाओ नमः॥ श्रीरणछोडजी
- 2 सत छ ॥ श्रीजयो मंगळाचरणं श्रीश्रीसंवतः
- 3 १८०८ वर्षे मासवतममासे श्रावणमासे
- 4 शक्लपक्षे तथौ अष्टमी वार गुरु जोग अंड
- 5 एवं पचांगसधौ तदा देवल भीडमंजन श्रभु
- 6 नुपणात ? आदिश्री**लाठी**मधे गोहेल श्री
- 7 संघजी वैराजमान राज करे छे श्रीवणिककपो
- 8 लगनाती गोत्र मडल संघवी श्री ५ कल्याणजी
- 9 केसव तदा भायी बाई उभयकुलवसुधावाईअ
- 10 मलस पुत्र संघवी हेमराज तथा संघवी वीठल
- 11 जी पुत्र पीतांमर ॥ श्रीभीडभंजणसंसुनुं देवल
- 12 चणावतां जे बेसारण जे थे होय ते सर्व तुलसीपत्रे छे श्रीकष्ना ण

#### DHRANGDHRA

No 176]

v. s. 1815

[9-5-1759.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the southern wall near the image of Ganapati, in the Mani-Nageśvara temple at Dhrangdhra.

It records that Āvaradāsa and his sons began building the temple, (of Mahādeva) on Thursday, the 9th of the bright half of Sravana of vs. 1809 = 6-8-1753) when Ahmed Shah was the emperor (of Delhi) and Mahārāṇa Raisiṁhji was the ruler of Zālāyād. The construction of the

<sup>\*</sup> Concluded from p 382 of Vol. III.

temple was completed on Wednesday, the 13th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of v.s 1815 in the time of Rājā Gajasimhji (of Zālāvad) and his son JASVANTSIMHJI. The cost of the building was Rs. 7101. Avardas spent 91 kalasis of corn in charity and promised to grant 10 kalasis every year for the maintenance of the temple

#### Text

- श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायण ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीवमणी नागेस्वर ॥ श्रीअंबाजी ॥ इत्मान 1
- ॥ संवत १८०९ ना वरषे सावण ग्रद ९ दने वार 2
- गरेउ श्रीपरसादपंचतीरथीनो आरंभ मांडो छे 3
- वादसाहा श्रीक्षेमदसाहा वींजे राजे श्रीजाहा 4
- लावादना देसपति महाराण श्री राओसंघजी 5
- ना राजमां श्री**टांगटरा**मघे वास श्री आवरदास 6
- मलजी भारया बाई दतबाई सत दानसंघ सत 7
- कसभाई तथा नवलसंघ सत बनेलसंघ तथा आणंद 8
- राम तथा बन जामबाई तथा बालगोपाल श्रीपरसाद g
- करावों छे तेनी बेसराण रुपैआ ७१०१ ) अंके ईको 10
- तेरसेहेने अंकनी बेसराण थई छे तेनी प्राणाहती 11
- संवत १८१५ ना वैशाष शद १३ वधे सपर चडाव छे ता 12
- र राजा श्रीराजसंघजी कुअरश्री जसवतसंघजी पा 1.3
- ट पाटोधर हो श्रीधरमखाते वास आवरदासे ढांणा 14
- कलसी ९१ एकांग्र धरमखाते करा छे वरस १ कलसी १० 15
- ने आसरे मंन घर हो श्रीपरमेसर अपावे तार सधी आ 16
- पे करवा कारवता श्रीईसवर छे परसादना सेवक रावल नांहां 17
- 18 ना सत ओधवजी तथा भाई माधवजी श्रीव
- 19 डेराना कारीगर सलाट सामलजी जीवणजी

#### LATHI

No 1771

v. s. 1820

[27-11-1763

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of the image of Ganapati in the temple of Bhidbhanjan Mahadeva at Lathi. The inscribed portion measures 10" by 3"

It records that Sanghavi Kalyana Kesava caused the image of Ganapati to be set up on Sunday, the seventh of the dark half of Kārtika in V. S. 1820 in Läthi (in the time) of Gohel LÄKHÄJI.

The inscription was once published in the Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad, p 169

#### Tort

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ संवत् १८२० वर्षे कारतक वद ७ दने रवीवाशरे श्री
- गणपतिनं सरुप थयं छे श्री**लाठीमधे** गोहल **लापाजीनी**
- शंघवी कलाण केसव सत पीतामर श्रीगणपति नमः

#### HALVAD

No. 1781

## v. s. 1822

[3-10-1765,

The inscription is copied from one of the many  $p\bar{a}h\bar{a}s$  standing in a deri near the temple of Bhavāni Mātā in  $R\bar{a}jehara$  in Halvad.

It records that Mahārānā Gajasımhji, son of Raisimji was slain in a fight with the cavalry of Vāghada on Thursday, the fourth of the dark half of Aso in v.s. 1822 \* Haṭḥī Sanga, son of Gajania Kesarji was also slain with him

#### Text

सवत १८२२ वरषे आसो वद ४ व र गरु मारण श्रीराअसंग्रजी पुत महरण श्रीगजसगजी वा र चडतान काम आवा छ युडां वागड ना साथमांमछा थश्र ते कम आवा छ गजणआ केंसरज सत गजणी आ हठीसंगजी कम आवा छ.

#### VALĀ

No. 1791

## v. s 1828

[4-5-1772.

This inscription is engraved on a white marble slab in the possession of the Thakur Saheb of Valā The inscribed portion measures 12" by 8"

It records that Bhāroji Frāmji made repairs to the well, in which the inscription was first fixed, on the second day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1828, during the time of Bhāvasimhji. The well was formerly built by Vālā Shri Shurāji.

The inscription was once published in the Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad, p. 170

#### Tex

- 1 संवत् १८२८ वर्षे वैशाख शुद २ दने वा
- 2 ला श्रीशुरजीए बंधावी छे ते वाव अंधा¹
- 3 रीमां भारोजी फरामजीए बधावी छे
- 4 नारो श्रीशूरजे<sup>2</sup> छे राज्यश्री रावल० वी
- 5 शाभाई भावशंघजीतुं छे श्रीरस्तु

## LIMBDI

No. 1801

v.s 1830

[16-5-1774

This inscription is found engraved on a marble slab fixed in the wall of the deri of 28 pillars on the bank of a tank at Limbdi. It measures 13" by 6"

<sup>\*</sup> The v. s seems to the Aṣādhādi

<sup>1.</sup> The mango grove in the vicinity of a village is called signifi-

<sup>2.</sup> i.e. the passage of the well is to the east.

It records that Mahārājādhirāja Adājī and Kumāras Verāji and Amarasimhji who belonged to the Zālā family, which is one of the 36 royal families and is of the Mārkandeya gotra were killed in a battle. In their honour a deri was built at the cost of Rs. 2,321. The building of the deri took 2 years and 4 months, and was completed on Monday, the sixth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V S 1830.

#### Text

- श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्त्रपविकमार्कसमयातित संवत १८३० वर्षे श्रीमन्त्रप
- 2 शालिवाहनकृत शाके १६९६ प्रवर्त्तमाने वैशाखमासे ग्रुक्लपक्षे ६ सोमवा
- 3 सरे पृथ्यनक्षत्रे बृद्धिनांम्नि ज्योगे क्षत्रिकळमुद्योतकारि षटत्रिशराज
- 4 कुलिमच्ये मार्कडेयगोत्रपवित्रगौब्राह्मणप्रतिपालक झाला श्रीमा
- 5 हाराजाधिराज अदाजी पंचत्व तथा कुवर श्रीवेराजी शस्त्राधाते पंचत्वं
- 6 तथा कुवर श्री**अमरसंघजी** राख्नघातेन पंचत्वं प्राप्नोति तस्य हिताय दे
- 7 वलोकिकपित्रिप्रितये सर्वतो भद्रप्रासाद संपूर्णमगमए प्रासाद विष
- 8 २ मास ४ पूर्ण थयो द्रव्यषरच रूपैया सहस्त्र २३२१ बेत्रण्यसे एकविस
- 9 षरचा छे प्रसादनी रक्षा येको झाला श्री अदाजीनी
- 10 करज्यो

#### WADHWAN

No. 1811

v. s. 1833

[30-12-1776.

This inscription is found in the deri of Candrasimhji at Wadhwan The inscribed portion measures  $10\frac{1}{2}$ " by 12".

It records that Mahäränä Prithviräjji caused a deri to be made in honour of Mahäränä Candrasimhji on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Mägashirsha in v.s. 1833 Prithivirajji's mother was the daughter of Jayasimhji of the Väghelä family, and was named Kuśala Kuvarbā.

#### Text

- 1 संवत १८३३ ना वर्षे शाके १६९८ प्रवर्तमां
- 2 न्ये रवि पक्षणांन्ये गते मासोत्तममासे मा
- 3 गीबीर्षमासे ऋष्नपक्षे तिथि ५ वार चंद्रे महारा
- 4 णाश्रीचंद्रसिंहजीनो प्रासाद वाघेला श्रीजेसि
- 5 जी॰ तस्य सुता बाई श्रीकराल कुवर सुत
- 6 माहाराणा श्रीप्रश्रीराजजिये प्रसाद क
- 7 राव्यो छे॥ श्रीरस्तु॥

#### GHELA SOMANATHA

No 1821

v. s. 1850

[3-2-1794.

This inscription is found engraved on a slab which is fixed near the door of the temple of Nilakantha Mahādeva adjoining the temple of Somanatha, called Ghelā Somanatha, on the bank of the river Ghelā, at a dist-

ance of eleven miles to the north-east of Jasdan, and a mile from the village named Piplia.

It records that Thākor Śri Vakhtsımhjı, evidently the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, had come to worship Somanatha with his Diwan and Kāmdārs and about 1000 cavalry, on Monday, the fourth of the bright half of Māhā in v.s. 1850.

The visit of Vakhatsimhji to the place might have taken place on his way back from Jasdan where he had gone to humble Vājsur Khācar, the powerful Kathi ruler of Jasdan

An earlier inscription of v.s. 1798 fixed in the wall near this inscription shows that the temple evidently of Nilakantha Mahadeva was built (repaired?) at a cost of Rs. 7625, by Davagar.

Outside the courtyard of the Somanatha temple is a pāliā of Jamni, wife of Jasa who became Sati in v.s. 1675

#### BEYT

No. 183]

v. s. 1855 [31-3-1799

This inscription is inscribed on one of the six  $p\bar{a}lu\bar{a}s$ , all of the same date, standing in an enclosure in front of the new Sankha Narayana temple in Beyt. It records the death of Bhanji Pujaji in the fight with the English, on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Phālguna in v s 1858 The other five  $p\bar{a}luas$  record the death of other soldiers in the same fight

This fight must have taken place between the people of the Vāḍel Rāṇā of Aramḍā and Beyt and the English who had attacked the island in A D 1799 In the light of these inscriptions the date of the first connection of the British with the island given as 1804 A D in the Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 594), requires to be corrected. It took sixteen years to completely subjugate the island in 1816 by the combined forces of the British and the Gaikwad. By the treaty of 18th November, 1817 the island passed under the sovereignty of the Gaikwad of Baroda.

#### LIMBDI

No. 1841

vs 1860

[14-1-1804

This inscription is engraved on a marble stone slab fixed in a wall of the *deri* of 28 pillars on the bank of the tank at Limbdi. The inscribed portion measures  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $7\frac{1}{2}$ ".

It records that Mahārānā Harisinh ni caused the den of Harban ni to be made on Saturday the second of the bright half of Māgha in v s 1860 at a cost of Rs 725

#### Text

- 1 स्वत् १८६० ना माघ शुदि २ शने
- 2 उ माहारांणा श्रीहरभंमजी
- 3 नि देरी करीबी छे ६० ७२५ चणा

- 4 वता थया छे मास॰ ६ ये पुरी थ
- 5 ई छे माहारांणा श्री**हरिसंघजी**ये
- 6 चणाची छ छा० सखिदाश ॥ श्री ॥

#### TARANETAR

No 1851

#### v.s. 1867

19-5-1811

This inscription is found in the temple of Mahādeva at Taranetar.

It records that Vithal Bābāji in the service of the Gatkwād caused a temple of Trinetra i.e. Mahādeva to be built in v.s. 1867 or śaka 1733.

This Vithal Bābāji was the famous general of the Gaikwad, who conquered Kathiawad, and established the power of the Marathas there.

#### Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः॥
- 2 श्रीमदिक्रमराज्यतः परिमि
- 3 तेऽब्देऽश्वांगनागेदिमश्वोचे
- 4 णीतदसंस्थितत्रिनयनप्रा
- 5 सादमानिर्ममौ ॥ श्रीमद्वायक
- 6 वाज्यसेवकशिरोरतस्य बाबाजि
- 7 नः सेवातत्परदेवजित्सतनयः
- ८ श्रीविद्रलाख्यः सधीः ॥ १ ॥ चित्रभा
- 9 नुसमे सौम्येत्वयने मासि माधवे
- 10 कृष्णे गुरौ प्रतिपदि प्रतिष्ठाविधि
- 11 रप्यभृत् ॥ २ ॥ श्रीरस्तु सर्वजगतां ॥
- 12 शके १७३३ संवत् १८६७
- 13 श्रीचरणिं छेखक आनंदराव छक्ष्मण....

#### IADESHVARA

No. 1861

v.s. 1869

[13-3-1813

This inscription is engraved on a black stone slab fixed in a niche near the image of Ganpati in the famous Jadeshvara Mahādeva temple at a distance of 6 miles from Vānkāner. The inscribed portion measures 14" by 11". Though the man who composed the inscription seems to be learned the engraver has done his work most carelessly. The mistakes are not corrected

The inscription mentions that the temple of Jadeśvara Mahādeva was built by VITHALRAO BĀBĀJI, the general of the GAIKWAD, who conquered Saurastra, on Saturday the 12th of the bright half of Phālguna, in v.s. 1869 or Saka 1734.

#### Text

- 1 ॥ श्री सांबसदाशिवाय ॥
- 2 श्रीमद्रायकवाडसेवनसमुङ्गतप्रतिष्ठावनी
- 3 **बाना**ज्याहित विद्रस्टस्वनयतः स्वायत्तसौ-

- 4 राष्ट्रकः ॥ अब्देंकांगभुजंगचंद्रविमिते
- 5 मास सिते फालाने पुष्यर्से शनिना
- 6 सरे हरितियो जाटेशसद्म व्यधात
- 7 ॥ १ ॥ यद्गाधरनोद्येन मया गंगाधरो
- 8 र्चितः ॥ मत्पूर्त्तपूर्वकतेन श्रीतो मेस्तु
- 9 जटेश्वरः ॥ २ ॥ जयं मूलमिति प्राहुः का
- 10 रणं चेति तदिदः ॥ जगज्जन्मादिहेतु
- 11 त्वाद्वदतीम जटेश्वर ॥ ३ ॥ सं १८६९ श
- 12 के १०३४ फाल्गुन ग्रुक्ल १२ शनो पुष्यनक्षत्रे
- 13 आयुष्ययोगे बालवकरणे सूर्योदयात इष्ट
- 14 घटी १५ पर ३१ समय प्रासाद प्रतिष्टा इष्टदास्त ॥

#### AMRELI

No. 187] vs 1873 [28-4-1817

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab built up in the wall of the famous N\u00e4ge\u00e9vara Mah\u00e4deva temple in Amreli. Unlike most of the inscriptions of the modern period this inscription is composed in good simple Sanskrit.

The object of the inscription is to record the building of the Nāganātha temple in Amaravalli by Vithalrao Vevāji of the Prabhu community who was the minister of the king of Vatapura and who conquered Saurāṣtra. The work was completed on Monday, the 12th day of the bright half of Vaisākha in v.s. 1873 (Saka 1739). The inscription was composed by Jagannatha, a Brāhmin of the Praśnorā community.

#### Tort

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ सौराष्ट्रे पुण्यभूमौ जयति शुभगुणा
- 2 लकता भविभूषा सा पर्गीवाणवाद्धी विलसति सततं यत्र नागे
- 3 श्वरोऽसौ ॥ पूर्व यः पावनेस्मिनुरगवरफणाच्छत्रचिन्हः स्वयभुः
- 4 दुर्दश्यः पुण्यहीनैरकलितमहिमा विङ्गलायासतुष्ट ॥ १ ॥ देवा
- 5 जिच्छैवमुख्यः प्रभुकुलतिलको विट्ठलस्तस्य सूनुर्हानी शूरो
- 6 दया**ळवंट युर**नृपतेर्मत्रिवर्घ्यः प्रतापी ॥ तेन श्रीनागना
- 7 थो व्ययचरदतुलं राजदुर्गं तु मध्ये पश्चादुर्ग नगयूर्या
- 8 निजपवकमलद्वंद्वदास्योत्सुकेन ॥ २ ॥ प्राच्यां श्रीवि
- 9 इलेशालयमुद्धितटे चंद्रचूडालय च त्रैनेत्रशी
- 10 जटेशालययुगममुना कारयामास शंभुः ॥ प्रासा
- 11 द रैवताद्रे. प्रतिभटममरेत्यां तथा विद्रलेन प्राच्यां
- 12 यो जीर्णदुर्गीधिपयवनकरं मोचयामास शीघ्र॥
- 13 ३॥ वर्षे नदागनागामृतिकरणमिते सिधुवह्नद्रि
- 14 चद्र ख्याते ज्ञाके च माघे मकरगमिहिरे जुक्छषष्टचा बु
- 15 धेव ॥ कर्केज्ये कुंभजेदौ परिघरातभिषाकौल-

- 16 वैर्युक्तमीने प्रारच्या नागनाथालयकृतिरचना
- 17 कारुभिविंद्रलेन ॥ ४॥ वर्षे वन्ह्यद्रिनागामृतिकरण
- 18 मिते माधवे शुक्लपक्षे द्वादश्यां सोमवारेऽर्यमभग
- 19 वृषमे बालवे हर्षणादौ ॥ पार्वत्या नंदिनाथो क
- 20 मठगणपयोर्मारुतेः सुप्रतिष्ठा प्रासादस्य प्रति
- 21 ष्टा सुकनककलशैः कारिता विद्वलेन ॥ ५॥
- 22 संवत् १८७३ वर्षे शाके १७३९ वैशाख ग्रुद द्वाद
- 23 श्री सोमवारे विद्वल देवाजीये नाघेश्वरनो प्रासा
- 24 द संपूर्ण कराव्यो छे: ॥ कवि जगनाथ प्रश्नोरा ब्राह्मण
- 25 शिल्पी सस्यराम सोमपरा

## SIHORE

No. 1881

v s. 1887 [20-10-1831

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the wall of a small deri in the north-western part of the famous Brahma Kunda which is in the southern part of the town Sihore in the Bhavnagar State The inscribed portion measures 8" by 4".

It records that Svāmı Purushottama Sarasvatı caused a temple of Brahmā to be built on the bank of the Brahma Kuṇda on Thursday, the seventh of the dark half of Āśvin in v s. 1887.

It is to be noted that the image of Brahmā is now missing This Brahma kuṇda is said to have been originally built by the Caulukya sovereign Siddharāja Jayasıriha.

#### Text

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १८८७ ना शाक १७५३ प्रवर्त्त
- 2 माने आश्वनमासे क्रष्णपक्षे तिथी ७ स
- 3 प्रमी गुरुवासरे ॥ स्वामी श्रीपरषोत्तम
- 4 सरस्वतीञे श्रीब्रह्मकुडउपर देरू चणा
- 5 वीने श्रीब्रह्मानी सुरतीनी थापना करी
- 6 छ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ ग्रुमं भवतु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

#### MĀDHAVAPUR

No 1891

v.s. 1896

[11-5-1840]

This inscription is found in the famous Mādhavrai's temple at Mādhavpur, now in the Porbandar State

It records that the temple of Mādhavarāi was repaired by Rūpālibā, mother of Mahārāṇa Vikramātji of the Jeṭhvā family, on Monday, the 10th of the bright half of Vaisākha in v.s. 1896 The same queen repaired the Kedāreśvara temple in Porbandar as an inscription of v.s. 1894 in the temple to that effect states.

#### Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नः ॥ श्रीमाधवरायो जयति ॥ स्वस्ति
- 2 ॥ श्रीमन्त्रपवीक्रमाऽकसमयात् संवत १८९६ ना
- 3 साके १७६२ ना वैसाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे दसम्या १०
- 4 तीथौ सोमवासरे उत्तरा फालगुनिनक्षत्रे हरिषणयो
- 5 में गिरकणें मेऽषरासिस्थीते शर्थे रवे उतायने
- 6 वसंतरितौ तलरासीस्थीते देवगरी अवं पंचांग
- 7 शुधी अत्र समदिने श्रीमाधवपुरमध्ये धर्मराज जे
- 8 ष्ट्रवसे माहारांणा श्रीविक्र**मातजी** तस्य मातश्रीक
- 9 पाळीबाओ श्रीमाधवरायजीत जीर्णमंदीर हत ते नो
- 10 तमं कीधं छे: ॥ कत्ती विष्वकर्मावंसे सलाट पोरे
- 11 चा देवा वसरांमे चण छे: ॥ ली अध्यार हरजीवन स
- 12 बजी ज्ञाति अवदिचसहश्र जोशी ईसामली (?)

#### CHANDRASA

No. 1901

vs 1911

[19-4-1855

This inscription is found fixed in the northern dam of the Chandrāsar lake to the west of the town Rājasīthāpur in the Dhrangdhra state. It measures 1'10'' in length and 10'' in breadth and being quite modern is in an excellent state of preservation

It records that in the *Jhalla* family, which is one of 36 Kṣatriya families, was born a king named *Candrasimhaji* who was eleventh in descent from *Mānasimhiji*, son of *Ranmallaji*, who was the son of *Amarasimhiji*. This *Candrasimhaji* had caused to be dug a lake, called Candāsar lake, where an inscription dated Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna of v s. 1624 was fixed The lake had been very much out of repairs Mahārānā *Ranmalji*, therefore, ordered his Vazir Jādejā Sāngāji to dam it as strongly as before. Accordingly he repaired the tank on Thursday the third of the bright half of Vaiśakha in v.s. 1911 (ṣāka 1777)

#### Text

- उँ ॥ नमां श्रीगणेशायनम ॥ श्रीगुरुम्योनमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्गृपविक्रमाकसमयातितसवत् १९११ वर्षे शाके
- 2 १०७० प्रवर्त्तमान्ये उत्तरायते छुमकारि वैद्यापमासे छुक्रपक्षे त्रीतीयायां तिथौ गुस्वासरं तत्र दिने छुभ वेलायां
- 3 षट्त्रिशद्राजकलावनंसफल्लकंशिदवामणिमाहाराणा श्री ७ अमर्सिंघजी तस्यात्मज-विजयराज्ये माहाराणा श्रीर
- 4 णमर्छीसंघजी कुअर शीमानसंघजी येमना अग्यारमी पेढीयै माहाराणा श्री ७ चंद्र-सिंघजी पूर्वेथा तेउये पोताना नाम
- 5 थी आबदासर तळावकराळ्युं तेनो शिलालेष दक्षण दिसा तरफ पाणी आववानी नाली के तेना भारवट उप

- 5 र आ अक्षरलपेल छे संवत् १६२४ वर्षे फाल्गुन शुदि ५ सोमे ॥ ऋोक ॥ चंद्राहरं तडा-गंच ॥ कारितं दर्भ गोत्री
- 7 णा ॥सत्यानां शातयेतुना दीपचंद्रेण क्षत्रीणा ॥ १ ॥ ये आ तलाव षणुं जीणं थई एक भागतं बाकी रहलनेत्र
- 8 ण भागमां मुतळक रहेळ नही तेनां जीणोंधार महाराणश्री रणमळ ाभींगजीये वजीर जाडेजा सांगाजीने हक
- 9 म करी आ तलाव प्रथम जेवुं हतुं तेवुं मजबुत काम करावी जीणोंद्धार कराव्यां छे॥
  ऋोक । चंद्रसिंही।
- 10 नरपितर्झल्छवशोद्भवो बली ॥ तेनाकिर चंद्रसरो निःपंकं मानसं यथा ॥ १ ॥ तद्वंशीयो महाना
- 11 सीद्रणमल्लास्य भूपतिः ॥ मान्यो वदान्योधीमाश्च सत्यसंघो दृढवतः ॥ २ ॥ जीणोंधार-कृतस्तेन स
- 12 रसः सुफळप्रदः ॥ (स्व) वं (शो) द्धरणार्थाय देहिनां च सुखाय वै ॥ ३ ॥ सांगाजी अचिवननस्य क्षत्री
- 13 यो नीतितत्परः ॥ यथारामाद्यावनकर्त्ता धर्ममस्यरक्षकः ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ ॥

#### SHIMROLI

No. 191]

v.s. 1912

8-2-1856

'The subjoined inscription is engraved on a white stone slab fixed in a well near the temple of Shamnātha Mahādeva at Shimroli, which is at a distance of 7 miles from Kesod on the Kesod-Māngrol road. The inscribed portion measures I'-7½" by 11".

It records that at Simroli there was a very old well called Khodiyāl vāv which was dug deeper and granted in girās, in the time of Nabab Bahādur-khānji and his Diwan Amarji, in vs 1831. It was again repaired by Mukutarām, son of Jayaśankar in v.s. 1912 at the cost of 3216 koris

## Text

- 1 : ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीमा
- 2 ता खोडीयाल साहाय हे ॥ शंव
- 3 त १८३१ नी सालमां नवाब श्री
- 4 ७ बाह्यदुरखानजीनी नवा
- 5 [वी]मां मोजे शीमरोली मोटीमां
- 5 वाव खोडीयाल असल प्रा
- 7 तनी हती तेमां पाणीनी मेन
- 8 तकरी [आश सावो।काका
- 9 तथा काला राखता ? ] ते उप
- 10 र गांम गरास मेता श्रीश्राम
- 11 रजी दीवा[न\*]नी वारमां आपु छे
- 12 ते बाब पाछी सं १९१२ ना
- 13 महाना शुद २ दीने च मगछे

- 14 श्वर सु अणंदजी सु वीशेश्वर
- 15 सु वजेशंकर सु जेशंकर सु
- 16 मगटरामे को। ३२१६। अ
- 17 खरे जणहजार बड़ो से सवासी
- 18 ळ खरची बाब पछी बंधा
- 19 वी छे॥ श्रीरस्त । दो मेघजी

#### **SEKHAPĀT**

No 1921

v.s. 1914

[20-1-1858

This inscribed slab is fixed in the wall of a deri in the eastern part of the village Sekhpāt

The inscription records that  $Vibh\bar{a}$ , son of  $R\bar{a}nmal$  repaired the temple of  $\bar{A}s\bar{a}pun$  Mātā, on the 5th day of the bright half of Māgha in v s. 1914.

#### Text

- 1 : ॥ श्रीआशापुराजी सहाय ॥ दोहा ॥ सतरसे स
- 2 तलोतरो ॥ फागणमास उतंग ॥ तथ तेरसेर
- 3 वासर भ्रमु ।। रणरचीयो रासंग ॥ १ ॥ दलर
- 4 गसीसो ठोकलो ॥ उनडमाडे अभंग ॥ पडीया
- 5 ए तापागथी।। रण पड तेरासंग ॥ २ ॥ ओ
- 🖔 गणीसे चउदा अधक ॥ माहामासग्रभसा
- 7 र ॥ रणमलसुतवीभेरजु ॥ कीनो जीरणोधा
- S र ॥ ३ ॥ तपे अचल नविनापुरी ॥ पछम धराप्र
- 9 तपाल ॥ वीभो दलद्रविहंडणो ॥ के कविता
- 10 वजमाल ॥ ४॥ सबतु १९१४ ना माहा सुद ५॥

## BEYT

No 1931

vs 1935

[13-8-1879

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the wall of the Sankha Nārāyana temple situated in the central portion of the island Beyt Sankhadhāra near Dwarka at a distance of half a mile to the east of the main temple of Ranchodrāi. The tradition goes that the image of Sankha Nārāyana in this temple was set up by one Siva Sangana in v s. 1607.

The inscription mentions that in v.s. 1774 Mahārāv Prāgji repaired the temple and an inscribed slab was fixed to that effect. It was afterwards repaired in v s 1854. The inscription put to that effect was worn out. The temple was again repaired in v s 1902 and the inscription which was put at the time is preserved near the present inscription. Lastly, on Wednesday, the twelvth of the dark half of Śrāvana in v.s. 1935, the temple was rebuilt by order of Nānibā Zāli, mother of Mahārāv Khangārji.

#### Text

॥ श्री झंखनारायणजी सत्य छे संवत् १००४ नी शालमां कच्छ दे शाधिप
 ति महाराओ श्रीप्रागजीये आ श्रीजु मंदिर नचु कर तेनी शिलालेख नि
 ज मंदिरना बारणाउपरे छे ते पछे सं १८५२ नी शाल मंदिरनु काम करावे
 छ छे तेनो शीलालेख आ जोडे कायम छे ते पछे स १९३५ ना श्रावण वी
 द १२ बुधेनु महाराजाधिराज मिरजां महाराओ श्रीखेगारजी बाहादुरनां मातुश्री
 बाईसाहेब श्री नानीवा झालीये आश्रीना मंदरनुं काम तथा मंदिरने सा
 मो श्रीहनमानजीवालो दरवाजो छे ते उपर मजला बेनीभो बांधावी तेनं काम सं

पूर्ण कराव्य हे ॥ गादिस्थ ब्रह्मचारिजी श्री. ( लिखितं वि.....वासी......)

## LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

	INSCRIPTION	OF SAMVAT		INSCRIPTION OF SAMUAT
		1050	39	Dhāmlei Vikrama 1437
1	Dudānā	Vikrama 1258	40	1400
3	Visāvadā	,, 1262	41	Mahuva Suda Vav ,, 1437 Bhavnagar Museum Date missing
3	Ajaka	,, 1262		Badulā Vikrama 1440
4	Mahuvā	,, 1272	42	7.11.110
5	Ghelāna	Valabhi 911	43	Rānāvāo " 14[4]0
4 5 6	Mıyāni	Vikrama 1290	44	Somanātha Pāṭaṇa , 1442
7	Jasdan	,, 1292	45	Phulkā " 1443
8	Wadhwan	., 1301	46	Mesavānā " 1444
9	Verāwal	Valabhï 927	47	Khorāsā " 1445
10	Gırnār	Vikrama 1305	48	Dhandhusar " 1445
īĭ	Ghumli	" 1318	49	
12	Girnār	", 1319	50	Phulkā " 1448
13	Läthodrä	,, 1322	51	Bagasrā " 1448
14	Porebandar	,, 1334	52	Corwad " 1450
15	Kansāri	,, 1347	53	Goreja " 1450
16	Wadhwān	" 1950	54	Mangrol Date missing
17	Somanātha Pāta		55	Māngrol Vikrama 1452
18	Girnār	- "	56	Parnālā "1453
19	Somanātha Pāta	"	57	Somanātha Pāṭana " 1454
20	Somanātha Pāta		58	Kankāsā " 1456
21	Somanātha Pāta		59	Potodi 1/1516
22	Somanātha Pāta		60	
23	Sütrāpādā	1957	61	Jamlā " 1461
24	Satrunjaya Hill	,, 1557	62	Somanātha Pāṭana ", 1462
4	(Pālitānā)	1371	63	Verāwal " 1464
25	Māngrol	" 1275		Vanthali ", 1469
26	Rāval	″ 1975	65	
27	Hātasni	191916		37= -L-1=-= " 1.471
28	Div	1202	67	37411- 1. 1.479
29	Adpokar	Date missing	68	T
30	Adpokar Girnār		69	C
31	Amreli	"	70	3.6
32	Mängrol	Vikrama 1402	71	7 (0.15)
33	Mangroi Kherāli	vikiama 1402		T - 11
34	Somanātha Pāta	" 1400		Mūl-Mādhavpur Date not given
			74	
35	Somanātha Pāţa	na " 1432		
36	Than	,, 1432	75	Mahuvā Vikrama 1500
37	Nagicānā	,, 1434	76	Junagadh (Uparkot) ,, 1507
38	Osā	., 1435	77	Girnār Date missing

	INSCRIPTION	OF SAMVAT		INSCRIPTION	070.0	
78	Pasnāvdā	Vikrama 1514	136	Rājasithāpur		AMVAT
79	Jegadvā	1510	137	Bevt		1701
80	Girnār	" 1518 " 1519	138	Khārvā	**	1702? 1716
81	Jegadvā	,, 1524	139		"	1719
82	Khāmbhad	" 1531	140	Beyt	"	1720
83	Kutiyāņā	" 1531	141	Anındarā	",	1721
84	Candrāsar	,, 1534	142	Halwad	,,	1722
85	Gosã	., 1536	143	Muli	"	1735
86 87	Rāmparā	,, 1538	144	Beyt	11	1738
88	Khodu Bādi	" 1544 " 1572	145 146		"	1740
89	Kuvā	1570	147	Mavāna (Milyana)	**	1740
90	Sarā	1570	148	Dad.	,.	1746 1748
91	Unā	" 1579 " 1582	149		"	1751
92	Dhrāsanvel	,, 1582	150	Halvad	"	1749
93	Halvad	,, 1583	151	Khambhāļiā	,,	1749
94	Veļāvdar	" 1584	152		,,	1750
95	Satrunjaya Hıll	450-	153	Khambhāļiā	,,	1751
96	(Pālītāņā)	,, 1587	154	Than	•,	1752
97	Hāmpar	, 1588	155	Rāval	**	1753
98	Nagicānā. Padā	" 1590 " 1594	156 157		,,	1754 1756
99	Bagasrā	7 1604	158	Thān	,,	1757
100	Kodidarā	" 1609 " 1609	159	Dihor	11	1758
101	Wadhwan	,, 1613	160		,,	1758
102	Dahısarā	" 1622	161	Bhāvnagar	,,	1768
103	Goghā	,, 1634	162	Bhānavad Thān	,	1771
104	Mänkheträ	,, 1639			,,	1776
105 106	Dhrol	,, 1647	164	Halvad	**	1779
107	Šatrunjaya Unā	" 1650 " 1652	165 166	Sıyāni Bhādrod	,,	1781 1792
108	Satrunjaya	1000	167	Limbdi	"	1792
109	Hampar	" 1652 " 1656	167 168	Lolivānā	,,	1794
110	Dhrängdhrä	" 1657	169	Limbdi	"	1794
111	Kondha	,, 1663	170	Morvi	,,	1797
112	Jämnagar	,, 1666	171		**	1797
113	Gāļā	,, 1668	172	Beyt	Date n	
114 115	Dādar Carbā	,, 1669	173		Vikram:	
116	Goghā Vartei	,, 1672	174 175	Mahuvā	,,	1805
117	Satruniava	" 1674 " 1675	176	Lāṭhı Dhrāngdhrlā	"	1809 1815
118	Satrunjaya	1000	177	Lāthi	,,	1820
119	Māthak	" 1675 " 1677	178	Hālvad	"	1822
120	Vänkäner	" 1679	179	Valā	,,	1828
121	Ķāļāvad	" 1682		Limbdı	,,	1830
122 123	Kuā	,, 1682	181	Wadhwān		1835
124	Šatrunjaya Halvad	" 1683	182		,,	1850
125	Mūli	" 1683 " 1685	183 184		,,	1855
126	Gadhakā	1007	185	Lımbdi Tarnetar	,,	1860 1867
127	Māngrol	1007	186	Jadeśvara	**	1869
128	Kuā	" 1687 " 1687	187	Amreli	,,	1873
129	Dahisarā	,, 1688	188	Sihore	"	1888
130	Bileśvara	,, 1688	189	Mādhavpur	,,	1896
131 132	Dhuā	,, 1688	190	Candrāsar	,,	1911
133	Halvad Jhinjhuvädä	" 1690	191	Simroli	,,	1912
134	Jamnagar	" 1622	192	Šekhapāţ	"	1914
135	Wadhwan	" 1696 " 1699	193	Beyt	"	1937
	·	,, 1099				

#### MISCELLANEA

# FEMALE EDUCATION AS EVIDENCED IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

In every respect, the period of Buddhism is marked with allround development. Buddhistic philosophy and theology had something quite conspicuous and specific in it that gave impetus and encouragement to education. It furnished a dynamic force which is so essential for any civilization if it wants to establish supremacy and gain ground.

We are dumbfound while reading the accounts of Universities like those of Vikramasılā, Ajantā, Sāranātha, Nālandā and the last but not the least Taxilā,¹ which poured out a colossal force of Buddhistic culture and civilization. These Universities were so generously conducted that not only Indians but the peoples of Asia and Europe also received instruction on all the branches of literature, art and science, namely, philosophy, politics, painting, rhetoric, medicine, astrology, archery, architecture, and also alchemy.

Besides Taxilā and Nālandā, Chinese travellers in their travel accounts have mentioned quite a number of minor institutions which shaped and circulated Aryan Culture and civilization, far and wide. These were exclusively financed by the rich and the reigning princes of India. The most noteworthy feature quite characteristic of India's catholicity was that they imparted tuition free of charge to all and alike without observing distinction in caste, colour, and creed.

Prasenajit, the king of Kosala, and Jivaka² received instruction sitting together. A prince and a pauper were treated alike. It is written in one of the Jātakagranthas named Mahāsūtasoma that hundreds of princes were instructed in the uses of weapons and missiles on the lines of strict equality. All these accounts and the historical records lead us to the conclusion that there were very big Universities in Buddhistic times, which provided ample scope for education to males; but they are comparatively and teasingly silent as regards female education. To get an adequate idea on the point we will have to fall back upon the Buddhist Canon and the works allied to it because we are not at all prepared to believe that the nuns who wandered in the nook and corner of the country, leaving aside Laksmī and luxury to scatter the seeds of Buddhism, with a fanatic's zeal, were almost illiterate.

On the contrary, the splendid missionary work which they have so ably put forth is itself a good and reliable commentary on the broad outlook, clear vision, practical wisdom, unfailing foresight, intellectual width and what not These and a train of ments did neither come to them as mere windfalls, nor were they Nature's bounties conferred so lavishly and thoughtlessly on them, but they were the outcome of the closest application and the unfinching devotion to the Goddess of Learning. Let us see in the following paragraphs what light we get and gather in this connection from the Buddhistic Literature. It cannot of course, be definitely asserted whether they received education after the fashion of the present day girls

oth as the North and North-West of India there were great centres of learning such as the Universities of Nalanda and Taxila where for hundreds of years not only all branches of secular knowledge, especially, medicine, but also the philosophical and theological literature of Buddhism, were cultivated with great zeal. Chinese plgrims like Heuen Tsang learned Sanskrit at Nalanda and translated Buddhist texts into Chinese. See Phanindra Nath Bose: Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities.

<sup>2</sup> Jīvaka was the son of a courtezan, named Sālavatı. Mahāvagga VIII, I.

going to the educational institutions or by of private tuition. This much can be culled that they got first-rate training, both academic and spiritual

It is now an admitted fact that the Slokas of the work styled Therigāthā³ were composed by learned nuns of those times⁴ Religious sermons of Sukkā and philosophic thiscussions of Dharmadinnā and Ksems entitle us to hypothesize that they were given a technical training regarding those subjects. We come across a reference of a learned lady named Sukkā in Sañyuttanikāva. She was a nun and had delivered an illuminating lecture in a great assemblage at Rājagrha. This lecture of Sukkā was so impressive that a certain man of Yakṣa caste wandered to the effect that every one should go and hear her nectarine words. A nun named Ksemā was very famous for reciting Vinayagianthas. She had crammed the Vinayagranthas and her melodious recital of those granthas was simply engaging

It was considered a privilege to hear her singing. Her crudition also is brought out in high relief by the dialogue about the theory of rebirth between her and the king Prasenajit who was so convinced by her brief, bold and cogent arguments that there was not a single vestige of doubt left in his mind when he Another brilliant star in the person of Kuntalakesa shines resplendent in the whole galaxy. In Logic, she was discomfitted only by one Saiiputta and none else She ruled supreme in the intellectual world of those days. We get an account in Vimānayatthu of one of the learned nuns named Latā who had mastered the art of magic. She had a wonderful command on Vinavapitakas, which she taught according to Dīpavamśa not only to nuns in Anurādhāpura but to monks also. Estimate of her scholarship will remain incomplete if we neglect to take into consideration the fact that she had a chance to bring out masterly editions of some of the Pitakagranthas Uttara had undertaken to teach seven works bearing upon Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma in the University of Anurādhapura had gone to Anuradhapura taking sixteen thousand monks with her, to teach especially the Tripițakas. Is it not a privilege to lord over monks as large in number as sixteen thousands? And is it not a glorious achievement for a man (what to talk of a woman) to be appointed as the senior professor in a University like that of Anurädhāpura, Nālandā and Taxilā, which is decidedly ten times bigger than any of the present day Universities of the world 1t was considered a red letter day in the History of India on which Sir RADHAKRISHNAN's appointment as Spalding Professor of Eastern Philosophy in the Oxford University was announced. It was considered the highest pinnacle for which an Indian can aspire in an academic line What to talk of those times, then, in which even the ladies ruled the academic world? It means there is a long history of female education which has still got to be constructed out of the fragments lying hither and thither in Vedic, Buddhistic and Jainistic literatures This proves that female education was not only in vogue in those days but was appreciated and encouraged. It is also true that it was imparted on a more solid and sound basis because it could produce scholars of intrinsic worth and deep study. It is also manifest from the foregoing pages that female education was of a diverse character including instructions on magic, sculpture etc Latā mastered the art of magic and Nanduttarā and Vidyā were adepts in the art of sculpture. This is also evident that it was considered more a duty rather than a matter of pride to educate the females because we have seen above that it was open to all. Besides those mentioned above, there is quite a good number of other ladies also no less superior Their worthy names are Kāli, Channā, Sayallā, Uālı, Revatī, Sıvalā, Mahāruhā, Culabhāgā, Dhannā, Sonā, Mahātıssā, Culasumanā, Mahāsumanā and Hemā It will be a long list of the female professors

<sup>3.</sup> Thersgāthā forms part of the Khuddaka Nikāyā which is again included in Suttapīţaka.
4. See OLDENBERG Literatur des alten Indien, Page 101.

who actually worked in the University of Anurādhāpura<sup>5</sup> which also like Nālandā fulfilled the dictum of Carlyle that a true University is a collection of books as well as that of Newman that it is a school of Universal learning the alma mater of a host of distinguished logicians, grammarians and philosophers I leave it to the scholars to find out whether there were separate institutions for female education or there was a system of co-education or they were privately tutored

Andheri. A. S. Gopani

## JAGADDEVA PRATIHĀRA, A FORGOTTEN HERO

Everyone knows the great difference in the character of the earlier and latter periods of the reign of Bhima II, the last Chaulukyan ruler of Gujerat. In the earlier portion, he defeated and drove back the Muslim invader Muhammad Ghori, measured swords with Prthvīrāja Cāhamāna, then regarded as the strongest ruler of Northern India, and successfully invaded the Paramāra kingdom of Malwa. In the latter portion, he was not only defeated by the Muslims, but also kept away from his ancestral throne for a short period, and even when restored was a mere puppet in the hands of the faction headed by Vīradhayala and his ministers. He was a young boy when he ascended the throne. Had he been overpowered by someone at the time, or failed in administering well his kingdom, it would have been regarded as the natural consequence of his inexperience and childhood. But his failure in all directions when he had grown up to manhood and was expected to show even greater heroism and administrative ability than formerly, requires some explanation, and for this one would look in vain to the Jaina chroniclers of Gujerat, who, loud in the praises of Vastupāla and Tejapāla and their patrons, have omitted the name of Jagaddeva Pratihāra, the heroic general and prime minister of Bhīma II to whom really belongs the credit of the early successes of this king's reign, merely because he happened to be a non-Jaina and a worshipper of Siva and Visnu. The purpose of this short paper is to rescue from unmerited oblivion this very hero of the history of Gujerat.

The Kirtikaumudi of Someśvara, though in the main a panegyric of Vastupāla, the powerful Jaina minister of the Viradhavala, gives in a single but pertinent verse what Gujerat owed to this great Pratihāra. It represents the guarding detry of Patṭana appearing to Lavanaprasāda and bewailing the absence of Jagaddeva in the words, 'In the absence of Jagaddeva, I have been reduced to this plight by my own people as if they were my enemies. As long as that Pratihāra was alive, the enemies, being afraid, never entered the city of Gujaras' From the Kirtikaumudi we also learn that another general, responsible for the defence of the kingdom, and most probably one of his colleagues or subordinates was one Pratāpamalla Rāṣtrakūṭa.

An earlier and better notice, showing him not only as the guardian of the kingdom, but also of the child-king Blimā II is to be found in the Verāval inscription, which states explicitly that on the death of Mūlarāja II, the administration of the kingdom was carned on by the 'famous Jagaddeva Pratihāra' who 'brought up with care the young Bhīmadeva II along with his companions' It was at this time of his regency that Muhammad Ghori invaded Gujerat, and sustained a severe defeat. The inscription calls Jagaddeva, the 'Sun to the lotus in the form of the queen of

<sup>5</sup> See Burlingame's Buddhist Parables

<sup>6</sup> विना जराहेचिमिमावस्थां नीता निजैरेव परैरिवाहम् । यत्र स्थिते वेत्रिणि शहितैर्न द्विष्टैः प्रविष्ट पुरि गुर्जराणाम् ॥ II

<sup>7.</sup> जगदेव इति प्रसिद्धः । यो बालपोतैः सहितं प्रयत्नाच्छ्रीभीमदेवं

समवर्द्धयच ॥ Line 32. .....प्रातीहारचिरोमणि: ॥ ३४ ॥ Line 35.

Prthvīrāja.'s This refers, most probably, to his fight against Prthvīrāja III of Ajmer. According to the Kharataragaccha Pattāvalī of Jinapāla, a contemporary work of great historical value, this war came to an end before v.s. 1244, and the night-attack by the Jāṅgaleśa, mentioned in the Pārthavijaya of Prahlādana was most probably one of its many incidents, about which we should have learnt something more from the Verāval inscription had it, unfortunately, not been so very fragmentary.

The Patţāvalī just referred to supplies some important and additional details. It mentions him as the chief minister of Bhīmadeva II. When the pilgrims from Sapādalakṣa visited the holy places in Gujerat, they did so with his permission It was he who concluded a treaty of peace with Prthvīfāja of Ajmer, of and it was an army under him, which was invading Malwa in vs 1244. That he was a man of his word is shown by his refusal to grant Abayaḍa, a dandanāyaka, the permission that he sought for to mulct the pilgrims from Sāpādalakṣa with a view to provide provisions for Jagaddeva's cavalry then operating in Malwa.

The colophon of the Santinathacarita of Manikyacandra mentions Jagaddeva Pratihara along with Kumarapala, but here again the portion dealing with him is unfortunately obliterated. <sup>20</sup>

Jagaddeva Pratihāra was most probably a Vaisnava. But he built also a temple of Sıva 11 The colophon of the Sāntwāthacarıta, just referred to seems to indicate that he could grant favour to Jamas also If we succeed in getting further materials about him, these will be presented to the readers in some subsequent number of this very journal.

Gwaltor.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

#### SIGNED ARROWS: A NOTE

In an interesting and illuminating article entitled "Signed Arrows" contributed to Professor K V. Rangaswami Asyangar Commenoration Volume (pp. 155-158), Mr C Sivaramamurri draws attention to the ancient custom of marking the arrows with the name of the archer, and cites instances in support from Valmiki, Kälidäsa, Māgha, Bhaţta Nārāyana and Ksemendra The accompanying illustrations of actual specimens from the Madras Museum bearing the name of Sarabhoji of Tanjore supply corroboration for the literary evidence.

In this connection, I wish to point out that Bhāsa, whom I place in the Mauryan epoch, <sup>12</sup> furnishes us with one of the earliest references to the custom mentioned above. In the *Pañcarātra*, arrows inscribed with the name of Arjuna are referred to <sup>14</sup> In the *Abhiseka*, we come across arrows bearing the name of Rāma <sup>14</sup> These instances from Bhāsa go to show the continuity in the ancient tradition. As I hold Bhāsa and Kautilya to be contemporaries, I tried to find confirmation of the tradition recorded by Bhāsa in the *Arthasāstra*, but did not come across any reference of inscribing the arrows in Kautilya's work <sup>115</sup>

Bombay

A D. PUSALKER

- 8 प्रथिराजराज्ञीराजीविनीजीवितशीतरोचिः ॥ ३१ ॥ Line 33.
- 9 'मया महता कप्टेन सांप्रत पृथ्वीराजेन संधिः कृतोस्ति'

Jagaddeva's letter to Abhayada.

<sup>10</sup> Catalogue of the MSS in the Pattan Bhandara, P. 204.

<sup>11</sup> See verses 32 and 33

<sup>12</sup> Cf Bhūsa—A Study, Lahore, 1940, esp. Chap. IV 13. Pañcarātra. Trivandrum, 1917, II 50, III. 17, 18.

Abhiseka, Lahore, 1930, p. 11
 Cf Rangaswami Com. Vol., pp. 87-94.

#### REVIEWS

Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī of Burhān Ibn ḤASAN, Translated into English by S. Muhammad Husayn NAINAR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, University of Madras, 1939, Pp. 292; Size .—6½"×9¾"; Price Rs. 5 or 8s. 6d.

The volume under review is No. 4 of the Madras University Islamic Series which is being published under the direction of the General Editor Dr. S. M. H. NAINAR. The first volume of these sources of the Nawwäbs of the Carnatic was published about six years ago. The present volume carries on the history of the Nawwäbs of the Carnatic from the battle of Ambur to the fall of Pondicherry (A.D. 1749-1761). This period saw the gradual rise of the supremacy of the East India Company on the Coromandel Coast. The volume contains detailed references pertaining to the "indebtedness of the English to the rulers of the Wālājāhī dynasty in the Carnatic".

The sources of the History of the Nawwäbs of the Carnatic are Persian MSS., of which Burhān's Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī translated into English by Dr. NAINAR is an important one. This chronicle comes to an end with the present volume.

The history of India of the 18th century presents many difficulties to the histonan, not on account of paucity of materials, but on account of their abundance. To synthesize all these materials by a detailed comparison of all available sources for all important political events is no easy task. But by translating the old accounts of historical events into one language like the English language we provide a medium now accessible to every educated Indian and thereby provide an instrument of historical investigation which exercises a healthy check on one-sided statements made by contemporary writers, who were sometimes blinded by prejudice or patriotism of the narrow type which disabled them from hearing and recording the other side of the occurrences dealt with by them. The fault lay not always with these writers but at times with the peculiar circumstances under which they recorded their impressions, that were not always based on accurate data or reliable documents. All the same we must thank these contemporary and subsequent chroniclers for what they have done for Indian history because in the absence of these chronicles there would have been a complete void of historical knowledge of the different periods which bristled with epoch-making political and social changes in Indian history.

In the present volume Dr. NAINAR has not given us the mere translation of the original chronicle but has supplemented it with occasional informative foot-notes regarding the persons and events mentioned in the chronicle These footnotes serve as a historical corrective to the author's statements, which are at times likely to be exaggerated. They also link up the narrative to other contemporary sources bearing on the narrative and hence lead to a proper understanding of the history enstrined in the text of the narrative,

The glossary of Persian terms with their explanation in English as also the two Appendices given at the end of the volume will be found useful to the close students of the history of the period. As the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshodaka Mandal, Poona, has been publishing summaries of Persian sources of the Maratha History and as the chronicle before us is one such source we trust that some day they will give us a scholarly summary in Marathi of the present chronicle translated by Dr. NAINAR for the benefit of the Marathi knowing public interested in the Persian sources. The present translation has paved the way for such undertaking and we have no doubt that Dr. NAINAR would willingly help any brother-

scholar in the Mahārāshtrā who takes the trouble of mastering the present sources in the original and presenting a critical summary of them in Marathi divested of all hyperboles and other superfluous matter which sometimes characterize the Persian sources.

P. K. GODE

Citracampū by Mahamahopādhyāya Bāneśvara Vıdyālankāra Bhatṭācārya, with a Foreword by M. M. Gopinātha КАУІRĀJA, Edited by Pandit Ramcharan СНАКRAVARTI, Headmaster, Jay Narayan High School, Benares, 1940, Pp 40+4+90. Price: Rs, 2-0-0; Size:—5‡"×8‡"

Though Bāṇeśvara Vidyālankāra is famous as a poet and jurist of the transitional Bengal of the 18th century in his own province his works have not attracted much attention of outside scholars. The present  $Camp\bar{u}$  from his pen is edited by Pandit Chakravarii with scrupulous care with an exhaustive Introduction of 40 pages dealing with (1) the Poet and his Works, (2) the Quasi-historical and Quasi-geographical nature of the poem, (3) the description of the rare India Office MS of the work on which the present edition is based, (4) the date of Composition of the work (about 1744), (5) an Analysis of the poem and (6) a Short Sanskrit Introduction. This Introduction gives us a correct literary and historical background of this interesting poem, which aims at "describing the gradual ascent of the soul from earth-bound consciousness into the summits of Divine Life and consciousness" as Principal Gopināth Kavirāja puts it in his interesting Foreword (p. 4).

Bāņeśvara came of the well-known Sobhākara family of Guptapalli or Guptipārā in the district of Hooghly in Bengal. This family produced many Sanskitt scholars. He was born about A.D 1672 according to the Editor (p 8). He was patronized by Maharāja Kṣṇancandra of Nadia (A.D. 1710-1782). He left Nadia after some time and later sought the favour of Nawab Aliverdi Khān of Murshidabad From Murshidabad he went to Maharāja Citrasena of Burdwan after whom the Campū takes its name "Citracampū". He lived with Citrasena till A.D. 1744 and diuring his stay at Citrasena's court he produced his works (1) Citracampū and (2) Candrābhisekam. Citrasena died in A.D. 1744 and Bāneśvara again went back to Maharāja Kṣṇancandra of Nadia. He later lived under the patronage of Maharāja Navakṣṇan Deva of Sobhābazar, Calcutta. Navakṛṣṇa had the greatest regard for Bāneśvara, for whom a house was constructed by him on the Upper Chitpur Road near Sobhābazar. The house no longer stands but the poet's descendants are still living near the old site. In 1755 Bāneśvara went on a pilgrimage to Benares and composed his Kāšiśatakam

Warren Hastings asked Bāneśvara to compile a code of Hindu Law. This book was written in Sanskrit under the name of  $Viv\bar{u}d\bar{u}mavasetu$  in collaboration with many other scholars, among whom we find one Sītārāma Bhatṭa who was possibly a Maratha Brahmin according to the Editor. This book was then translated into Persian, from which it was again translated into English under the title " $\Lambda$  Code of Gentoo Laws" and was printed in England in 1776. Bāneśvara composed a mahākāvya called Rahasyāmrtam and many other khandakāvyas

On p 12 we get a reference in this Campū to the Maratha raid on Bengal ("साहराज चमूसमृह:—गोंड जनपदजनगणसमुन्मूलनहेतु: महाधूमकेतु: इव समुत्तस्थों"). The poet also records the date of this raid viz saka 1664 when the sun was in the first rāsi This date appears to be correct as we know from history that Bhaskar Ram Kolhatkor, the general of Raghūn Bhosala was in Bengal in April 1742 (Vide

p. 485 of G S. SARDESAI's Riyāsat, Madhya Vibhāg, Part II). The poem has some geographical value as it describes the holy places and their deities seen by the poet probably in company with his patron Citrasena. The romance ends with the pedigrees of the poet and his patron "Though a Sākta by practice and persuasion Bāneśvara seems to inculcate Vaisnavite Vedantism in his work"

We congratulate Pandit CHAKRAVARTI on this scholarly edition of Citracampū published for the first time, as also his devoted pupils, Messrs Choubay, Chakravarti and Sukla who have borne the greater part of the cost of this publication. Verily this example of pupils rendering financial help to their guru is worthy of imitation, especially in literary spheres.

P. K. GODE

Kayātaram, edited by Rao Saheb S Vaiyapuri Pillai, Ba, Bl., Reader in Tamul. Bulletin of the Tamil Department, No. 4, University of Madras, 1939. Price Re 1. pp. i-xviii. 1-107.

The world of Tamil scholars should be indebted to Rao Sahib S Vauyapuri PILLAI for editing this important metrical lexicon in Tamil This work is next in importance only to Divākaram, the oldest of Tamil inghantus It belongs to about the middle of the 15th cent., Add. It was sufficiently popular in about 1575 A.D. The usefulness of this work is pointed out by the editor (Foreword pp vii-viii). It will be of a great use to a student of synchronic linguistics of the Tamil of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The editor seeks (p x) to establish the name Kayātaram as more correct than Kayākarar (for contra, see Rao Sahib M Raghava Aiyangar, Sen Tamil, Vol. V. p 121). Kayātaram is the first metrical lexicon in Tamil in which the last word of each stanza in every section is so arranged as to be structurally similar to the first word of the following stanza. This device facilitates the committing to memory of the entire work. (p. xiv)

This printed edition of Kayātaram has doubtless thrown light on certain scribal errors which crept in the printed edition of Divākaram. For instance, in the latter, one of the names of Buddha is printed as pārnāmuçayōn, but this is obviously meaningless. The correct form 'pāramitanyavān' given in Kayātaram removes the the error (pp vii-viii and xv Kayātaram St, 14. p 3) Kayātaram helps us also to correctly determine the meaning of certain words. For instance, in the printed edition of Divākaram we have "pammaiyum Kauńtiyum arwitavappenpeyar" 'pammai and Kauńti are names of women-ascetics.' Clearly, the meaning of Kauńti should have been more restricted as it referred only to 'ascetic women of arhat order' (cf. Ślappadigāram U. V. SWAMINATHAIYAR's ed. Madras, 1927. pp. 263, 265, 266, 357, 391, 401). This is emphasised by stanza 118 of Kayātaram also 'Kawińtyum pammaiyum ārukata tavap pen' (p. 18) this showing that what has been printed in the Divākaram text was due to a scribal error (p. xv).

Divākaram which belongs to the 8th century AD was published by Vidvān Tāṇtavarāya MUDALIAR in 1835 His edition is untrustworthy as there are interpolated in it many of Tāṇṭavarāya MUDALIAR's own sūtras. But Kayātaram follows the original Divākaram (cf Pongiya muṇṇa porul terindu—Keyātaram Ceytamaittāņ, St, 285. p 45. Here muṇṇal undoubtedly refers to Divākaram, p xvi. Again stanza 220. p. 33 patayir koṭayṣṇar gutil Veṇṇār Yōṇḍum puṇavatu Vākauyam pōleṇṭryampṣṇarê which is certainly after Divākaram alliçai yamparc gelvag cen-tamil Vallin Kaluyṣṇ pataṣṣṇ Koṭayṣl.

Velluharanıvākaı Verrippīvē which is however not found in the printed edition of Divākaram p. xvi. Therefore, it is possible with the help of the text of Kayā-

tarom, to eschew the interpolated stanzas in the text of  $Div\bar{a}karam$  (not only in the printed edition but in several manuscripts as well) and determine the original text which will in its turn serve as an effective tool for a student of synchronic linguistics who studies the Tamil of the 8th cent, The alveolar phoneme r perhaps ceased to be distinct one in Tamil during the 12th cent., when ottakūttar flourished (See S. Krishnaswami Aiyangār, Ancient India, p. 153) for in his Tokkayāgapparm (U. V. Swaminatha Aiyang's ed., Madras, 1930, 35. Urai. p. 16) it is treated merely as a phonemic variant of r (substituted for Sanskrit r for instance in Skt.  $m_{r}ta = mir_{u}ta$  for mitra of another Tamil dialect,  $am_{u}ta$  of one dialect for amirta of another.)

Similar is the practice in Kayātæram (for instance Kańdarpo kańdarpon st., 21 p. 4. pp. xvi-xvii). In his time, possibly in some dialect the alvelor r replaced t or d also in some words (see for instance rarman, st., 2, 7 and 225, for Skt. padma, pp. 33, and 35 and xvii) and p in some others (orthogram for colphonan Skt. svapna st., 347, p. 55). In Kayātaram we come across some interesting modifications of the various forms of certain words. For instance, in st., 124 (p. 19) we meet with the word makuṇan instead of the usual form makiṭṇan In this connection, it is interesting to remember that this word appears as makinan in Iraiyanan Kalavija I, p. 18 and makuṇan (Silappadigāram under 6, 37 in a quotation occurring in urai p. 192 of U. V. Swaminatha Aiyan's ed.,) 'husband'. Another such word is animai which appears as anuman in st., 334 (p. 53). The same form occurr in patṛṇuppatin, urai (p. 132 of U. V. Swaminatha Aiyan's ed., 1920 Madras), and in patṛṇuppatin, urai also (cf. U. S. Swaminatha Aiyan's ed., 1920. pp. 26, 67, 134, Introduction, p. 6). The importance of a study of these words in modern linguistics. can never be exaggerated.

The etymology of K ul7a (st. 113, p. 17) as given by Kayātara is kulamillavan got from the equation kula + lnan = kullnan is evidently due to some scribal error just like the erroneous irāmicµrakkōvai (st., 402, p. 64) for irāmecµrakkōvai. The meaning of certain words like kuluta (st. 207, p. 31), tuvare (st. 444, p. 70) and tuyinl (st. 517, p. 79) are not clear. The editor could not properly reconstruct sts., 468, 477, and 496 (see pages 73, 74 and 76). Many lines are perhaps irretrievably lost in stanzas 479, 494, 503 and 519 (pp. 74, 76, 77, 79 and xvni). How certain Sanskni words changed their forms when they were borrowed into Tamil is yet another interesting problem we meet with in Kayataram (cf. Skt. Sarma becomes caruma in Tamil Pari ( $p\bar{u}dal$  21, 3, p. 155. U. V. Swaminath ArrAk's ed., 1935 also ubid. p. x.). What a difficult task the learned editor set himself to, would be evident to any one who tries to reconstruct the original of stanza 517 from the hopelessly corrupt readings in the manuscripts used by the editor (p. xvii)

The first ten sections of Kayātaram deal with synonyms and the last one with homonyms (p. vii). The book is neatly got up with few mistakes and the Madras University, particularly the Tamil department, deserves our warm congratulations for bringing out this important work. Indeed, Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI has placed all the lovers of Tamil language under great obligations.

Poona, C. R. Sankaran.

## THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA

By
K. G. SANKAR, Calcutta.

The epoch (320 a.c.) of the Gupta Era, as determined by Dr. Fleet, is considered to be, with that of Candragupta Maurya (c. 320 b.c.), one of the sheet-anchors of Hindu chronology. In recent years some attempts have been made to challenge its accuracy, but they have not met with general acceptance. This is due in part to the inadequate presentation of the points in favour of an earlier date. But the chief reason is certainly the general disinclination to unsettle accepted dates, in the absence of compelling evidence. The epoch of 320 a.c. seems to work fairly well and to fit in with ascertained facts of Hindu history, and if now and then some fact is discovered, which is inconsistent with that epoch, it is sought to be explained away or simply ignored. But when a fly, with the whole world to choose from, persists in sitting on my nose, it is not wisdom to ignore it. I therefore determined to face all facts which refused to be charmed away and tried to discover an epoch, which would be in harmony with all of them. The result is given below.

I tried first to find out how the epoch of 320 AC. came to be so generally accepted, and even by those who had before persistently advocated an earlier date. I was surprised to find that almost the sole evidence on which the epoch was settled was Dr. Fleet's discovery of the Mandasor inscription of Mālva vears 493 and 529, (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 18), which mentions a Kumāragupta. It was supposed that only one Kumāragupta could possibly have been ruling in Malva year 493=436 A.C. This evidence therefore, seemed conclusive for dating the Gupta epoch in 320 A.C. Since then, however, another Kumāragupta has been found to have been ruling in year 154 (Annual Report of the Archaelogical Survey of India, 1914-15, p 124); and the natural interpretation of the Mandasor inscription is to take Kumaragupta as the Suzerain of Viśvavarman, father of Bandhuvarman, who was ruling in year 493 = 436 A.C. Dr. Fleet was aware of another Kumāragupta, son of Narasımhagupta Bālādıtya, but as Bālādıtya was identified with the Bālādītya who, according to Hieun-Tsang, took Mihirakula captive, and as Yasodharman, of Mālva year 589 = 532 A.C. claims to have subdued Mihirakula, Dr. Fleet thought it impossible that Bālāditya's son could have been ruling nearly a century before Yaśodharman. But in my paper on the Hun Invasion of Hindusthan (under publication in New Indian Antiquary), I have proved that the Bālāditya, who defeated Mihirakula, was not Narasimhagupta, but a much earlier king of Magadha, and there is no reason to suppose that Kumāragupta, son of Narasımhagupta, was different from Kumāragupta of year 154, who ruled between Skandagupta and Budhagupta. Now, therefore, we have to consider the possibility of Kumāragupta II being the Kumāragupta of the Mandasor inscription, and the epoch of 320 A.C. is thus no longer the sheet-anchor it was supposed to be. It must here be pointed out that so far no other proof has been adduced for this epoch, except the evidence of Alberūnī (1030 A.C.)

In his India (tr. Sachau, v 2, pp. 5-7), Alberuni identifies the Gupta era with the Valabhi era, placing its epoch 241 years after the Saka era, in 320 A.C.; and adds that it was called Valabhī era from Vallabha, King of Valabhī. that the Guptas were wicked, powerful people, and, when they ceased to exist. this date was used as the epoch of an era, and that it seems that Vallabha was the last of them. Dr. FLEET accepted Alberuni's epoch for the Gupta era. but argued that the era used by the Guptas themselves could not have begun from their destruction Others, notably Cunningham, relied on Alberūnī's statement that the Valabhi era dates from the destruction of the Guptas and argued that the era used by the Guptas themselves must be different and earlier than the Valabhī era. Both forgot that Alberūnī was only recording local traditions, and that he probably misunderstood what he heard. Of the śaka era, he likewise wrote that it dates from their destruction by Vikramaditya But this statement has been proved to be wrong by the earliest inscription dating in that era by name, the Badami inscription of Calukya Kirtivarman, which definitely refers to the years as those of the anointment of the Saka King (Indian Antiquary, Vol. 3, p 305). It is equally certain that the Guptas could not have dated their inscriptions in an era dating from their destruction; and Alberūni's statements cannot be accepted without corroboration. Alberūni's epoch of 320 A.C. for the Valabhi era is, however, confirmed by the Veraval inscription of Arjunadeva, dated in Valabhi year 945, Vikrama year 1320, and Hijra year 662 (Indian Antiquary, Vol. 11, p 242) Vikrama year 1320 = 1264 AC, and the epoch of the Valabhi era must therefore be 1264-944 = 320 A c This epoch for the Valabhī era is further confirmed by the Una plates of Mahendrayudha (890-907 AC) (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. 9, No. 1), dated in Valabhī year 574, and by the Verāval inscriptions of Valabhi year 850, (Bhāvnagar Inscriptions, p. 186), which mentions Calukya Kumārapāla (1143-1173). Regarding the origin of the Valabhi era, Candraprabhasuri in his Prabhavakacaritam (1277 AC) gives a hint (p. 74, st 81-82) that in year 845 after Vīra-nirvāna = 319 A.C., Valabhī was destroyed by Turushkas It is probable that Valabhī was rebuilt soon after in 320 A C and that the Valabhī era dates from that event Alberūnī also refers to this tradition, when he says that Vallabha and his city Valabhi were destroyed in a night-attack by the lord of Almansūra (tr Vol 1, pp 192-193) We may therefore, conclude that the Valabhī era dates from its rebuilding in 320 A.C., and not from the destruction of the Guptas

But there is no reason to think that the Gupta and the Valabhī eras are identical, and it is not clear why the Guptas should date their inscriptions in a local Valabhī era Modern scholars, therefore, prefer to believe that the

Gupta era dates from their coming to power and that, because it was continued by the Maitrakas of Valabhi, it later on came to be known also as the Valabhi era. This theory involves two assumptions that the Gupta and Valabhi eras are identical, and that the Guptas started the era, which was continued by the Maitrakas of Valabhi. The proper procedure would be to ascertain when the Guptas and the Maitrakas flourished, and whether they used the same or different eras, and then to try to fix the epochs of the eras as exactly as the available data would permit.

The Gupta inscriptions and coins range between 61 and 224 (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. 21, No. 1, Vol. 15, No. 7; Vol. 17, No. 13); and they were succeeded in Magadha by the later Guptas. Hiuen-Tsang, who visited Magadha in 637 A C, says of Śaśānka, king of Karnasuvarna, that he murdered Rajyavardhana and that he destroyed the Bodhi tree, which, after his death Pürnavarman of Magadha restored to life (Si-vu-ki, tr. Beal, Vol. 1. pp. 209-213; Vol 2, p. 118); and Pürņavarman too seems too have passed away before 637 AC (1b1d., Vol 2, p. 174). It is therefore certain that Śaśanka died before 637 A C But he was ruling in Gupta year 300 (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. 6, No. 14) In connection with Rajyavardhana's murder by Śaśānka, Hiuen-Tsang says that Harshavardhan Śīlādıtya set out to avenge it as soon as he came to the throne (606 A.C.), and in 6 years he conquered the five Indies and thereafter had ruled peacefully for 30 years, when Hiuen-Tsang met him (Si-yu-ki, tr Vol 1, pp. 209-213). Hiuen-Tsang does not definitely that Harsha subdued Sasanka, but neither does say that Śaśānka succeeded ın repulsing Harsha. as Pulikeśin II have done bv Hiuen-Tsang himself: statement that Harsha succeeded in reducing the five Indies in 6 years implies that Sasanka had either ceased to live or was no longer independent in 612 AC The Ganjam plates, therefore, of Gupta year 300, which refers to Śaśānka as Mahārājādhırāja, must date before 612 A C, thus placing the epoch of the Gupta era before 612-300 = 312 a.c. Again, the Aphsad inscription of later Gupta Āditvasena refers to his ancestor Kumāragupta as having fought with Maukhari Iśanavarman (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 42). Iśanavarman can be dated definitely in Mālva year 611 = 554 A c from his Hārāha inscription (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. 14, No. 5). Before his time, three Maukharıs are known to have ruled at Kanauj, Harıvarman, Adityavarman and Iśvaravarman (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 47); and Iśanavarman's contemporary Kumāragupta had also three predecessors in Magadha, Krishnagupta, Harshagupta and Jīvitagupta I (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 42). Thus three generations of Kings were ruling at Kanauj and in Magadha before 554 A.C., and their period could not have been less than 50 years. Since these kings were evidently successors of the early Guptas in their own kingdom, the early Guptas must have ceased to rule by c. 500 A.C. at the latest; and, as they were still ruling in year 224, the epoch of the Gupta era cannot have been later than 500-224 = c 276 A c

The early Guptas are known to have ruled in Central Hindusthan also,

The Eran inscription of the brothers Mätrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu (Gunta Inscriptions, No. 19) refers to Budhagupta as the ruling king in Gupta year 165 Of these, Mātrivishnu had ccased to live, when Dhanyavishnu refers to Toramāna as the ruling king in his first year (Eran inscription, Gubta Inscriptions, No. 36) Toramana's first year must therefore be dated after Gunta vear 165, and he is known to have juled for at least 52 years, as one of his coins is dated in that year (CUNNINGHAM · Coins of Medieval India, p 20). After Toramāna, his son Mihirakula is known to have ruled for at least 15 vears (Gubta Inscriptions, No 37), before he was conquered by Yasodharman Vishnuvardhana (1b1d, No 33). Yasodharman's conquest of Mihirakula cannot be dated before 532 A C as it is not mentioned among Yasodharman's achievements in the Mandasor inscription of Malva year 589 = 532 A.C. (1bid, No. 35). On the other hand, when I huen-Tsang visited Malva in 642 A.C., he heard that Sīlādītya of Mālva had been ruling for 50 years. some 60 years before (Si-yu-ki, ti Vol 2, p 261) Sīlādītya must therefore have ruled from 532 to 582 AC, and his predecessor Yasodharman cannot be dated after 532 A C Thus Yasodharman's conquest of Mihirakula cannot be dated either before or after 532 A.C. It must, therefore, be dated in that same year; and since Toiamana and Mihiiakula had already ruled for at least 52 and 15 years respectively, the early Guptas had ceased to rule in Central Hindusthan before 532—(52 + 15) - 465 A.C. But in year 191. Bhānugupta is mentioned as the ruling king in another Eran inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 20). The epoch of the Gupta era cannot therefore be dated after 465-191 = 274 A.C., and, if the reference in that inscription to Bhanugupta's waging a mighty battle indicates the war that ended in transferring Central Hindusthan to Toramana, the Gupta epoch may be dated in c 274 AC. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the interval between year 165, when both Matrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu were alive, and Toramâna's first year, when only Dhanyavishnu had survived, cannot be more than a single generation, that is, not much beyond year 191, when Bhānugupta was still ruler of Central Hindusthān

The date here arrived at for Toiamāṇa (c 465-517 a.c.) and Mihinakula (c 517-532 a.c.) are confirmed by Jain legends of Kalkirāja Jimasena, in his Harivamša, composed in Śaka 705 = 783 a.c. (Ch 66, st 52) says that the Guptas ruled for 231 years, that thereafter Kalkirāja ruled for 42 years, and that he was succeeded by Ajitanjaya at Indrapura (ch 60, st 491-492). From Jimasena's chronology, it would appear that the Guptas ruled from 200 to 431 a.c., and Kalkirāja from 431 to 473 a.c. But Guṇabhadra, in his Uttarapurāna of Śaka 820=898 a.c. (Ch 77, st 35), says that in year 1000 after Vira-nirvāna (= 473 a.c.), a Māgha year, Kalkirāja was born in Pātaliputra as son of Śiśupāla, that he ruled for 40 years and lived altogether for 70 years, and that his son was Ajitanjaya (ch 76, st 397-401 and 428). This implies that Kalkirāja ruled from 503 to 543 a.c. Thus Guṇabhadra's date for Kalkirāja is 70 years later than that of Jinasena, and 473 a.c. was in fact not a Māgha year. The nearest Māgha year was 474-75 a.c.

But both agree that Kalkirāja was son of Siśupāla, succeeded the Guptas and ruled for 40 or 42 years, and was succeeded by Ajitanjaya. Kalkirāja seems to be identical with Toramāna, who succeeded the Guptas in Central Hindusthān, and had a reign of 52 years; and his true date (c. 465-517 A.C) lies between the dates given by Jinasena (431-473 A.C) and Guṇabhadra (503-543 A.C). The statement that he was son of Siśupāla of Pātaliputra seems to be confirmed by the Pahladpur inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 57), which mentions a Pārthiva Siśupāla as commander Toramāna seems to have inherited the post and used it to revolt against Bhānugupta, becoming ultimately independent in Central Hindusthān

The epoch of the Gupta era has been shown to be not later than  $c.\,274$  a.c., The earlier limit may now be fixed. The interval between Budhagupta and Yaśodharman cannot be more than 3 or 4 generations, as Dhanyavishnu was a contemporary, first of Budhagupta and then of Toramāna, and Yaśodharman was a contemporary of Toramāna's son Mihirakula Budhagupta's year 165 cannot therefore date more than about a 100 years before Yaśodharman's Mālva year 589 = 532 A.c. The earlier limit for the Gupta epoch seems therefore to be  $c.\,(532\text{-}100)\text{-}165 = c.\,267$  A.c.

Sylvain Lévi has proved from Chinese sources (Journal Asiatique, 1900, pp. 316, 401) that Stī Meghavarna of Ceylon sought permission of Samudragupta to build a vihāra for Ceylon pilgrims at Buddha-Gaya; and Samudragupta too refers to relations with Simhala (Gupta Inscriptions, No 1). Samudragupta was therefore a contemporary of Stī Meghavarna Both Rējāvaliya and Pūjāvaliya place Stī Meghavarna's accession 845 years after Buddha-nirvāna in 845-543 = 302 a.c. The Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II, dated in year 61, cannot therefore be placed before 302 a.c., when his father Samudragupta's contemporary Śtī Meghavarna came to the throne, and the Gupta epoch cannot thus be dated before 302-61 = 241 a.c. Some identify Śtī Meghavarna with Gothakābhaya (252-265 a c); but Gothakābhaya had only a title Meghavannābhaya, and was never known as Śtī Meghavarna.

Fan-Chan, again, of Funan (Cambodia) is said to have sent an embassy to Mu-lun (Murunda), king of Hindusthān, whose capital (Pātaliputra) was 7000 li up the Ganges from its mouth, in 240-245 A.C. (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 1, p. 612). Since thus in 240-245 A.C. a Murunda was king of Pātaliputra, the early Guptas and the Gupta epoch must be dated after 240-245 A.C.

Another datum for the earlier limit of the Gupta epoch is found in the Mandasor inscription of years 493 and 529 (Gupta Inscriptions, No 18). It says that when Kumāragupta was ruling the earth, Viśvavarman was protector (goptā) of Mālva, and that when his son Bandhuvarman was ruler of Daśapura (Mandasor), the sun-temple there was built in Mālva year 493 = 436 A.C. Thus before 436 A.C., Viśvavarman had become a Gupta feudatory But in Mālva year 461 = 404 A.C., his father Naravarman had been independent (Engraphia Indica, Vol. 12. No. 35), and Viśvavarman

too was still independent in Mālva year  $480 = 423 \,\mathrm{A.c.}$  (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 17). Višvavarman, therefore, had become a Gupta feudatory between 423 and 436 A. C. and Skandagupta was probably the Gupta, who conquered Western Mālva. Višvavarman's contemporary Kumūragupta must thus be dated 423-436 A.C. Among the early Guptas, there were two Kumūraguptas. The first was ruling from year 96 to year 130, and the second was ruling in year 154 and was succeeded by Budhagupta in year 157 (Amual Report of the Archxological Survey of India, 1914-15, p. 125) Budhagupta's year 157 cannot hence be later than 423 A.C., when Mālva had not yet come under Gupta suzerainty. The Gupta epoch cannot therefore date before 423-157 = 266 A.C. Thus the earlier and the later limits of the Gupta epoch have been found to be 266 and 274 A.C. and the Gupta epoch may therefore be dated in c. 270 A.C.

The Maitraka era may now be considered Their inscriptions range only from year 183 to year 447. They cannot therefore have founded an era of their own. But as they ruled over Surāshtra, which was formerly under the Guptas down to at least Gupta year 138 (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 14) and as the first two Maitrakas Bhatlaika and Dharasena I are styled Senapati. it is probable that the Maitrakas were originally gupta generals in Surastia, who later became independent, but continued the Gupta era in their own inscriptions. On the other hand, it is equally probable that they used the local Valabhi era. But it will be shown presently that the astronomical data of their inscriptions do not fit in with the Valabhi era of 320 A.C.; and, if they are supposed to have used this era, their rule should have extended to at least 320 + 447 = 767 A C. But Surāshtra came under the Arabs of Sindh shortly after 712 A C.; and it is not probable that the Maitrakas could have continued to rule 767-712 = 55 years later It is therefore more likely that the epoch of their era is not much later than c. 712-447 = c 265 A.C. This epoch closely agrees with the Gupta epoch (c 270 AC) already arrived at. We may therefore conclude that the Maitraka inscriptions too are dated in the Gupta era

In 642 a.c. Hiuen-Tsang found a Dhruvapatu ruling at Valabhī (Si-yu-ki, tr Vol 2, p. 267), who was nephew of Sīlāditya of Mālva and son-in-law of Sīlāditya of Kanauj. But no Valabhī king is so far known to have had the title Dhruvapatu, and no chronological inference can be drawn from his identity.

Another Valabhī king is mentioned in Dhananjaya's Satrunjaya-māhā-tmya, composed in Vikramāt 477, when Śilāditya was king of Valabhī. This statement is discredited on the ground that in Vikrama 477 == 420 a c there could have been no Śilāditya of Valabhī. But the date is not given in the Vikrama era, but 'from Vikrama'; and the Śaka cra is sometimes believed to commemorate Vikrama's destruction of the Śakas. Alberūnī says (tr. Sachau, Vol. 2, pp. 5-7) that Vikramāditya killed a Śaka at Karūr and that the date became famous and was used as an epoch by astronomers; and the Vikrama and the Śaka eras were often confounded with each other, the Śaka

era being even referred to as the era of 'Vikramānka-Sakarāja' Supposing Dhananjaya's 'Vikramāt 477' refers to Saka 477 = 555 A C and his Silāditya to be Maitraka Sīlāditya I who issued grants from year 286 to year 292 and succeeded Dharasena II, whose latest date is 270, Maitraka year 270 cannot date after 555 A C and the Maitraka epoch must date before 285 A C

We have thus arrived at c 270 AC as the true epoch of the Gupta era. Let us see how it fits in with the astronomical data given in Gupta and Maitraka inscriptions. There are 16 such inscriptions and I have made careful and exhaustive calculations to find suitable epochs between 240 and 340 AC. I could find only one suitable epoch (273 AC) in this century. 273 AC must therefore be the true epoch of the Gupta era. The data are given below with references and equivalents, if available, for the epochs of 273 AC and 320 AC.

Nos.	References	Astronomical data	Epoch 273 AC	Epoch 320 AC
1	E I v 21, No 1	Year 61 (Candragupta II), adhika month (Unnamed)		380 A.C. adhika Srāvana
2	G I No 21	Gupta year 156 (Hastın), Vaisākha year	429-30 AC	
3	A S I Ann Rep., 1914-15, pp 124-25	Gupta year 157 (Budha- gupta) Vaiśākha Kri- shņa 7, Mūla	12th March 429 AC	
4	G I. No. 22	Gupta year 163 (Hastin), Asvina year	434-35 A.C.	482-83 A.C.
5	G. I No. 19	Year 165 (Budhagupta), Āshāḍhaśukla 12, Thurs- day	Ist July 437 A C	21st June 484 A C.
6	G I No. 23	Gupta year 191 (Hastın), Caitia year	464-65 A C.	511-12 AC.
7	E I. v 19, No 21	Year 191 (Sarvanātha), Adhika Āshāḍha	464 A.C.	510 AC
8	E I. v 21, No 20	Gupta year 198 (Hastin), Asvina year	470-71 A.C.	517-18 A C
9	E I. v. 8,	Gupta year 199 (San- kshobha), Mārgasira year	472-73 a c	519-20 a.c.
10	G I No 25	Gupta year 209 (San- kshobha), Aśvina year	482-83 A C.	529-30 A.C.
11	E. I. v 21, No 30	Year 254 (Dharasena II) Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse	28th March 526 A.C.	19th March 573 A C.
12	E I v 6, No. 14	Gupta year 300 (Śaś- ānka), solar eclipse	23rd September 572 A.C.	21st March 619 A.c or 10th March 620 A.C.

Nos.	References.	Astronomical Data.	Epoch 273 Ac.	Epoch 320 A C.
13	I. A v 15, p. 340	Year 330 (Dharasena IV), Adhika Mārga- śira	602 A.C	
14		Year 343 (Śilāditya III), Adhika Āshāḍha	616 A C.	662 A.C.
15	E. I. v 22, No 19	Year 357 (Sîlādıtya III), Adhıka Pausha	629 AC	
16	I A v. 2, p. 258	Gupta year 585 (Jāika), solar eclipse	27th May 857	10th November 904 AC or 7th May 905 AC.

From the above it is seen that, while the epoch of 273 A.C. satisfies the data of all the 16 inscriptions, the epoch of 320 AC satisfies those of only 12 inscriptions. The data are of four kinds. Inscriptions 1, 7 and 13-15 give adhika months Inscriptions 2, 4, 6 and 8-10 give Jupiter's years Ins-and 16 give solar eclipses. The adhika months are evidently mean adhika months, as otherwise there could be no adhika Margasira or Pausha; and mean intercalations continued in use, till Sripati (1039 A C), in his Siddhantaśekhara protested against their continued use Jupiter's years are of two kinds, the heliacal-rising system, and the mean-sign system. The former requires actual observation or calculation of apparent motions of Jupiter, while the latter system is based only on mean motions of Jupiter; and observation was not common among early Hindu astronomers For several centuries after even the Gupta period, they preferred mean motions of Jupiter and other planets. For the Gupta period, we have therefore to take the Jupiter's years as those only of the mean-sign system. The tithis likewise of Gupta inscriptions must be mean tithis and the nakshatras of the equal-space system, mentioned in Vedanga-Ivotisa The lunar months must then have been pürnimanta, as Caitra Sukla 13 is equated with Caitra 27 in the year 209 inscription of Sankshobha and Māgha Krishna 3 is equated with Magha 3 in the year 191 inscription of Hastin, and because, with an amanta month, it is impossible for the nakshatra to have been Mula on Vaušākha Krishņa 7, as stated in the year 157 inscription of Budhagupta. Lastly, solar eclipses were considered auspicious occasions for making gifts and hence were often mentioned in inscriptions, though invisible.

These inscriptions may now be discussed in detail, to see how their data fit in with the two epochs of 273  ${\rm A}$  C. and 320  ${\rm A}$  C

1 In Gupta year 61, there was an unnamed adhika month; and there were a mean adhika  $\hat{A}$ shādha in 334 a c and a mean adhika  $\hat{S}$ rāvaṇa in 380 a c ,

- 2. Gupta year 156 was a Vaiśākha year This datum is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A c, as 429-30 A c was a mean-sign Vaiśākha year, while neither 475-76 A.C. (Phālguna year) nor 476-77 A.C. (Caitra year) was a mean-sign Vaiśākha year;
- 3. In Gupta year 157, Mūla was the nakshatra on Vaisākha Krishna 7 day. This datum too is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A.C., as on 12th March 529 A.C., pūrņimānta mean Vaisākha Krishna 7 began 4 hours 5 minutes after sunrise, when the moon's longitude was 246°, and the nakshatra was therefore Mūla. But neither on 1st April 476 A.C. nor on 21st March 477 A.C., when Vaisākha Krishna 7 began 23 hours 17 minutes and 8 hours 10 minutes respectively after sunrise, was the nakshatra Mūla, for the moon's longitude on those days was 226° 30′ and 255° 7′ respectively, and the nakshatra can have been only Pūrva Āshādha, not Mūla;
- 4. Gupta year 163 was an Āśvina year The date in the inscription is clearly given as 163. But on the mean-sign system, it is impossible for year 163 to have been an Āśvina year, when year 156 was a Vaiśākha year Dr Fleet has therefore admitted that 'tri' in the inscription might have been wrongly engraved for 'dvi' Accepting this emendation, both epoches satisfy the given data, for 434-35 AC and 482-83 AC were both Āśvina years;
- 5. In Gupta year 165, the day of Āsādha Śukla 12 was a Thursday; and both 1st July 437 A.C., when Āṣādha Śukla 12 ended 5 hours 2 minutes after sunrise, and 21st June 484 A.C., when Āṣādha Śukla 12 ended 11 hours 46 minutes after sunrise, were Thursdays;
- Gupta year 191 was a Caitra year, and both 464-65 A.C. and 511-12
   A.C. were Caitra years;
- 7. In year 191 of Sarvanātha, there was an adhīka Āsādha. Ucchakalpa Sarvanātha does not mdeed specifically date his inscription in the Gupta era, but his inscriptions range from year 179 to year 214, and he issued a joint inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, No 24) with Parivrājāka Hastin, whose inscriptions range from year 156 to year 198 of the Gupta era. Sarvanātha's inscriptions also must therefore be dated in the same era. Accepting his year 191 to be a Gupta year, there were an adhīka Srāvana in both 464 A.c. and 510 A.c., which, according to Brahmagupta's rule that the second month is the adhīka month, would be named Āsādha. But in both years the adhīka months were true and not mean adhīka months and the Ucchakalpas must have preferred true months. If this supposition is not accepted, both epochs fail to satisfy the given datum.
- 8. Gupta year 198 was an Āśvina year, and both 470-71  ${\tt A}\,{\tt C}.$  and 517-18  ${\tt A.C}.$  were Āśvina years ;
- 9. Gupta year 199 was a Mārgaśira year; and both 472-73 AC and 519-20 A.C were Mārgaśira years With both epochs, we must assume that year 198 was current and year 199 expired; and for all these inscriptions, we get satisfactory results only by assuming some to be current and others expired years. Even to-day when we ask of men their ages, some give expired

and others current years, and the same must have been the case in old times times also;

- 10. Gupta year 209 was an Āśvina year; and both 482-83 A.C. and 529-30 A.C. were Āśvina years;
- 11. In Maitraka year 254, there was a solar eclipse on Vaisāka amāvāsyā; and there were solar eclipses on Vaisākha amāvāsyā of both 28th March 526 A.C. and 19th March 573 A.C. The solar eclipse on 28th March 526 A.C. was probably not visible in India; but, as pointed out already, it is not necessary that solar eclipses cited in inscriptions should be visible; and as the sun's distance from the node on 28th March 526 A.C. was 179° 33', solar eclipse was certain on that day The opinion of Prof JACOBI (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 423), the greatest modern authority on Hindu astronomy. may be cited here: - "The eclipses mentioned in inscriptions are not always actually observed eclipses, but calculated ones. My reasons for this opinion are the following. Fustly, eclipses are auspicious moments, when donations such as are usually recorded in inscriptions, are particularly meritorious. They were therefore probably selected for such occasions, and must accordingly have been calculated beforehand. No doubt they were entered in panchangs or almanacs in former times, as they are now. Secondly, even larger eclipses of the sun, up to seven digits, pass unobserved by common people, and smaller ones are only visible under favourable circumstances. Thirdly, the Hindus place implicit trust in their Sastras, and would not think it necessary to test their calculations by actual observation. The writers of inscriptions would therefore mention an eclipse, if they found one predicted in their almanacs":
- 12 There was a solar eclipse in Gupta year 300; and there were solar eclipses on both 23rd September 572 A C, and 21st March 619 A.C.;
- 13 In Maitraka year 330, there was an adhika Mārgaśira. This datum is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 AC, as there was an adhika Mārgaśira in 602 A.C., while there was no mean or true adhika Mārgaśira in 649 A.C. or 650 A.C.;
- 14. In Maitraka year 343, there was an adhika Āshādha; and there were an adhika Āshādha in 616 A c., and an adhika Śsāvana in 662 A c., which, by Brahmagupta's rule, would be called Āshādha,
- 15 In Maitraka year 537, there was an adhika Pausha This datum is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A.C., as there was an adhika Pausha in 629 A.C., while there was no adhika Pausha in 676 A.C. or 677 A.C.;
- 16. In Gupta year 585, there was a solar eclipse , and there were solar eclipses on 27th May 857 a.c. (not visible in India) as also on 10th November 904 a.c. and 7th May 905 a.c.

# EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYĀLAM PROSE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS\*

Bv

## L V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Ernakulam,

## Indo-Aryan elements

The adaptations from IA, discussed below, are words that have structural or semantic peculiarities or those that are out of vogue to-day. Some of the words are curious hypersanskritizations which may have been artificial creations of shallow people with pretensions to Sanskrit scholarship. Some of these adaptations may have enjoyed currency not only in the speech of the Christians but also in the language of non-Christian communities. Here again, the extent to which some of these words may have been specially popular among Christians has to be clarified by further research.

anusaranam and anusarana are both met with—Cf adaptations anusaranai and anusaranam occurring in Tamil.

apūrva-p-ped- has developed the meaning 'to marvel at' in some contexts in this dialect

arani-kk- 'to be separated by a schism, perversely' appears to be the meaning in contexts like paṭṭāṅnayil 'nnnum araṇippippān or aranikkappeṭṭa iḍa-ttūttukāran.

aran 'stronghold' 'fortress' appears to have been derived from Skt. saranam.

BG has harunikkappetta, with an intrusive h.

asakyam 'miracle, marvel'. asakya-p-ped - 'to be astonished'.

aştahāsam [BG] for aṭtahāsam 'loud laughter'.—The word is used in BG also for 'speaking aloud, or 'crying aloud.'

Cf., for the intrusion of foreign sounds in 'vulgar' speech, rāstri for rātra.

avakāsam has the meaning 'opportunity, occasion' in these texts. The meanings 'title' 'claim', 'right' do not appear.

astamānam' sunset', for astamanam.

āsta, āstha, āyistam have all the meaning 'prepared' or 'made ready.' I think that the original word from which these forms were derived was Skt. āyatta and that this has been confused with Skt. āsthā structurally. VD. has āstham-ākk- 'to get ready'

<sup>\*</sup> Concluded from p. 397 of Vol. III

<sup>1.</sup> In transhterating the adaptations just as they are used in Mal., I have used Dravidian symbols wherever IA sounds are replaced by Dravidian ones. I have also symbolically distinguished  $\hat{n}$  and  $\underline{n}$  in these adaptations from IA.

- $\bar{a} \acute{s} rana, \; \bar{a} sarna$  are "transmutations" of Skt.  $a \acute{s} rayana,$  'dependence, obedience'.
- iṣal, iˈal [from Skt isat] have in Mal the meanings 'slightest doubt,' 'slightest displeasure or unwillingness'
- ugramam 'vehement' 'fierce' for ugram.—The hypersanskritization is due to the influence of forms like uttamam
- uttari-kk- 'to reply' [VD] from uttara 'reply' which meaning this form has developed in some South Dravidian languages.
- ejastə [only in Vartt.], a very remarkable blend-formation Here three different adaptations of Skt words converge: yaśassə, tējassə, and antasta.
- kanman-mār 'chiefs' 'lords'.—kanmal (corresponding to modern kanmal or kanmal) is from kanmiyal<karmigal. The original meanings are 'workers'.—For the replacement of ! before -m by n, cf. pcinanmār, rājākkanmār, etc.
- karsam or karisam is used in Vartt with the meanings 'cruel' 'unsympathetic'. VD has karŝi-kk- 'to be unfeeling, impetuous'.
- karttavyan 'leader', as in jātikku karttavyan [Varti].
- karkkiśan·mār [Vaitt] 'very avaricious persons, haid to deal with'.—The Mal. form karkkasa-kkār is equated to 'avaricious persons' by VD.— Karkkiṣan is a curious instance of forcible alteration (by those who were ignorant of Skt).
- kāvyar 'Hindus' 'heathens', a form perhaps adapted from kāvyam 'Hindu literary work.' The word appears to be an ancient one in the vocabulary of Christians Dr P J. Thomas suggests that the word may have been derived from Arabic Kāfir 'infidel' 'heathen'.
- kausukham [Vartt] 'show, spectacle' shows the influence of sukham on the structure of the word kautukam
- klēśam has developed the meaning 'effort involving distress'.
- guna-v-adhikāram shows a glide produced by Dravidic sandhi rules.
- camayam [VD and BAILEY] 'ccremonial diess'—this meaning is met with in classical literary texts [cf Uttararām gadyam] Tam. camayam does not have this meaning.
- caradam 'parsimony' [VD].—Bailey gives the meanings 'carefulness' 'laying up in store'.—The word occurs in the 14th century Unpuńili sańdēśam with the meaning 'carefulness'. It occurs with this meaning in other classical texts also.—I am told that in North Malabar to-day the word is used for 'carefulness'.

The pejorative meaning 'parsimony', given to it in these Christian texts, is a noteworthy semantic development

BG has  $\langle aradikkuínu$  and  $\langle arasi.kk \rangle$  to be careful about. These forms may all be ultimately connected with Skt  $\langle aradika \rangle$ 

- 1941.1
- cidam, as in cidavum padavum, means 'propriety' 'agreeableness'. The Tam. Lexicon gives the meanings, and suggests for the word a connection with Skt cit.
- curudi 'report' 'rumour' is adopted from Skt śruti.—The Mal. evaluation of r (in  $\acute{s}r$ ) as  $_{r}$  is normal, but the anaptyctyic vowel is not heard today.
- janmāndaram appears in all the three texts with the meanings 'noble manners' virtues' [VD].—This word occurs very frequently in Christian religious writings Colloquially, one hears it often even today both among Christians and among others, with this and other derivative meanings.

BAILEY gives the meanings 'kindness' 'generosity', 'gratitude' besides the meaning 'another birth'. SV which is a religious work gives a full-dress explanation of buddhi janmāndaram' the foresight which enables one to avoid falling into deception, and the virtue which prevents one from deceiving others'.

Today, I have heard some Christians use janmāndra-k-kēdə with the meaning 'original sin'

- tuppāyi 'interpreter' 'East Indian or Eurasian' [BAILEY 'interpreter'] is from dvibhāsi.
- distadi 'need'.—The word tittadı 'need' occurs ın old texts like Kṛṣṇagātha. [Balley tiṭtadı]. Is distadi a Sanskrıtization of titṭadi (which itself may have been a tadbhava form)?
- dusi, as in dusi-padam, dusi-vākka means 'abuse'.— dusi-kk. [from Skt. dus-] and dūsi--kk- 'to abuse, speak ill of 'are common in Mal.
- dēvasa (for dēvata<Skt dēvatā) 'evil spirit, demon', appears frequently in BG in the phrase dēvasa gōṣṭhikhāran' a man possessed with the devil'. Bailey has dēvatā gōsthi 'possession by an evil spirit'.
- dawamla 'devotion' [VD]
- nanibham 'coin' from Skt. nānakam. —For the bh, cf. vāhbham [corresponding to Skt. bālya]
- nimişada [SV and Vartt.] has the meaning 'facility', 'ease'. VD has nimişatvam 'facility'.
- 'niccal 'always' 'daily' [VD].—'niccal and 'niccan [BAILEY] are adapted from MIA forms
- indānam 'carefulness' 'rectitude' [VD].—Though spelt with -t-, -d-, and -dh-, the meanings in Mal. are all connected with Skt. nidāna.
- nnīvaṇa 'consideration',[VD].—Cf. Tam. nirūvana.
  The modern form is nirūbanam.
- mvrtti 'termination, end,' as in alikku nivrtti.
- nirmmāṇam 'disgraceful, insolent,' as in nirmmäṇavum duṣṭadayum is only a popular variant of Skt nir-mānam, confused with Skt. nirmāṇa and also Skt. nirvāna.—VD has nirmāṇam.

- parahasyam 'what is published', 'open fact' is a form (corresponding to modern parasyam), appearing in all these texts, as the opposite of rahasyam 'secret'—Is parahasyam < para-rahasyam?</p>
- paradhinam 'difficult' [BAILEY].
- palusam, as in palusam-āya vacaṇamal [Vartt.], may have been a variant of balassa tormed from balassan [VD] [Skt. balasthah].
- pāla is from bhāṣā.
- pramādam has the meanings 'danger' 'misfortune' in SV:-marikkān pramādam-āyi; maranapramādatts.
  - Gundert cites VD as equating *pramādikkēndā* to 'don't despair.' Bailey gives the meaning 'misfortune' among others.
- bhaktima (for bhakti 'piety') shows a -ma perhaps under the influence of native forms like nan-ma and of Skt forms like bhaktimān.
- bhāṣitam 'rɪdɪcule' 'scoffing' [VD] —The Ṣambūdīris use it even today Krṣṇagātha has bhāṣi-kk- 'to talk prattlingly'
- bhūṣ- 'to decorate oneself with ceremonial dress' is not common to-day— Tam has bhūsi-kk-.
- māryādi 'custom' Today maryāda means 'cıvılıty', 'conventional propriety.'
- märggakkärar converts to Christianity Latin Christians converted within recent centuries, as distinguished from the Syrian Christians of Malabar.
- muṣkaratvam 'powei' a common word in these texts muskaram in Tam means 'obstinacy'
- yāvana, yāpana 'maintenance' 'victuals' 'meal' [VD and BAILEY], are occasionally heard even today. Yāvi-kk- 'to subsist on' occurs in very old west coast inscriptions
- rājidam (for rājyam) 'kingdom' 'royal authority'
- vasannal 'capacities' [BAILEY].
- varggam 'case', 'dispute'.
- vasanta 'small-pox' owes its meaning, according to Gundert, to the belief that spring winds cause the disease Bailey gives the meanings 'dysentery, diarrhoea'.
- vahiyā 'not possible', the older form of modern vayyā.
- $v\bar{a}libhakk\bar{a}_{zar}$  'Young men' — $v\bar{a}libha$  is an adaptation ultimately traceable to OIA  $b\bar{a}lya$
- vāsta-p-petța (for vāstava-p-pețta), cf vāstapettaval hiyē [PAlph].
- vidayam and vidhayam for vidhayam 'to be made ready, brought under control'. [VD]
- vilasan 'man in the enjoyment of luxuries', from vilas- [Skt. vi-las-].
- viravadham [Vartt.] for virādham, as if it had some connection with vadham.
- vivādə [Vartt] for vivādam (Skt. vivādah) 'dispute'.

veñjanādīgaļ 'household accompaniments' [VD], from Skt. vyañjanam.

velēśidam [BG] belēśidam [BG], meļēśidam [BG] for melēcchītam [Skt. mlēcchīta].—The change of l to l in the Mal. adaptation of the Skt. group ml is normal. The anaptyctic vowel in the initial syllable and the change of m to b and v are colloquial corruptions.

vēsta (for vyavastha from Skt. vyavasthā) means 'certainty', 'ascertainment' [VD] and BAILEY].

nvānti 'trick', 'dissimulation'.

śarana-p-ped-- 'to confide in, trust, hope' [VD].

śarasi-kk- a "corruption" of śraddhi-kk- occurs in BG.

 $\$\bar{o}bha-k\bar{e}da$  ('insult'' 'disgrace' < the literal meaning 'loss of brightness', the verb base  $\$\bar{o}bha$  kedu-kk- is represented in Uttararāmāyaṇam gadyam

sandhiga [Vartt.] for sandhya [Skt. sandhyā] is a wrong reconstruction with -g- of a popular form like sandhya, the g being introduced as a result of the analogy of alternative forms like candriga and candriya.

samukṣattam for samakṣam (Skt samakṣam) is due to the wrong incorporation of the sixth case -att- appearing in the constantly used inflexional form samakṣ-attə.

savuttam and sabuttam appearing in BG in vali savuttam-ākkuvā $\underline{n}$  is a mutation of sausthavam 'beauty' 'elegance'.

samvadicco 'having acquiesced, agreed' is often used in the stead of sammadicco (from Skt sammatih). VD gives the meaning (to converse'.

sādhanam 'document' is common in granthavaris

sāmarthyam 'wealth' as in vīdugaluģe sāmarthyavum [Vartt.], is rarely used to-day with this meaning. Skt has 'wealth' as one of the significations of the word.

solvam is a 'mistake' in BG for svastham 'at ease', 'healthy', 'happy'.

sudē 'by oneself' [ < svadē < svadavē < Skt. svatah + Drav ē].

sūksam 'carefulness' for sūksmam [Skt. sūksma 'minute']

sawyam [BG] for swaram (from Skt svaira 'free'). The structure sawyam may have been due to the influence of the adaptation sawkaryam which appears "corrupted" sometimes as sawryam

svarumiccə, sorumiccə [frequently in Vartt] are "corrupted" forms of the verb svarūpi-kk-(adapted from Skt. svarūpa), under the influence of native orumi-kk-.

## VIII SYNTAX

As is only to be expected, SV (composed as it has been by a European missionary) evidences the influence of foreign syntax to a considerably greater extent than Vartt. which is the work of an Indian priest who inveighs against the tyranny of the western missionaries. The BG, said to have been translated literally from the Syriac Bible, contains very curious constructions which (I am told) are influenced by Syriac syntax. The syntax of BG in some

places strikes the reader as exceedingly bizarre and unnatural; and I feel that many of these artificialities may have been due to the interference of a non-Malayāļi or an extremely "denationalised" Malayāļi who wanted to twist and bend Mal. constructions to suit the needs of foreign syntax. I have not, therefore, discussed here the syntax of BG, generally speaking

The style of Vartt. is full of raciness and native vigour, particularly in the descriptions of European scenes and in the indictment of the western missionaries. Here and there one comes across native proverbs rich in mother-wit and wisdom:—

mônnนีvàn ทั่งทักล ที่ลึงแปล talayıl tenna viņu chhulla collupole.

alere bbogunnadine-k-kavil tanere-b-bogunnadu nallu.

andı kalanna annande küttə.

kandankal ennu colli kaludakkalummel pidiccu ennadu pole.

ońnugil pathiccirikkēṇam allengil kudiccirikkēṇam chhu malangare parayuhna bhāsitam pole.

tān kanda kadavil kāryam kettuvān sannadi varigayillehhullu bhayam.

The peculiarities of the syntax of these texts may be considered under two headings:—A. Native features that have become out of vogue to-day

B. Features which directly reveal or indirectly betray the influence of foreign syntax.

### A

- 1. The use of the postposition  $kond\partial$  to denote a "second case" force, as in nannale-k-kondu vēndā-vacanannal pazīnīd or in matt-ārāne-k-kondum polisalyam ceyyarudə.
- 2 The use of Skt prats in contexts like the following:—(1) kāryam prati ālōcicco.
  - (11) dawatte prati , ellavarudeyum raksaye prati maricco
  - (111) prati prati avarude vittil cenno
  - (IV) paksaprati-y-äyi.
- 3 The use of pronouns as expletives in contexts like the following is common in BG. The practice is carried to a fantastic extent in BG, yet, fundamentally the use of such pronouns is not foreign to the genius of Dravidian. A few instances from BG are the following —

accan avan:

tõgaril kalakkam-ad-ägävvän

andi-v-ad-ayappol.

köli-y-adu küvi

SV has bhāryāvaļ.

Instances of this use of pronouns exist in classical literary texts, as in the following:-

gurubhūtanmār.avar tannaļude; ucca-y-ad-āgumbōl; galam-adıl māla karēţṭi varikum; vambaṇmārıl munbaṇ-ad-āgum umbar kōn, etc.

The history of this practice goes back to the parent stage, since Tolkäppiyam, colladigăram, envisages this peculiarity for Old Tam. In the history of Mal, however, the purely expletive character of the pronoun became so definitely marked that the non-rational singular  $(a)d\theta$  was sometimes associated with rational nouns

4 The final -(a)  $_{d\partial}$  in the following illustrations from SV may be regarded as a transitional tense-expletive; such constructions are unusual to-day. Participal nouns in origin, the forms with  $-(a)d_{\partial}$  become finites here —

śuddhamāṇa mārppāṇa pallwude talavāṇ āguńnadə [modern āguńnu, or (if āguńnadə is retained as a participial noun), mārppāṇa ān-āguńnade].

- ī kārananhalāl mishāde maranam palarkkum dusphalam-āyi pōguhhadə. ahhu hamaskarippān elläyilum halla samayam āguhhadə.
- 5 Collocations like  $ceyyu\acute{n}napp\bar{o}l$  (present relative participle followed by  $app\bar{o}l$ ),  $ceyd\bar{a}_{\bar{z}\bar{e}}$  (past relative participle followed by  $\bar{a}_{\bar{z}\bar{e}}$  denoting 'time');  $ceyyum\bar{a}_{\bar{z}\bar{e}}$ ,  $k\bar{a}_{\bar{z}\bar{e}}$ ,  $mar_{\bar{z}\bar{e}}$ ,  $mar_{\bar{z}\bar{e}}$ ,  $mar_{\bar{z}\bar{e}}$  (future relative participles followed by  $\bar{a}_{\bar{z}\bar{e}}$ ) have already been noted
  - 6. —ām pakkam following a "neuter" participial, as in the following :— ariiiiadin\_ām-pakkam;

agunnadın-am-pakkam.

- 7 The use of  $\underline{nyay}am$  in constructions like  $\emph{e}nnu\ \emph{colli}\ \underline{nyay}am$  appears in SV frequently, to indicate a clear truth
- 8 arigayum-ām, (as in õrttukandāl ī paramārtham arıyugayum-ām), kolgayum-ām are old constructions not common to-day

## В

 $1\,\,$  The government of cases in contexts like the following is due to foreign influence ;—

ī avasthamēl parannu.

cākkō k-kattaṇārude mēl samšayam vīlugayum ceydu [the use of the post-position mēl is foreign to Mal.]

 $b\overline{a}v\overline{a}yilnin'nu$  prakkappeļtadr $\underline{n}ekkonda$  [the use of the "fifth case" is peculiar.]

 $d\bar{o}_{S}attine\ dv\bar{e}_{S}ipp\bar{o}_{R}\ v\bar{e}_{I}dun'na\ velivv$  [the use of the "second case" in this particular context, i.e.  $d\bar{o}_{S}attine\ followed\ by\ dv\bar{e}_{S}i-kk$ - is unusual].

2. Literal translations, like the following, of foreign (European) constructions:—

pandios pilattinde nalugalil 'in the days of Pontius Pilate';

tınmakku caักักัน pōguhna nammude duśśilavum 'our evil nature which tends towards sın'.

pilagalude pozudi 'forgiveness of sins'.

hrdaya kallam 'the wickedness of the heart'

puli-y-āna 'false oath'.

mariccavarude uvirbba 'the resurrection of the dead'.

punyavālanmārude pugaļccakkum tanyavarude nānattunnum 'for the praise of those who have done good, and for the shame of the wicked.'

 $k\bar{u}d\bar{a}$  sayude maddhyattāl dōsannaļ pō $kk_1$ -k- $kolv\bar{a}\underline{n}$  'for warding off evil through the sacrament.

kattolikkappalliyilhihhu puratt-irikkuhhavarkka 'those who remain outside the Catholic fold.'

pālōḍu kūdē tān kuḍucca nulla valartuppnude 'of the good training that one has imbibed with the mother's milk '.

ñanhale parīksayıl pūgikkallāyē 'lead us not into temptation'.

ñannalude annahhē appam innu ñannalkku tanga 'give us to-day our daily bread.'

pulikku sāksi millādē 'do not bear false witness'.

 $samudrattinupuzattu\ malsyam\ ehhapōle\ 'like\ fish\ out\ of\ water\ (the\ sea).$ 

cennāde hrdayattōdu kūdıya kuññadınde kuppāyam 'the clothing of a lamb with the heart of a wolf'.

udappı<u>nd</u>e avagāšam kodukkāyvā<u>n</u> 'm order not to give room for offence'. bāvā-y-ilininiu pizakkappettadi<u>n</u>e-k-konda 'since he is born of the Father'. cāvudōşam 'mortal sin'.

pramanam tigaya-p-pedunnu 'the scripture is fulfilled'.

pravrttiyālē tigappān 'in order to fulfil through deeds'.

bhayankaramāya kaṇakkə tamburānde tırumunbāgē ēlppikkēnduvarum would have to give a terrible account before the sacred presence of the lord'.

nammude märgatlinde kādalāya elimayum padavum kūdappigāpingalē uļļa upaviyum 'the qualities of humility, moderation and love of fellow-beings, which form the essence of our faith."

### MISCELLANY

## THE HARAHA INSCRIPTION AND THE GUPTA ERA

In a note entitled 'The Hārāhā Inscription of Maukhari Mahārājādhirāja Iśāna-varman' contributed to the Indian Culture for July 1938, I tried to prove from the evidence of that inscription that Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era is in error by at least a hundred years. In the January issue (1939) of the same journal Mr. Jagannath in a note entitled 'The Bearing of the Hārāhā Inscription on the Epoch of the Gupta Era' adduced arguments to show that my objections do not in any way upset the epoch of the Gupta era as determined by Dr. Fleet.

I am really sorry to find the types of arguments advanced by Mr. Jagannath to disprove my findings  $\;$  His arguments are the following :

Mr. Jagannath admits that Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman was reigning in Mālava year 589 and that Sūryavarman was born about Vikrama year 590. But he denies the fact that Išānavarman had achived his glorious conquests and became a Mahārājādhirāja before that date, inasmuch as he says, there is nothing in the inscription to prove that He then assumes that Išānavarman's victorious career may be supposed to have begun ten years after the birth of Sūryavarman i.e., about Vikrama year 600 = A.D 542 before which date Išānavarman could not have become a Mahārājādhīrāja. As Rājādhīrāja Yaśodharman's known date, Mālava year 589, supposed to be equivalent to A.D. 532 on Fleet's epoch, is some 10 years prior to A.D. 542 when according to Mr. Jagannath Išānavarman became a Mahārādhirāja, there is ample room for the 'meteor like' Yaśodharman to disappear by A.D. 542. Thus the contemporaneity of the two great rulers on Fleet's epoch as shown by me, in the opinion of Mr. Jagannath, is not proved.

I would request Mr. Jagannath to study the Hārāhā inscription carefully, especially verse 13 which runs thus:

जित्वान्त्राधिपतिं सहस्रगणित त्रेषाक्षरद्वारणं व्यावलगन् नियुतातिसङ्ख्यसुरगान् भड्क्वा रणे ग्रूळिकान् । कृत्वा चायतिमोचितस्थळभुवो गाँडान् समुद्राश्रयान् अध्यासिष्ट नतक्षितीशचरणः सिहासनं यो जिती ॥

'who, being victorious and having princes bending at his feet occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Andhras, who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Sülikas, who had an army of a large number of galloping horses, and after causing the Gaudas, living on the seashore, in future to remain in their proper realm'. So that any careful reader of this inscription will come to the same conclusions as arrived at by the late N. G. Majumdar (I. A., 1927, p. 127), that the defeat of the Andhra King, the Sülikas and the Gaudas happened during the reign of Isvaravarman and thus the glorious campaign of conquests of this king's son Isänavarman 'preceded his sitting on his father's throne.' This will be evident from a study of the fragmentary Jaunpur inscription of Isvaravarman where the defeat of the Andhra king is mentioned. The mention of the Raivataka mountain in Surästra in this fragmentary inscription seems to be in connection with the defeat of the Sülikas or the Cālukyas as stated in the Hārāhā inscription. 'In any case the three victories of the Maukhari ruler made it easier for him to assume lord paramountcy i.e., the title Mahārājādhrāja' From verse 16 of the

Hārāhā inscription Mr. Jagannath will kindly sec that while Iśānavarman was ruling the earth a son was born to him who was named Sūryavarman:

## यस्मिन् शासित च क्षितिम् क्षितिपतौ......शीसूर्यवर्माजनि

So that Mr. JAGANNATH'S remark 'There is nothing in the inscription to indicate that Isanayarman had achieved these conquests before the birth of Suryavarman, or 21 years before 611 vs' is really deplorable. It now Mr. JAGANNATH admits that v s. 611 is the date of the Hārāhā inscription and Sūryavarman was born about v s. 590, he has no other option but to admit that Mahārājdhirāja Īsānavarman was ruling at least from Vikrama year 589 assumed to be identical with Mālava year 589 when Rājādhirāja Yasodharman was ruling and consequently also to admit the overlordship of Mahārājādhirājā Iśānavarman over Rājādhirāja Yasodharman Thus the contemporaneity of the two follows and the meteoric origin and career of Yasodharman on FLEET's epoch, as stated by Mr. JAGANNATH cannot save the situation Even assuming with Mr JAGANNATH for argument's sake, that Yasodharman ruled till Ap. 542 after which Isanavarman became a Maharajadhiraja, we find that at this time the Imperial Gupta Monarch Mahārājādhirāja, Kumāra Gupta of Sam 224 = AD 542 on FLEET's epoch was ruling Does not the contemporaneity of two Maharājādhirājas and Rājādhirāja Yasodharman show as clearly as possible the utter incorrectness of FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era?

Moreover, savants will kindly see that the real meaning of (verse 21 of the inscription) Ekādaśā-tiriktesu satsu śātita vidvisi | śatesu śāradām patyau bhuvah-Srī-śānavarman | is that the dilapidated temple of Siva was repaired by Sūrvavarman when six hundred years is already superfluous by eleven i.e., in Samvat (600-11, or) 589, while the illustrious Isanavarman who had crushed his enemies, was the lord of the earth. "In the Annual Report of the Lucknow Museum (for the year ending 31st March, 1915, p 3 footnote) it was suggested that 'Taking atnikta (see the verse quoted above) in the sense of superfluous, the other possible meaning will be 589' "(the late N. G MAJUMDAR, 'A Hārāhā stone inscription', I A 1917, p. 125 ff ) i.e., v s. 589 = A.D 532 = Saka 454 That this is the really correct meaning will be evident from the silver coins bearing the names of Isanavarman, dated 54 and 55, and of his son Sarvavarman, dated 58. These dates are evidently in the Saka era with omitted hundreds and equivalent to Saka (4) 54, (4) 55 and (4) 58 = A D. 532, 533 and 536 = V S 589, 590 and 593 respectively The first date Saka (4) 54 is exactly the year (v s 589) of the Hārāhā inscription. The year 52 of Toramāna's coins was supposed by Fleet to denote years of Toramāna's reign Gen. Cun-NINGHAM suggested that the date is Saka with omitted hundreds i.e. 52 = 452 late Prof RAPSON remarked on the former suggestion 'This explanation is rendered less probable by the fact that the Maukharis Iśānavarman and Sarvavarman and also Bhimasena apparently date in years of the same era' (Indian Coins, p 29). In fact as already shown by me (in my paper on the Gupta era), the date 52 of Toramāna, = Saka 52 = AD 130 = (Gupta) Vikrama Sam 188 = Krta or Mālava year 588, only one year previous to Mālava year 589 when Yasodharman defeated Toramāna's son Mihirakhula. Thus it is evident that Mahārājādhiraja Īśānavarman was ruling at least from about 20 years previous to v. s 589 and was ruling till about v s 592 (=Saka 457), after which Mahārājādhirāja Sarvavarman was ruling.

Again, the Chinese historians mention an emperor of India, called Yueg-nai, king of Kiapili who sent ambassadors to China in A.D. 428. This name has rightly been identified by Capt. WILFORD (Assatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 42-44 and 110-11) with Yajnavarman. This was evidently the great king Yajnavarman about whom we learn from his grandson Anantavarman's cave inscriptions found near Gayā (seems to me to be 'Kiapili' or Gayapuri) written in Gupta script. That the date of Maukhari Yajñavarman was about A.D. 400 will be evident from the following: 'But

the letters of the inscriptions of Anantavarman are older in form than those of the Hārāhā inscription. The tripartite Ya which is a characteristic of the Kushan and the early Gupta alphabets, is used promisciously along with its later developed forms, in the Hārāhā inscription. But in the inscriptions of Anantavarman only the tripartite form of Ya is to be met with. This is a clear indication that they are of considerable earlier date.' (N. G. MAJUMDAR, 'A. Hārāhā stone Inscription', I. A., 1917, p. 125 ff). On Fleet's epoch, the Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta I was ruling India in A.D. 428. (=Sam. 108) and there was no room for any other Emperor Yueg-nai (Yajna) to send ambassadors to China during Kumāra I's rule, thus showing that kings other than the Imperial Gupta's were ruling in Magadha about A.D. 428. The late Jayaswal also in his History of India (p. 115) comes to the conclusion from the drama "Kaumudi-Mahotsava" that the Varmans (Sundaravarman, Kalyānavarman etc.) (evidently the Maukhari Varmans) were ruling in Magadha about the fourth century A.D.

As for the Menälgadh inscription of the Chahamāna Pnthvirāja (II) of v. s. 1226, Mr Jagannath will kindly see that there the year is stated as 'Mālaveśa-gata-votsara' Everyone knows that Vikramāditya was lord of Mālava (Ujjaini-puravarādhiśvara) as well as of Magadha ('Pātalipuravarādhiśvara'). The composer of the inscription wanted to date the same in the era of king Vikramāditya who was lord of Mīlava. This has nothing to do with the reckoning 'traditionally handed down by the Mālava tribe' (Mālavānām gan-āmnāte) or 'from the date of the establishment of the Republic in Mālava '(Mālavānām gana-sthityā). We should remember that the Mālava or Krta era fell into disuse several centuries before Vikrama year 1226 = Ad 1169.

Mr JAGANNATH accuses me by saving 'It is uncritical to say definitely that Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta, has to be placed in c AD. 532 and thus FLEET's theory creates a conflict', and states that Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta, son of Narasımhagupta ruled in AD 472. If this date for the above Kumāragupta be accepted then on Fleet's epoch he must be assumed to be ruling in Vikrama (equivalent on Fleet's epoch to Mālava) year 530. We know that ın Mālava year 524 Govindagupta, son of Candragupta II was governor of Vaiśāli (not to speak of Mālava year 529 when his brother Kumāragupta I, was ruling). Thus Mr Jagannath and his authorities Mr. Pannalal, R D. Banerjee, Drs. V SMITH, H C ROY CHOWDHURY and R C. MAJUMDAR cannot but admit that the interval between the known dates of Govindagupta and his great grandson Kumāragupta is one of six years only (or, one year only between Kumāragupta I and his great grandson) 111 For, from the Bhitari seal we know that Govindagupta's brother Kumāragupta I's son was Budhagupta wrongly read as Puragupta (Vide also S K. SARASWATI, 'A Gold coin of Budhagupta', IC Vol I pp. 691-92) whose son was Narasımhagupta and the latter's son was Kumāragupta, thus exactly venfying Yuan Chwang's statement that Sakrāditva's (Kumāragupta I's) son was Budhagupta (Sam 165, 175) who seized the throne (evidently from Skandagupta, his half-brother) From Yuan Chwang's Records and his Life we know that Budhagupta was succeeded by 'Ta-ta-ka-to-ku-to' rendered as Ta-tha-ga-ta-gupta. Chinese word seems to be a copyist's error for the real modern name 'Gha-to-tka-cagu-pta', (Kie-ta = Kaccha, the modern Cutch) From the evidence of the gold coin bearing the name 'Ghato' Mr Allen correctly states that this king Ghato-tka-ca-gu-pta 'must be contemporary with those (kings) known from the Bhitari seal' (ie, Budha, Narasımha and Kumara). Again, Yuan Chwang says that after Gha-to-tka-ca-gu-pta Bālāditya (Narasimhagupta) succeeded to the throne whose son was Fa-she-lo (?) or, Ku-mo-lo (?). The transliteration of this is also given as 'Chin-kang', taken for 'Vajra-pāni (hasta)' but should in my opinion be rendered as 'Saktı-hasta' which is a synonym of 'Kumāra' (or. 'Kārtikeva') thus exactly verifying the statement in the Bhitari seal that Narasimhagupta's son was Kumāragupta." Thus Kumāragupta of Sam 154 = A.D. 472 (= Vikrama or Mālava year 530) on Fleet's epoch, cannot be the son of Narasımhagupta Narasımhagupta's son Kumāragupta is evidently Kumāragupta of Sam. 224 (= A.D. 542 on Fleet's epoch = Vikrama Sam. 600). And as Fleet's adherents assume Vikrama and Mālava years to be identical, Mr Jagannath will kindly see that Narasımhagupta may safely be placed in Mālava year 589, contemporaneous with Yasodharman and therefore of Mihirakula. So that, the tale told by Yuan Chwang is not in the least pseudo-historical as supposed by Mr. Jagannath and his authority the late Vincent Smith

As the Later Guptas followed the Imperial Gupta monarchs, does not this show that Krisnagupta, the first Later Gupta ruler ruling about A.D. 432 and Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta of the Imperial Cupta line ruling in Sam 224 = A.D. 542 on Fleet's epoch (not taking account of at least three other Gupta monarchs who must have followed him, namely Viṣnu Gupta Candrādttva, Candragupta III Dvādaśādttya and Prakāṣāditya, carrying the Imperial Gupta rule beyond A.D. 600 on Fleet's epoch, i.e., shortly before Yuan Chwang's visit), the same is in error by at least a hundred years as shown by me

I request Mr JAGANNATH will kindly ponder over these in the interests of truth and express his frank opinion on the correctness of otherwise of FLEET'S epoch.

Daulatpur.

Dhirendra Nath MOOKERJEE

### CORRIGENDA

## Vol. II. Dec. 1939.

- P. 580, I. 24, for actor read altar
- P. 580, l. 24, for adopted read · dompted.
- P. 580, Note 2, line 2, for 57 read . 75
- P. 584, 1. 27, for nowwhere read nowhere.
- P. 585, 1 12, for on read an
- P 587, 1 7 read in die Luft hinein.
- P 587, 1 13, read zu werden was er ist.
- P. 587, 1 14, read was er nur zu sein scheint.
- P. 589, l. 6, for destruction read distinction
- P. 589, 1 32, for observation of read observation to.

### Vol. III, April, 1940.

- P 1, 1. 5, for isl read : ist
- P. 3, 1 9, for casually read causally.
- P 3, 1 16, read pneuma
- P. 3, Note 5, 1 3, read here with that intended by the
- P 5, Note 10, 1. 3, for quèon read · qu'on.
- P. 9, Note 19, 1 27, for thoulbaka read: Itivuttaka
- P. 10, Note 22 continued, 1 5, for a, read: as.
- P. 11, 1 9, for infinite read infinity.
- P. 11, Note 26, line 5, for wide read: wife.
- P. 11, line 26, for mind read mind is
- P 12, Note 28, l. 6, for atta read atta
- P 13, 1. 21, read: SWARZENSKI
- P. 14, l. 1, read "May it be known to
- P. 13, for sin entbilde sin read · sich entbilde sin.
- P. 13, Note 29 continued, 1 5, for padbājaka read: pabbājaka.

### REVIEWS

History of Rajputana (in Hindi) Vol. I by Jagadish Singh GAHLOT, MRAS with a Foreword by Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, MA., FRASB, Director-General of Archæology in India; Hindi Sahitya Mandir, Jodhpur, 1937; Pp 721; Size 6½"×10" Price Rs. 5.

Mahamahopādhyāya Rai Bahadur Pandit Gauri Shankar Hirachand OJHA has undertaken to write an exhaustive history of that old, picturesque and chivalrous country, known as Rajputana since at least the Mahābhāratā, but has as yet only succeeded in publishing a little less than a dozen volumes covering only the histories of a few big states such as Oodeypur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and a few others. As was to be expected from the pen of such an eminent scholar it is a painstaking, laborious and lengthy undertaking and requires time to complete it. Being entirely based on authentic tradition, paper documents and stone inscriptions, its accuracy cannot be questioned.

But to the general public the only source for knowing the history of this beautiful country with inspiring and admirable episodes and thrilling adventures, was the Annals of Rajputana by Col Top But being in English and besides being only a collection of stories, tested by personal travels and observations, it could neither satisfy the scholars nor could the general public derive an accurate knowledge from it.

Mr. Jagadish Chandra GAHLOT, the author of the work under review has undertaken to write in a lucid manner an authentic and scholarly history of the several big and small states in Rajputana. The present is the first volume and others will follow. It is fully illustrated with portraits and pictures of incidents. Out of over seven hundred pages of this volume no less than 126 pages are devoted to a general description of the country which is so very helpful in understanding the position of the states as well as habits, customs, families and foreign relations, common to all the states. It then gives a detailed, yet succinct history of half a dozen states beginning with that of Mewad the capital of which is Oodeypur. The narrative does not confine itself to the political history of a state but describes its finances, social structure, customs, feudatones and other subordinates, trade and commerce and so on.

Such is then this unique history. The talented and the first Indian Director-General of Archæology, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, has contributed an appreciative Foreword to this volume, which renders other praise unnecessary. As observed by him "I commend this book to the notice of the public who will find that Mr. Gahlor's well documented book fulfils a long-felt want of a reliable work on the states of Rajputana."

M. V. KIBE.

Sources of Karnāṭaka History, Vol. I. edited by S. Śrikantha Śāstri, M.A., published by the University of Mysore in the Mysore University Historical Series, Demy pp. 48 + 238, Mysore 1940, Price Rs. 3/-.

It is a praiseworthy effort on the part of the University of Mysore that it has inaugurated a Historical Series in which the Sources of Karnāṭaka History, Vol. I, is edited by Prof. S. Śrikantha Śāstri. A good many records, both epigraphic and literary, bearing on the various aspects of the history of Deccan in general and

Kamāṭaka in particular have been brought to light and used in various contexts in the last fifty years or so. The bulk of such records is daily increasing, and some of them are not easily accessible; so the workers in the field of Kamāṭaka history would really welcome with great pleasure such volumes for ready reference.

In this volume the editor has given 133 passages, long and short, both from epigraphic and literary sources. They are in Sanskrit, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu and Prākrit : and some extracts, bearing on the Karnātaka history, are given in their English garb from Greek and Chinese sources. In most cases the extracts are accompanied by a short summary of facts and some explanatory remarks in English. The Introduction in English gives in a nut-shell the salient facts about Karnātaka. its geography, political history, literature and fine arts, and religious, social, economic and cultural aspects. It is followed by useful genealogical tables of different dynasties The specialist may differ here and there from some of the remarks of the editor, but the limited space prohibits their discussion in details. To note just a few instances, the remarks on Prabhacandra (p 66) may be rewritten in the light of the latest researches (Anekanta Vol I, pp 130 etc., Nyayakumudacandra, Intio. Bombay 1938). As to Śākaṭāyana (p 69), he belonged to the Yāpanīya Samgha (Journal of the Uni. of Bombay, Vol I, part vi) Asaga's date (p 70) may be undertsood as Vikrama era which solves the difficulty felt by the editor (The Karnataka Historical Quarterly Vol. II, part 1) Imendrakalyānābhvudaya is not the work of Hastimalla (p. 237) but of Ayyapārya

We sincerly wish and feel sure that many more volumes would be published like this to bring within easy reach the rich sources of Karnātaka history. On the one hand these sources indicate what facts we already know and on the other what links are still needed to have a connected account and a complete sketch. We would like to give a few suggestions which the editors may kindly consider in shaping the subsequent volumes.

There should be a map of Karnātaka in every volume showing the then boundaries of Kamataka and marking the ancient places with their modern names wherever possible. (a) In the case of many important literary passages the requisite references are not noted. It is quite necessary that Mss or printed editions should be mentioned with due descriptions (in) It is not unlikely that the editor might handle, in course of his collection, certain critical discussions on these passages in different contexts. It would be quite welcome, if references to such discussions are also noted (w) Time has arrived that we should look at the history of Karnataka from an all-India point of view, and I feel that the editor means this when he gives the summaries of some of the passages in English. It is necessary therefore that the original passages may be presented either in Roman or in Devanigari characters, so that the originals also may be handled by those who do not know some of the south Indian scripts. Some of the Kannada passages, which have predominant percentage of Sanskrit words, can be easily followed by scholars in the North, if they are presented in Devanagari characters with a couple of special types (v) From the present collection it is abundantly clear that the Jama works contain a lot of historical material in their introductions and prasastis. We wish that these sources in Prākrit, Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu might be tapped more exhaustively, and the data available would shed abundant light on the chronology of Indian history and literature. This would help us to get cleared a few of our hazy notions about the dates of some of the Tamil works of antiquity (vi) The Sanskrit passages should be presented more accurately especially with regard to spacing etc (vn) Lastly there should be an exhaustive Index of all the proper names. Perhaps the editor means to add it in the last volume

It is Mysore that has given the world of scholars the grand volumes of Epigraphia Cornatica, and there could not have been a better body than the University of
Mysore to publish the sources of Karnataka history. This handy volume is a pre-

cious possession for the student of Karnāṭaka history. We sincerely thank Prof. S Śrīkantha Śāstrīt for his patient labour on the first volume and eagerly await the publication of subsequent volumes.

Kolhapur. A. N. UPADHYE

Upanisad-Vākya-Mahākośa (or a concordance to 223 Upanisads) Vol. I (अ to न) by Gajanan Shambhu Sadhale Shastri Published by the "Gujarati" Printing Press, Fort, Bombay, 1940, Pp. 351, Price Rs. 7 Size -7½" × 11".

It is now 50 years since Col JACOB published his Upanisad-Vākya-Kośa or a Concordance to 45 Upanisads in 1891 There is no Sanskrit Scholar in the world who has not utilised this valuable life-boat while navigating on the high seas of Sanskrit-literature during the last half a century. Now that this reference book is gone out of print there is a crying demand for a reprint of it from Sanskiit Scholars all over the world. We are, therefore, glad to find in the volume before us a similar concordance to five times the number of Upanisads used by Col. JACOB for his work The present elaborate Concordance by Shastii SADHALE is projected in 2 Vols, of which Vol I has just appeared and the work of bringing out Vol II is in progress. The work of compiling such monumental work single-handed speaks volumes for the patience and learning of Shastri Sadiiale, who is already running his 72nd year and we hope he would be encouraged by Sanskrit Scholars and learned bodies all over the world to complete Vol. II of this Concordance before long. There is no greater satisfaction to a scholar than that afforded by the completion of his life's work designed and carried out for the benefit of comrades in the field in a spirit of service and devotion to duty, which is characteristic of Indian Shastris but which is now getting rare

'God helps those who help themselves' and the labour of Shastri Sadilale on this Mahākośu has not been spent in vain. The new Ruler of Baroda, His Highness Maharaja Pratapsinha Gaekwai has already donated Rs 3,000 towards the cost of publishing this work. This is a magnanimous gift and it is but in the fitness of things that the work is dedicated to the Maharaja. It gives us great pleasure to find Maharaja Pratapsinha following the best traditions of his grandfather His Highness. Maharaja Sayaji Rao Garkwak who had a soft corner for learned men and learning of any nation in the world and much more for Indian Scholais and learned bodies. It is also gratifying to note that the University of Bombay has donated Rs 1,000 for the present work and thus evinced its appreciation for the work of Shastri Sadilale.

The wisdom of the *Upanisads* has saturated the entire field of Sanskrit learning and scholars carrying on historical research find it a baffling problem to trace quotations from the *Upanisads* to their sources. The philosophers of old had no sense of time and space as they were "dik-källa-marvace hinna" but the history of literature is based on time and space. There has sprind into being a host of *Upanisads* from the earliest times to the present day and consequently the task of determining even their relative chronology has become extremely difficult. It would be a red-letter day in the history of Critical Sanskrit Scholarship when the history of every Upanishadic quotation is proved and recorded with textual variations in an Encyclopaedia of Quotations. For such a history the present *Mahākoša* should prove extremely useful. Then again scholars who want to edit many Vedänta texts are unable to trace some of the Upanishadic quotations to their sources which are not available in a published form. For this purpose Shastri Sadhale has utilised many Upanishads which are at present available only in a Manuscript form.

To builden a scholar in his 72nd year with suggestions regarding the improvement of his work may be considered sacrilegious. However, in the interest of a wider use of his valuable work of a life-time we feel it our duty to record one suggestion for his consideration viz the preparation of an Index to the leading words in the Quotations recorded in the Mahākoša, in the absence of which we find it difficult to make full use of the wealth of material garnered in these Volumes. In the Dictionaries of Quotations from English and other literatures we always find an Index of leading words appended to each Dictionary. Even in the Hobson-Jobson by Yulle and Burnell we find an exhaustive Index of 335 pp in a volume of 1021 pp. Such an Index is a necessary adjunct to a monumental work and should not be avoided if the work is to be used for frequent reference by every Sanskrit Scholar. With this suggestion we take leave of Shasin Sadhale's labour of love put in neat printing by the Gujarati Printing Press of Bombay, to whom we offer our best thanks for the successful production of the present volume.

P. K. GODE.

Some Sayings of the Buddha (according to the Pāli Canon) Translated by F L. WOODWARD, with an Introduction by Sir Francis YOUNGHUSBAND, Oxford University Press, London, 1939, Pp xxvi+356, (World's Classics No. 483) Price —2/6 net, Size —33"×64"

Some Sayings of the Buddha was first published in 1925. It was later published for the first time in the celebrated World's Classis in 1939. Buddham alose as a vigorous re-action to Brahmanical Sacerdotalism. The oral tradition of Lord Buddha's teaching was handed down by his disciples and spread like wild fire in India and also in outside countries. It left an abiding impression on Indian life and thought. Buddha occupies a place for himself as a Hindu reformer and founder of a new religion.

This pocket edition of Buddha's Sayings before us now published in the World's Classics Series will help many a searcher after Truth who gets bewildered by diverse ways of thought and action and much more by the stupendous mass of literature on Buddhist religion and philosophy which enshrines the simple teaching of Lord Buddha's teaching arose out of his experience of life and though it looks simple it is "exceedingly difficult to carry out" as Sii Francis Young-HUSBAND puts it in his excellent Introduction to the volume before us thought is immortal and it exercises a vivilying influence on all introspective souls The present volume contains the quintessence of Buddha's teaching arranged in 18 chapters and makes delightful reading, divested as it is of all technicalities and presented to the common run of educated minds in the pristine purity of Buddhist tradition as preserved in the Päli Canonical literature. In short it is a pocket-size Buddhist Bible which reminds us of Dwight Goddan's Buddlast Bible Buddha's message be carried to every mind in a reflective mood in all corners of the world through the efforts of Mr. WOODWARD and the Publishers of World's Classics 1

Poona P K Gode

## CORRESPONDENCE

To

THE EDITOR, NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY, POONA 4

Sir,

On page 381 of your January issue, an inscription from Beyt has been reproduced Mr. DISKALKAR, the editor of this Inscription, in his introductory note writes, "A question arises here how could Damaii, son of Pilaji, who ruled from vs. 1788 to 1824 have built a tank in Beyt which was conquered by the Gaikwads in vs. 1873 (1817 AD.)"?

The following letter from the Gaikwad ruler to his Kathiawad Subha corroborates the genuineness of the inscription.

यादी राजश्री विटलराव देवाजी सुमा प्रांत काठेवाड यांचे नांवे पत्र की श्रीद्वारकेस बेट शंखोधारतीथीं तीर्थस्वरूप कैलासवासी यांणीं तलाव वांधिला आहे. त्याची पाल शभर गज पडली. ती नवीं जाली पाहिजे म्हणोन तुम्ही पत्री लिगा त्यास :—िकले अमरोलीचे इमारतलचींपैकी सदरहू तलावाचे कामास दोन हजार रू. पावेती खर्च करून तयार करवणें...सा अर्वा अहार मया तेन व आलफ, छ २० माहे साखर.

(Historical Selections from Baroda State Records, Vol. V-46)

The date of this letter corresponds to 12th April 1814, three years earlier than the date of the conquest of Beyt by the Gaikwads assumed by Mr. DISKALKAR

The letter quoted above clearly shows that the Gaikwads were in power over Kathiawad before 1815 A.D.

Yours truly, C. V. Joshi

State Record Office, Baroda, 19th February 1941.

### NOTES OF THE MONTH

The Report of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for 1940 just published shows commendable progress in the different spheres of academic activities in which this Research Institute has been engaged since its very inception two years ago Bhavan has at present Departments for research and instruction in (1) Sanskrif. and Comparative Philology, (2) Präkritic Languages and Hindi, (3) Gujarātī, (4) Bhagayata Dharma, (5) Jaina Studies, and (6) Indian History The Professors in charge of these Departments, besides doing research work themselves, train post-graduate research students for the M.A. and Ph. D. degrees of the Bombay Besides these activities the Bhavan conducts a Sanskrit Pathashāla. where students are trained for the several Sanskrit examination, in Sāhitva, Vyākarana etc conducted by Govt Sanskrit College, Benares and the Bengal Govt Sanskrit Association, Calcutta. To create popular interest in their work the Bhavan has been conducting a Department for instruction in Iyotis and an Extension Of more abiding interest to outside scholars are the Publications Lecture Series of the Bhavan, which comprise a research journal called the Bhāratīva Vidyā, now running its Second Volume, and several other publications including critical editions of texts and other original works now projected by the Bhavan We feel confident that the progress shown by the Bhavan so far will gather momentum as years pass by and that this research institute under the able guidance of Shri K M MUNSHI and his learned collaborators like Muni Jinavijayaji, Dr. Patel, and others will take its rightful place among premier research bodies of India at no distant date India is now bristling with energetic young Indologists and the responsibility of directing their individual research effort to national enterprises in the academic sphere must be shouldered by learned bodies like the Bhavan We therefore look forward with great interest to the preparation of the National History of India under the guidance of Shri Munshi contemplated by the Bhavan as stated in the Report under notice It is high time for Indian scholars to apply themselves to the task before them with the tools kept at their disposal by research bodies like the Bhavan, the Bhandarkar Institute, the B B R A Society, the Decean College Research Institute, to mention only a few from the Bombay Presidency The days of Prize essays in research matters are now gone and the cause of research can only advance if the research worker sets himself to his task in a purely disinterested manner

The Report of the Archaological Department of the Gwalior State for the year 1938-39 contains among other interesting notes a note on the exploration work of the Department (pp 13-20) which would be read with interest by every lover of Indian Archæology — The State of Gwalior, we are happy to note, sanctioned during the year of the Report the necessary funds for trial excavations on some sites selected by the Department viz (1) the site of ancient Uljayini popularly known as Garh, (2) the Vaisya Tekri and (3) Kumbhar Tekri—Uljayini was once the centre of ancient Indian culture, though now a desolate waste and we are, therefore, curious to learn more about its culture from archæological excavation to enable us to see how far the literary traditions about this culture are justified in the light of archæological evidence. As a result of the excavation work carried out by the Department numerous interesting objects have been unearthed (pp 73-78).

These objects of course belong to the different levels of the excavations and hence tell their own tale. We may mention a few of these finds such as bricks, pieces of pottery, coloured stone beads, bangles of lac, shell, copper and glass, coloured China ware, coins, square and round, punch-marked copper coins, funeral times: earthen cups and beads, ear-rings of shell and copper, axes and spear heads. Avanti copper coin, Andhra copper coin, terra cota toys, earthen vessels; a stone bañca linga: stone relic caskets; ivory caskets, conch ear-rings: Indo-Sassanian punch-marked cast; ivory objects (dice, toy dagger, casket); clay seals, earthen bangles; human skeletons, painted teeth of a skeleton, tooth of a camel, enamelled painted tiles, pottery lamps, carved brick, carved shell bangles etc. The correct valuation of these rich finds and their bearing on the history of Ujjaini will be given by the Department after the excavations are completed but the Govt of Gwalior will be fully justified in spending more money on the excavations and conducting them under the able and experienced guidance of Mr. M B GARDE, the present Director of Archæology, who has done well in availing himself of the advice of Rao Bahadur K. N Dikshir, the Director-General of Archaeology in India in the selection of sites for excavation and the occasional inspection of the excavation work carried out on these sites. The Report under notice is richly illustrated with not less than 32 plates containing photographs of excavated objects as also of the copies of wall paintings from Bagh Caves in the Archæological Museum at Gwalior and hence deserves perusal by all lovers of Indian antiquities

### \* \* \* \* \* \*

On the 8th of March 1941 Indology lost one of its greatest sons, full of years and honours, in the personality of Sir George Abraham GRIERSON, the foremost authority on Oriental Languages, whose devoted labour for over sixty years bears witness to his versatile intellect and critical acumen in the study of Indian and Central Asian tongues It was only in 1936 that a Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies was presented to him on his 85th birthday by fellow-workers all over the world and we all mourn his loss to-day, though we are proud of his monumental achievements in the form of the ponderous volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India, his innumerable papers on linguistics and his many grammars of known and unknown languages. Sir George belonged to the older generations of the Indian Civil Service, which he joined in his 23rd year and adorned by his ever increasing literary output culminating in the completion of his twenty volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India in his 77th year. It is difficult for us to do justice to his linguistic genius, his exemplary life and scholarly aidour in this short tribute to his memory. We hope to record at no distant date for the benefit of our readers a literary biography of this great linguist and a great man, whose service to the cause of Indian philology will continue to inspire Indian Scholars in the study of their neglected vernaculars in the generations to come. Sir George has firmly laid the foundations of such study and it behoves us now to erect a monument on them worthy of these foundations and worthy of the master-builder whose boundless energy and undimmed vision has already triumphed our all the basic difficulties in this field

The Vedas are the substratum of Hindu religion and culture. Leaving aside the average Hindu belief of old that they are divine in origin it is now granted by all educated Indians that they are the oldest records of the Aryan race and as such extremely valuable for a proper understanding of the Hindu culture and thought that has evolved during the last three thousand years. Barring the study of the Vedas by a few specialists, the average Hindu is absolutely ignorant of the nature

and contents of the Vedas. This state of things is anything but satisfactory and reflects no credit on us, the modern descendants of the ancient Aryans. The reasons which have led to this situation are mainly (1) the absence of cheap and accurately printed editions of the Vedas and (2) absence of ceaseless effort to take them to the homes of persons who are interested in them and who can afford to spend a little on this national heritage of theirs

In view of this neglect of the Vedas by the average Hindu the efforts of Pandit S D. SATAVALEKAR and his collaborators of the Svadhyaya Mandal, Aundh (Dist Satara, Bombay Province), to publish cheap and accurate editions of the Vedas and allied literature are most praiseworthy. He has succeeded in publishing so far the following texts: (1) Rgveda-Samhitā (Rs 5), (2) Sukla-Yazuveda-Vāzasanevī Samhitā (Rs. 2). (3) Sāmaveda-Samhitā (Rs. 3), (4) Atharvaveda-Samhitā (Rs. 3); (5) Kānva-Samhitā (Rs 3) Those who have seen these nice editions of the Vedas can easily vouch for the painstaking editing of these texts and the amazingly cheap prices at which they are placed on the market by the assiduous Pandit whose zest and tenacity in collecting funds for this labour of love has already evoked admiration from scholars and laymen in all parts of India He hopes to bring out shortly a few more volumes such as (1) Maitrāyanī-Samhītā, (2) Kāthaka-Samhītā, (3) Taittirīva-Samhıtā, (4) Sāmagāna (Kauthumī and Rānāyanī), (5) Panppalāda-Samhıtā, (6) Jaiminiya-Samhstā of the Sāmaveda, (7) Sāmagāna (Jaiminiya) and (8) Kabisthala-Sainhttā Such literary projects involve considerable time and expense and require financial support from everyone in an unstinted manner so that Pandit SATAVALLIKAR'S efforts to popularise Aryan culture and thought should be crowned with success. Every library in India worth the name, if not every Hindu of average means, should possess a complete set of these Vedas. If we keep copies in our libraries of the Bible and the Quran with a view to understand the religious background of the Christian and the Muslim thought, there is greater reason for keeping a set of the Vedas among our literary possessions, as possession, though it means nine points in law, means ten points for people of studious minds.

## INDEX

### (VOLUME III)

The Editors gratefully acknowledge the help of Mr M. M. PATKAR, B.A in the preparation of this Index |.

Abherājji, 372, 374, 376 Abhidhamma, 412 Abhidhanacınlamanı. Hemacandia. of 87 n his Mahopadesh-vimsatikā Abhinava, compared with Nirguna-manasa puia 32 ff , his Paramārthasārasamgraha, 32 Abhaseka of Bhāsa, 411 Abul Fazal, 258. Abu, Patel, 126 Abu Zayd Hasan, 318 Acala, 204. Achābā (?) 380 Acāryas, succession list of Jain, 278
Acāji (Aderājji), caused a Jen to be built in Siyāni, 377, killed, 401
Acityasena, of Magadha, 246, 247, flourished during the last days of Harsha, 217, 254, 421. Adıtyavarman, a prince of Sumātrā, 27 is identified with Avalokitesvaia, 27. Advaitaratnakośa of Nysimhäśrama, 71 Advaitaratnakośatnakāśa of Krsnānanda, Afzalkhan, his meeting with Siväji as described in the Sivakavya, 88 Aghā Mirah, pupil of Bihzād, 258 Agrawala, Vāsudeva S - Pūrvācārya Samjñas for Lakāras, 39-40 Ahikarade, wife of Rājadhara, 195, 276. Ahmad Isfahani, 262 Ahmad, Patashah, 202 Ahmadshah (of Delhi), 398. Ahmadshah Abdalı, 264 Ā'īn-ı-Akbarı, 261 Avvar I. V R Aiyar, L Ramaswami, Eighteenth century Malayūļam Prose, 322-337, 387-397, 429-436 Aitareya Āranyaka, 1 n, 2. A-1. Umāvábhi—"Spinne" 129-131 Aihole, inscription of, 248 Ajāji, 205, son of Jām Satrasāla, 205, killed, 205 Ajamkhan, 205, vicerov of Gujrat, 205 Ajanta, 411. Ajitanjaya, 423. Akbar, 203 ——258, inv Delhi, 273 invited *Hiravijayasūri*, to Akherājji, 280, his death, 347, 351, 370 Akımcañña Self-naughting, 1-16, out-lines of the doctrine of, 1-8; its Buddhist formulation, 8ff.

Alādıyā, Mıyā, 126.

Alamkāramañıarī. bv Sudhindratirtha Alamkāranikasa by Sudhindratīrtha, 297-Alberun, 244, identifies the Gupta era with the Valabhi era, 420, 424 Aliyāji, 379, 380; murdered by Hüloji, 380. Almansüra, 420. Alukhān, 124 Aman, 126. Amarakośa, 87 n. Amarana, 346 Amarapuia School or Burma Sangha, Amarasımhajı, 284, 344; built a Deri in honour of Candrasenji, 288; his death, 379, 380, killed, 401, 406. Amaru, 407. Amalananda, a of Kalpaturu, 71 Ambadatta, 23 Amenta wife of Vakta, became a Sati. 20İ. Amıdās, 204 Amreli, inscription of, 404. Amrtadevi, wife of Varasimha, 276. Amsuvarman, mentioned in the inscription of Sivadeva (I), 244, 245, 246, 250, 251, 252, 254 Amula, wife of Gopāla, 338 Ananda, a Brahmachari, built a well at Gopanatha, 353 Anandabodha, 67. Anandānubhava, a of Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī. 65 n. Anandavımalasüri, 278 Ananyānubhava, supposed to be the preceptor of Jñānaghana, 70 Anındra, inscription of, 347-348. Anjalı, taught Tripitakas, 412. Ankor Thom, 313 Anubhavānanda, 71. Anurādhāpur, 412, 413. Aparārka, 36 Appayya Diksita, refers to Tattvaśuddhi in his Siddhantaleśasamgraha. Apte, V M.—Non-Rgvedic Mantras Rubricated in the Asvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtras: Their Sources and interpretasuttas: - Inch Sources and Interpreta-tion, 49-61, 101-110, 144-155, 171-182, 211-222, 235-243 Aquinas, St. Thomas, 1, 3, 6 n 14, 8 n 18

Arisimha Sāngana, 202 Arjuna, of the Zala family, 120.

Arjunadeva, 420.

Arjunasimhu, 380. Arjunadās, 285 Arthaśāstra, 414 Āryarakşıtasūrı, 343. Āsā. 202. Aśādhara, a Jain author, 37, a oi Kovidananda, 37, his works, 37, his date, Āsān. 348 Asakaranji, 284, his death, 342 Asoji, 348. Asoka, 321 Aśvalayana-Grhyasūtra, non-Revedic Mantras Rubricated in 49-61, 101-110. 144-155 , 171-172, 211-222, 235-243 . sources of the mantras in, 49 ff, edition of, 49 ff, is influenced by the Vedic interpretation of texts, 51, int mantras in, 52 if mantras III, 25 II Atavika, equivalent to Alavaka, 35 Athaley, N. V.—Kovidānanda with Kādambini of Ašdidara, 37-39 Atmatativa, 70, 71 Augustine, 1, his De duabis animabis contra Manicheos, 5 n 11 Aurangzeb, 375 Avaradāsa, 398 Avencebrol, his Fons Vilāe, 3 n 5 Āyakhān, 341 Ayāz, The Subā of Saurāstra, 193 В Babar, 258, picture of his durbar, 263-Bab-el-mandeh, straits of, 223 Badi, inscriptions of, 126, 351; date, 122, description, 126, text, 126, a village in the Gogha district, 126
Bagasnā inscription of, 201, a village, 201Bahadur Khanji, Nawab, 407 Bahādurshah, mentioned in the inscription of Velāvdai, 196, 197, 200

Bakhars on Sivaji's life, list of, 93 n Bālakrīdā, a com on Yājñavalkya Smrti, by Visvarūpa, 69 Balaputradeva of Sailendia Dynasty, 27 Bāmanıyāji, death of, 346 Banabhatta, 69 Bandhuvarman, 419 Barabudur, 27 Barada Gōlā, a warrior, his death, 204 Beherājji, his death, 378 Berājā, inscription of, 373 Bernard, St 5 Bernier, his visit to India, 223, arrived at Surat in AD 1655, 223, died in AD 1688, 223 Betty Heimann, 4 n 8 Beyt, inscriptions, 345-346, 347, 349, 381, 402, 408-409 Bhādlı, 284 Bhādród, inscription of, 378. Bhagatabai, her death, 283 Bhagavatidāsa, 338 Bhagvan built a temple, 375 Bhagvantsımhajı, Than, killed, 372.

Bhalsāna, 373. Bhanāvad, inscription of, 376. Bhānji, 346, built a well at Anindara Bhanji Pujaji, died in a fight with the English, 402. Bhārmalu, 275, 340 Bhāroji Framji, made repairs to the well at Vala, 400 Bhāsa, 414, contemporary of Kautilya. Bhāsyadīpikā of Jagannatha, 290; quotes and criticises Tattvaprakāsikā of Raghuttamatirtha, 290 Bhatarka, 424 Bhatta Nārāyana, 414 Bhavabhūti, his date, 68 Bhāvanāvīveka, 68. Bhāvāni, 348
Bhavāni, 348
Bhavāni, 348
Bhavāni, 348
Bhavāni, Sword, of Shivaji, The Great, references to, 81 n, journalistic description of the, 82-83, icference in Chitnis Bakhar, 83-84, reference in Shivadīguijaya, 81-85, the description of the sword, 85, believed to be preserved in the British Museum, 86, contribution to the problem of 81-100. contribution to the problem of, 81-100, descriptions of the, 81 ft, description of the, by Hari Kavi, 95, an earlier historical parallel to the story of, 98 Bhāvasimha, 381 Bhāvasımhajı, 400 Bhāvnagar, inscription of, 375. Bhārāji, 380. Bhedābhedanirāsaprakarana, 68 n Bhīma, son of Līlāde, 120; 122, 195, 276. Bhima, his death, 319.
Bhima II, his inscription formed at Gala, 278
Bhima II, 412, defeated Muhammad Ghori, 413 Bhımıı Zālā, hıs death, 340 Bhoja, 343, Bhojadeva, of Kanauj, 254. Bhojarājji, 340 son of Candrasenn, his death. Bhojarajji, 349, 377 Bhuchar Mori, battle of, 205. Bhujangas, the Royal Officials of Hyam Wuruk, 27, were Brahmanical and Buddhistic, 27. Bhūpatıjı, 341 Bhuvanekavāhu III (1552 AD), brought ruin upon Buddhist religion by Portuguese contact, 21 Bibi Ram, queen of Muzfarshah II of Guzarat, 127 Bihzād, a famous painter of Herat, 258, a contemporary of Babar, 258 Bileshvara, inscription of, 341. Blake, 6 Bodhaghana, guru of Jñānaghana, 62, mentioned as the successors of Viśvarūpācārya in the Śrīvidyāpaddhati, 64 n; followed by Jñanaghana, 66, 71

Bothius, a of Contra Evtychen, 1 n 2;

his De Consol, 3, 4,

Bohme, Jacob, 1, 6 n 12 Bombay and Western India by James Douglas, 85 n, 86 n, 89, description of the Bhavani sword in, 89 Brahmasiddhānta, 245. Brahmasiddhi, 67 n , 69 n. Bihadaianyakopanisad -bhasya-tika bv Raghūttamatīrtha, 293 Brhaddevatā, 309, 310 Brhatsamhītā, 312 n Budhagupta, 419 Buddhaghosa, his activities in Cevlon, 20 his works, 20, raised the position and prestige of the Theravada Church of Ceylon, 20. Buddhā, 10. Buddhism, expansion of, in India and abroad, 17-28, in Korea, 17, in Japan, 17-18, in Ceylon, 18-21, in Stam, 21-23 , in Burma, 23-24 ; in Indio-China, 24-26 , in Javā-Sumātrā-Bali, 26-28 , close association of B and Saivism in Champa, 25
Buddhist Literature, Female education as evidenced in, 411-413 Burma, Buddhism in, 23-24, Buddhism introduced in B in Asoka's time, 23; forms of Buddhism in, 24 Cakravartin, 307-321, notion of, to be traced to Babylon, 311, Buddhist descriptions of the residence of, 311. Calasumanā, 412 Calligraphy, eight systems of, mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl, 258. Campra<sub>1</sub>, 378, Candragupta (Vikramāditya) 249. 219; married a Lichavi princess, 249; visited his lather in-law's dominions, Prabhāvaka Candraprabhasūii, a οſ Canta, 120 Candrasalji, 350 Candrasara, inscription of, 123, date. 123 , description, 123 , text, 123 Candrasena, 315 Candrascopi, a Zālā ruler, 278, 281, his death, 287 Candrasimhaji, of Halvad, 123 Candrasimhiji, 374, 401

Chandrasimhaji, of Ihalla family, 406; caused a lake to be dug, 406 Chandrikā, 290. Cappibat, wife of Rajasimhji, 346 Carpani, E. G. - A Sanskrit Index to the Chandogya Upanisad, 232-234 Caturvedatāt par yasam graha oí Hars datta, 71 Cevlon, adheres to Theravada Buddhism, 18, Buddhism entered C in the reign of Asoka, 19, Buddhaghosa's activity in, 20, political unrest in C in the 8th cen, 20, Portuguese invasion and its effect on the religion in, 21. Chachāji, 348.

Chah Jehan = Shah Jahan, 223 Chāndogya Upaniṣad, A Sanskrit index to the, 232-234. Chandrasa, inscription of, 406-407.

Chanhu Daro, 224.

Channā, 412. Chas Phāya Chakkri, deposed Phāya Tak Sin in 1782 AD and established a new dynasty in Siam, 22

a new dynasty in Statis, --Che eul Yeou King, 318 Chitinis Bakhar, 84 n, composed in AD 1811, 93.

Chitnis, Malhar Ramrao, a of the 'Life of Shivāji The Great (in Marathi), 83, his reference to Bhavāni sword, 83.

Cıtraguptabakhar, 83 n Citsukha, 67 n; 68 Citsukhi, 68, 68 n Contra Evtychen, 1n 2. Convito by Dante, 15

Coomaraswamy, Anand, K Akimcañña Self-Naughting 1-16

Cudasamā Kings, genealogy of the, 117 Culabhāgā, 412.

D

Dadda I, 248 Dadar, inscription of, 279

Dahisara, inscriptions of, 203, 340, a village, 203

Dai, wife of Pata, 193

Damaji Gaikwad, built a Siva temple at Loliyānā, 379, founder of the Gaikwad family of Baroda, 379, 381.

Damodar Gora, built a deri, 297.

Dandkhan, 351 Albert-A-I Ūrnāvābhi—

Debruner, Albert-"Spine", 129-131 Devadāsa, 204

Devakuvarbai, wife of Arjunasımhjı, became a sati. 380

Devānampiya Tissa, 19

Devapūla, 27

Devapatana, 119, 201

Devnî Jādejā, caused a temple to be built, 373

Dhammaruci Ācārya, 19 Dhammika, King of Siam, 21.

Dhanji Pathak, stabbed himself to death, 349

Dhannā, 412

Dhanyavışnu, 422 Dharanasena Srī, date of his death, 195

Dharasena, I, 424

Dharmadāsa, an lācārya, 278, caused a temple of Parsvanath to be built at Gālā, 278

Dharmamūrtisūri, 343

Dharmapāla, guru ot Nālandā. 27

Dhokadvā. 200

Dhrüngdhrā, 119, inscriptions of, 275, 398-399

of. 194-195; Dhräsanavel, inscription a village near Dvārakā, 194.

Dhruvadeva, 246, a Licchavi King of Nepal, 246; succeeded Sivadeva I, 251, 252, 253, 254

Dhrol, inscription of, 204-205, 346 Dhua, inscription of, 341-342, a village,

Dhunāji, Rāval, 281, killed in a fight with the Kathis in 1691 A.D., 281 Dihor, founded by Hamir, 351, inscrip-

tion of, 374-375. Dipacandra, constructed the tank at Candrasar, 123.
Dipavamsa, 18 n, 412.

Diptikā-sanishyā šata-dvādaša, 72 n. Diskalkar, D. B.—Inscriptions of Kathia-wad 111-127, 193-210, 273-288, 338-353, 371-382, 398-410.

Divanji, P. C Ancient Indian History and Research Work, 132-143, 161-170 Dutthagaman, King, spread Buddhism in Burma in the 2nd cen. B.C. 19. Dwarka, 345, 380.

Eckhart, 1, 4, 5, 5 n., 6, 7, 8 n, 13 Escapism, defined, 2 n, 3 Escapism, defined, 2 n, Early Church Art in Northern Europe, 13 n

Fan-Chan, sent an embassy to Mu-lun (Murunda), 423 Fa-Hien, gives account of the trace of Buddhism in Java (about 413 A.D.), Frued, 4 n. 8

Fu-nan, 316, 318 Fyzee, A A A—A Comprehensive Index to the Our'an, 73

Gadhakā, inscriptions of, 339, 349-350 Gad yavalları, Tantra by Nijamataprakāśa, 64, 66

Gajabhrama, son of Ranavira, 120

Gajania Kesarāj, 400 Gajasimha, of Zālāvad, 399, killed, 400 Gajasimhaji, 348, 351, 374, 377 Gal, 1, 2 n, 7

Gālā, inscription of, 278-279, a village,

Galapādar, a village, 277

Ganapatinaga, cannot be identified with Ganesvara, 35, supposed to be the a of Bhāvasataka, 35

Ganesa, an invocation to, in the inscription of Mānkhetrā, 204
Ganesvara, of the Uttara Kāśi Pillar
inscription, 35, cannot be identified
with Ganapati Nāga, 35, throws off
the allegance to Guptas, 36, was the friend of Sakra, 36 Gangādasa, 346. Gangādevi, her description of the Pānd-

yan sword of Kumara Kampana, 98

Garhwā, a fort, 249. Gaudavaho, 68 n.

Ghela Somanatha, inscription of, 401-402. Ghogha, inscription of, 203, a port, 203 Chandra, Jogendra ontice of, 183-185.

Ghose, N. C. The Late Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghose, 183-185.

Gilson, Ins. La Theologic Mystique de

Saint Bernard, 5 n, 10.

Girnar, inscriptions of 116-119, 120-121, dates of the inscriptions, 116, 120; description of the inscriptions, 116-117, 120-121, Texts of the inscriptions, 117-119, 121

Gitābhās valname vadībikā. 292.

Gm-skō or Gm-skhō? Indo-European. 383-385.

Gode, P K - Hari Kavi's contribution to the Problem of the Bhavani sword of Shivaji the Great, 81-100, -when did Bernier arrive in India, 223

Goghā, inscription of, 280

Gopāla, a king of the Pāl dynasty, 252, 254, caused a temple of Mandparaya to be made, 338

Gopālji, Zālā, his death, 286 <u>---340</u>

Gopālsımhji, 374

Gopanatha, inscription of, 353 Gopani, A. S. Female Education as evidenced in Buddhist Literature, 411-413

Gosā, inscription of, 123-124, date, 123, description, 123, text, 124

Govindanatha, a of Sankarācāryacarita, 63, 65, mentions Suresvara, as the disciple of Sankara, 65

Govindji, 352, 374 Gradual sayings, 9 n

Grant Duff His History of the Mara-

thus, 81 n Guha, The Uttara Kāśī Pıllar Inscription of, 34-36, the date of the inscription, 34, language, 31, metres, 35; text of the inscription, 35

Gunaratna, a of SadarSanasamuccayatīkā, 68

Gunavarman, prince of Kashmir, visited Java in 423 AD 26

Gundi, inscription of, 373, a village, 373 Gupta Era, the epoch of the, 419-428, Hārāhā inscription and, 437-440

Guruvam samahākāv ya, by Laksmana Sästrın, 64

Gylfiginning, 4 n

### Ħ

Hādā, 124 Hadıānī Suraja, 201 Hāloji, murdered Aliāji, 380 Halvad, inscription of, 195-196, 287-288, 312, 348-349, 352, 377, 400, a town in Dhrangadhara State, 195; genealogy of Zālā rulers recorded in the inscription of, 195

Hāmapar, inscription of, 199, a village in the Rājasītāpur Mahāl, 199 Hamirji, 348, 374 Hamir, 280 Hamirji, 351, conquered Kukad, 351 Hampar, inscription of, 274-275 a village. Haoma, its two meanings, 29 n Harabhamji, ruler of Limbdi, 379 Haradatta, a of Caturvedatāt paryasamgraha, 71, his date, 72, his Pañcarainamālīkā, 72. Hārāhā. 247 Hārāhā, inscription and Gupta E1a, 347-Harapal, built a temple in Khambad. 122 Harappa, 224 Harbanii, 402 Haribāi, wife of Patā, 193 Haridasa, 280 Harikavi, his contribution to the problem of the Bhavani sword of Shivaji, the Great, 81-100, his works, 94 n. his description of the Bhavani sword, 95 Harisena, 34. Harisimhaji, 402. Harji, 280 Harsacarita, 69 Harsavardhana, of Kanauj, 244, sup-posed to have started an era from about 606 AD. 244, never started an era, 244, 247, 218, 254. Harshadeva of Kamarupa, 252, 254 Harsha Era, Epoch of the, 244 253, used in Mathurā and Kanauj, 244, syn-chromstic table of, with inscriptional dates, 254 Harshagupta, 421 Harshavardhana Sılādıtya, 421 Hāsā, a merchant of Stambha-tīrtha, 112 Hathi Sanga, killed, 400 Hazrat Suleman Khan, 202 Hemā. 412 Hemalji, 378 Hemaraja, Sanghavi, 398 Hermes, 7 Hiba Mālā, 201 Hieun-Tsang, 419 Hien-Yun, 317 Hinduism and Buddhism by Elloit, 17 n, 18 n, 21 n, 23 n, 24 n Hırā, 343. Hirananda Sastri Some jare portraits and Washs, 257-265 Hîravıjayasûri, a Jaın Ācārya, invited

by Akbar to Delhi, 273, his demise,

History, Ancient Indian, and Research

Work pp 132-143, 161-170 History of Buddhism in Ceylon by De

Hiuen Tsang, date of his visit to Nepal,

245, 247, 248, visited Pulakesi's court, 248, 316, 317, visited Magadha in 637

273, 278,

Silva, 18 n, 21 n.

A.C. 421, 424,

Huvin Lun, a Kopran pilgrim, 246 Hyam Wuruk, 27

Ibni-Muqlah, 258. Ibn Wahab, an Arab merchant, 318
Indo-China, Buddhism in, 24-26, earliest
trace of Buddhism in, I. is in the 2nd or 3rd cen AD 24, Form of Buddhism ın, 25 Indo-Persian or Mughal School of Paint-

ing 258 ff, started in the reign of Akbar, 258.

Indravarman, King, 66. Indravarman II, founded the Monastery of Lokeśvara in Indo-China, 25. Iśānavarman, 247, 421

Isa Upanisad, 4 Işlasıddhivivarana, of Jñanottama, 64 Itihāsa Samgraha, 86 n Itimad Khan Ahodi, 202

I-Tsing, 24, 25; visited Sumatra in the 7th cen, 26.

Jadejā Sāngāji, Vajir of Ranmalji, 406 Jadeśvara, inscription of, 403-404. Jagaddeva Pratiĥara, 413-414 Jagamabhāratī, 378

Tagannäthatīrtha. of Bhāsvadītnkā. 290.

Jagīsā, a village, 191 Jāhala, 343, Jaisimha Siddharāja, 278, tion found at Gālā, 278 his inscrip-

Jāmanagar, inscriptions of, 277-278, 343-Jami, a celebrated poet of Persia, 261,

portrait of, and 262. Jamns, wife of Jasa, became sati, 402

Janajı, 346 Jangaleśa, 414

Japan, received the doctrine of Buddha from China, 17, Buddhism in J. had always an intimate connection with social, political and military matters, 18

Japanese Buddhists, twelve sects of 18. Jasā Ladaka, minister of Ajajı, 205, killed, 205

Jasavantasımha, son of Gajasımha, 399. Jasavantsımhaji, son of Satruśalyaji, 277. Jasavantsımhji, 352 kılled, 377 Jasdan, 402

lātakamālā, regards a Bodhisatīva as dīksata. 13 n

Java-Sumatra-Bah, Buddhism in, 26-28 Jayabhata I, 248

-III, 247, inscription of 247. Jayadeva, of Nepal, 248, Nepala inscription of, 250, 252; II, 254

Jayantabhatta, 67

Jayarāma Kavı, his Rādhāmādhavavilāsa, 83 n., a senior contemporary of Hari Kavi, 97. Jayaśańkara, 407. Jayasimha, 117. Jayasımhan of Viaghela family, 101. Jedhe Kareena, Eng Tr of. 87 n. Jedhe Śakāvali, 86, 87 Jegadvā (inscription of), 119-120, description, 119-120, 121, dates, 119, 121, texts, 120, 121. Jehangir, 278 Jesā , 351. Jethiji, killed in a battle, 376 Jhinjuvādā, inscriptions of 342, 343, 351-Jivaka, studied with Prasenajit, 411, was a son of a Courtezan, 411 n livasambodhanas, 319, its date of composition, 319, contains an account of Sagara and his imperial attributes, 320 Jivibai, wife of Karanji, 352 Jīvitagupta, 421. Iñānaghana Pūjyapāda, 62-72, was a disciple of Bhogaghanacarya, 62, a of (13th Tattvaśuddhi, 62, his date cen), 62 n his date (900 AD), 67, refers to the view of Surcsyara, 67. regarded as a contemporary of Ananya-nubhava, 70, 71, distinguished from the author of Calurvedatālparvasam-grahadīpikā, 72 Jisnugupta, 246, 252, 253, 254 Jitā, 195, 276 Jitāde, wife of Jitā, 995 Jitamāla, of Sōlanki family, 199 Jivanu, 351. Jñanottama, a of Istasiddhivivarana, 65 Jodhāji, 348 John, 4, 4 n, 6, 11, 13 n, 14 n, 15 Junagadh, inscription of, 113-116, date of the inscription, 113, description of the inscription, 113-114, text of the inscription, 114-116 Jinapāla, a of Kharalāguccha Pattāvali, 414 Jinasena, 422 Kācā Parvata, of Bagasrā, 201

Kadamba, Rāma, Krsna a scribe who copied Kovidānanda, 37
Kādambini, a com on Kayidānanda, Ms of, 37, works cited in, 37 Kaláji, 375 Kalambekar, Babāji Appāji, 381 Kālāvad, inscription of, 285-286 Kälävad, 341 Kālı, 412 Kālīdāsa, 414 Kalkīrāja, 422, 423 Kālodaka, 318 Kalpataru of Amalananda, 71 Kalyana, 276 Kalyānade, wife of Rāniga, 195, caused a well to be dug up in Halvad, 195 Kalyāna Keśava, Sanghavi, 399. Kalyānamalla, 284, 285. Kalyānji Visā, 280

Kalvānarai, 203 Kalvānasāgarasūrī, 343. Kalyāna Seth, 375 Kambhālia, inscription of, 371 Kamparāyacarīta of Gangādevī, 98 n Kanakabai, 283 Kanga, Ervad Manek F -- Yesha IIA XI -- Höm Yast 29-31. K'ang T'ai, an ambassador, 316, 317 318 Kānoji, Gopal, his death, 373, a den built in his honour, 373 Karama, 316 Karamāde, wite of Sadāsiya Thākur, 279 Karana-imhaji, 572 Karanji, 352 Karmaraj, prime miesiter of Rethesimha. 197 Kaimaikar A P. The Panis in the Reveda, 221. Karnaji, Jani Sii, or Dahisaia, 203 Kasamkhan, Vaan, 280 Kasmradayi, 276 Kasapa Thera, compilation of sub-commentaries of Buddlust text took place under the guidence of, 20 Kāśvapasamhītā, 312 n Kathālaksana 293 Kathāsant Sāgara, 319. Kathiawad, in criptions of, 111-127, 193-210, 273-288, 338-353, 371-382, 398-409, List of the incriptions of, 409-410. Kāthi Suma (?), his death, 341 Kausītaki Upanisad, 9 n Kautīlya, 307, 414 Kāyāji, 379, 380 Ken Atok, 27 Kesod, 407 Katre, Sadashiv, L.—Reference to Nasir Shah Khalji in a contemporary Ms. 191-192 Keśavācārva, 296 Khāmbhad (inscription of), date, 122,

description, 122, text 122 Kambhalia, inscription of, 352 Khangaru, Maharao, 408

Kharataragaccha Pattāvali of Dinapāla, 414 records some putormation about Pratibara Jacaddeva, 414 Khare, G. H. Di. Saletore and the

autherticity of Mudhol Farmans, 186-190

Khūrvī, inscription of, 346 Khengārji, 378, burned to death, 378 Khetāji, 348

Khodu--inscription of, 125, date, 125, description, 125, text 125 Kīkī, daughter of Vyāsarāja,

married to Mātā, 193

Khevaja Abdul Dāwud, a Painter, 258 Kirtikaumudi, of Someśvara, 413, a panegyric of Västupāla, 413, enuogises Pratihāra, 413

Kīrtīvarman, 420 Kıttisiri Rajasiha, 21

Kodidarā, inscription of, 201; a village, Kondha, inscription village, 275 of. 275-277 .

Koria, Buddhism first entered Japan through, 17, Buddhism entered Japan through, 17, Buddhism entered K in the 1st half of 4th cen. A D 17, main-tained friendly intercourse with T'ang Dynasty in China, 17; Merchants and Missionaries visited K from India and Tibet, 17

Kosambi, D. D.-A Note on Two Hoards of Punch-marked coins found Taxila, 156-159

Kovidānanda, with Kādambinī of Āṣādhara, 37-39, description of the Ms of, 37.

Krısnadāsa, caused a temple of Laksmīnārāyana to be built in Dhuā, 341.

Krishnagupta, 421 Krishnamuithi Sarma, В N --- Post Vyāsarāya commentators, 289-298.

Krsnānanda, a ol Saddhāntasiddhāñ-juna, 71 , a ol Advaitaralnakošapra-kāśa, 71 Krsnapandita, the guru of Sambhaji,

96; identified with Kavi Kalasha or Kabii, 96 n

Kretanagara, 27 Ksemā, a nun, 412.

Ksemendra, 414 Kuā, inscription of, 286, 340 Kūkī, wife of Haridāsa, 280.

Kulkarni, Bhagvant Dada, 381 Kumāradevī, queen of Candragupta I. 249.

Kumaragupta, 419, 420, fought with Kanavaiman, 421, 424 Kumāragupta III, 247

Kumāra Kampana, son of Bukka I, 98 his expedition against the King of Turuskas at Madhura, 98

Kumārapāla, 414 Kumārapāla, 420

 - his inscription forms at Galla, 278 Kumarīla, 68 Kumbha, 318

Kumbharaja, 197 Kuntalakeśä, 412

Kuntipura, identified with Kuttivana, 122

Kureśa, 72

Kuresavijava, is a refutation of Haradatta's Pañcaratnamālikā 72 Kutıyana, inscription of, 122, date, 122,

description, 122 text, 122
Kutubuddin, Sultan, 119, invited to
invade Navanagar, 316

Kuva, 121, inscription of, 126-127, date,

126, description, 126-127, text, 127. Kuvarbā, Kuśala, 401.

Lāchu, mother of Bhānji, 348. Ladbai, a Brahman woman, became a sati, 352.

Lakāras, Pūrvacārya Samjñas for, 39-40. Lakhadhır, 124. Lākh. 373.

Lakhajı, 285, 286, 340, 343, death of, 348; 372; ruled at Nawanagar, 372, built the fort of Raval, 372, 373.

----Gohel, 399. Lakhmanji, 348,

Laksmanasästrin. а Guruvamśamahākāvya, 64.

Laliade, wife of Ranamal, 195. Lalima, wife of Pata, 193

Lähtadıtya, of Kashmır, defeated Yasovarman of Kanauj, 252 . 254

Lalitavistara, Characteristics of a mahā-puruśa in, 313

Latā, 412, taught Vinayapītaka to monks and nuns, 412

Lāthi, inscriptions of, 398, 399 Lāvanyasamaya, composer of the Praśasti in the inscription of Satruniava hill.

Law, Bimal Churn, Expansion of Buddhism in India and Abroad, 17-28. Libada Goiā, 345

Lilade, queen of Ranaviia, 120, 195. Limbdi, inscriptions of, 378, 379, 401, 402-403.

Loliyāṇā, inscription of, 379 Luke, 5, 6, 7

### M

MacIver, Mr. David, 6 n 12. Mādhavagupta, 246, contemporary of Harshavaidhana, 247, 254 Mādhavapura, inscription of, 405-406. Mādhav Prāgji, 408 Madhumatī, a town in Vālāka, 112, Māgha, 414. Mahābhārata, 36 Mahābodhi, 247 Mahāmalık Ayajavallı, 199. Mahāmalık Pır Muhammad, 126 Mahammad, Patashah, 123, identified

with Sultan Mahmud Begadā, 123; 124, 197, 201. Mahapadanasutta, 314, 315. Mahāpurusa, Characteristics of a. 311.

Mahāruhā, 412 Mahātissā, 412

Mahāvamsa, 18 n, 321. Mahāvamsa commentary, 18 n. Mahāsumanā, 412.

Mahāvagga, 411 n. Mahāvīra, 343. Mahendrāyudha, 420

Mihirakula, defeated by Baladitya, 419 Mohenjo Daro, 224

Mahideva, 250, 254

Mahīpāla, son of Navaghana, 116. Mahmud II, not mentioned in the ins-cription of Satruñjaya, 197. Mahmud Begadā, 123.

Mahopadesavımsatıka of Abhınava and Nırguna mānasa-pūjā, compared, 32 ff. Mahuvā, inscriptions of, 111-113, 382.

Maitrāyani Upanisad, 309,

Majhādkhan, identified to be Mujāhīd Khān Bhikan, 197. Makundji, 351. Malavālam Lalayalam prose, Eighteenth-century, by Christians, 322-337, 387-397, 429-436, Introduction, 322-326, Peanius Transiteration, 326-328, palaeography, 328-330; Phonetics, 330-335, Phono-logy, 335-337; Consonants, 387-388, Sandhi, 388, foreign names, 388-389, morphology, 389-391, vocabulary, 391-397, Indo-Aryan Elements, 429-433, Syntax 433,436 prose. Eighteenth-century, Syntax 433-436. Malia, inscription of, 350. Malık Agadh, 202 —Ain Havālı, 202 ----Ajijalauddin, 200 ——Asad, Sultan, ——Mubārak, 119 119 ——Muhammad, 119 —Nasrat Phal, 202. Malkāpuram Inscription, (of Saka 1183), Mānadeva, 250, II, 252, II, 253, I, 254, Mānasımha, 195, 196, 199, 406 Mandalıka, King, son of Mahîpāla of the Yādava dynasty, 114, 117, 121 angrol, 204, inscription of, 339-340. 121. Mangrol, 204, inscrit Mānji, 284, 287, 373 Mānikyacandra, a of Santināthacarita, 414. Mankā Meheta, 126. Mānkhetrā, inscription of, 204; a village, Mānsimhji, father of Raisimhji, 341. Mantra, connotation of the term, 49. Manur, a village, 289. Mark, 7. Mata, son of Seva, 193. Māthak, inscription of, 283-284 Mathnawi, 4, 8 Mātrīvishnu, 422 Māvāna, inscription of, 350-351. Medapäta, 197. Meghä, 273 Megharājji, 377. Meghavarna, 423 Meheramana, 276 Meheta Rangvala, 202 Melagadeva, 114, 116 Mihirakula, 247, 422 Minalade, wife of Satrusalya, 195, 296 Mindon-Min, brought a triumph for the orthodox Buddhist Church in Burma, 24. Mır Abdul Halım, 202 Mir Hazbar, 202. 32-46, 186-192, Miscellanea, 223-224. 411-414. 437-440

Modhera Hājadı, caused a masjid to be

Mokala, dug a well in Madumati, 112

made at Sarā, 127. Mokoji, 341.

Mokalasimha, 117 Mongkut, King of Siam, 23. Monguji, 348, Mookerjee, Dhilendra Nath,-The Epoch of the so-called Harsha Era, 244-254 the Hārāhā inscription and the Gupta Era, 437-440. Morvi, inscription of, 379-380 Mudhol Farmans, authenticity of, reply to Dr Saletore, pp. 186-190 Muhammad Ghorr, defeated by Bhīma II. 413 Muhammad Hussain, a Calligraphist of Akbar's time, 258 Muhammad Shah, 264. - 381. -Kajı, 280, Muhuta, 276 Muktāpida Lalitāditya of Kashmir, 67. Mukutarām, 407 Mūlaraj II, 413 Müli, inscriptions of, 338-339, 349, a state in Zālāvad, 338. Munjāl, caused a well to be dug up in Gosā, 123 Munjā, 343 Muziar, Bādashah, 126, identified with Muzaiar II of Gujrat, 127, 197 N Nāga, 126 Nagara Soman tha, 193, composed the prasasti of the inscription of Uma. 193 Nagas, the worshippers of Naga, 224 Nagichana, inscriptions of, 200, 375, a village, 200 Natskarmvasiddhi, 65 Nākubai, wife of Jasawantasimhaji, 277, made a grant of four parajas (?) of land, 277 Nalanda, a Cola Prince, 27 Nālandā, 411, 412, 413 Nāmbā Zāli, 408 Nanduttarā, 412. Nāranji, 348, 373 Narapala, a merchant of Madhumati, 112, was a minister of King Rama, 112, 343 Narasimha Bharati, a pontiff of Srigen Mutt, 62 Narasımha Gupta, 419 Narasımhagupta Bālādıtya, 247, 419 Narasımhaka, prime minister of Bahadurshah, 197 Narasımhavara, 193 Narendradeva, 246 received a Chinese envoy in AD 646, 246, 250, 251, 253, 254 Nārāyandāsa, 284, 285 Nasır Shah Khıljı, references to, in a contemporary Ms of Visnupurāna, 191.

Navaghana, son of Mandalika, 116

Nepāla, eras in early, 250. Nepāla Vamśāvalī, 250.

ed at, 27 Nensı, 343.

Navānagar, 372 Nāyān, 376 Negapatam, a Buddhist temple constructNicholas, of Cusa, his De Docta Igno-rantia 3 n 4, n.

Nicholson, 8 n

Nıjamataprakāša, a of Gadyavallan 64, identified with Piakašānanda, 64 n. Nirgunamānasa-pūja, of Šankarācārya, compared with Mahopadeśa-vimśatika.

32 ff , its various titles, 32 Nilakantha Sastri, K A – C A -Caktavartin 307-321

Nīnāde, wife of Vāgha, 195. Nrsimhāsrama, a of Advaitaratnakoša.

Nyāyamañjarī, 67 n

Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī of Anandānubhava. היי מייניים היייטיים מוניים היייטיים היייטיים היייטיים היייטיים היייטיים היייטיים היייטיים היייטיים היייטיים ה היייטיים היייטים הייטים הייטים הייטים הייטים הייטים ה

Nyāyaratnasambandhadīpikā of Raghūttamatīrtha, 290-91

Nyāyasudhātippanı, 295 Nyavavivarana, 290.

Nyāvavīvaranatīkā, by Raghūttamatīrtha.

Pada, inscription of, 200, a village, 200. Pālha, 112 Pali Literature in Buima, by Bode, 23 n

Pañcaratnamālikā, of Haradatta, 72 Pañcarātra, of Bhāsa, 414

Pāndurānga, 25

Panis, in the Rgveda, 224, identified with the Naga tribe, 224; inimical towards Vedic Aryans, 224; referred to only in the Vedic Interature, 224; termed as Raksasas in the Varaha purana, 224; their location, 224, worshippers of Ahi-Vrtra, 224.

Paradiso, 5

Parākramavāhu, revived Buddhism in Ceylon, 20; got prepared a Code for the regulations of the Bhikkhus, 20. Paramarthasara of Adidesa, 355-370, Parbat Sutar, his death, 349

Paroat Sutar, ins death, 545 Pariksa Phakā ahas Pariksa Ramji, 204 Pamālaparvatagrahanākhyāna, by Jaya-rāma Kavi, 86 n. its date, 87 n.

Pārthavijaya by Prahlādana, 414 Pārvatī, wife of Monguji, 348

Pasnāvdā, (inscription of), 119, descrip-tion of, 119, date, 119 text, 119 Patā, 193, caused a well to be dug at

Unā, 193.

Pātaliputra, 311 n

Pātdī, inscription of, 381-382

Fatth, inscription of, 381-382 Personality, what is 1-2 Pfeaffer, 5 n, 7, 8 n, Phalip, 373. Phaya Tak Sin, deposed in 1782, 22. Phulip, 371 Pilajn, 381,

Piplia, a village, 402.

Pithia Anasa, his death, 200. Pomasiha, 121

Potbai, wife of Asan, 348. Prabhākaravardhana, 69.

Prāgji, 275.

Prāgmalti, 350. Prāgvāta family, genealogy of, 204. Prahlādana, a of *Pārthavnaya*, 414.

Prakāśānanda, a of Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī, identified with Nijātma-

prakāśa, 64 n

Prakāśātman, 69, 70, 71 Pramānapaddhati of Jayatīrtha, 290. Pramānapaddhatīv yākhyā, bv Bhiksu, 293.

Prānavatībai, wise of Saitānji, became a satı, 284 Prapañcha, 27

Prasenajit, King of Kosala, received instruction with Jivaka, 411, 412. Pratāpamalla Rāstrakūta, 413.

Pratāpasımhu, killed ın a fight, 376.

Pratihāra Bhojadeva, 245 Prātimānātaka, 13

Pratyabhijñā, and Advaita, 32-34.

Pratyagrūpabhagavān, Commentator of Citsukhi, 67 n Premji, 280.

Prīmalade, wife of Bhīma, 195, 276 Prthvirāja, 414

-Chāhāmaṇa, 413 neglected by n Chronicles, 413 prime-minister Jain Chronicles, of Bhīma II, 413 Prthvirajji, 284, 401 Pulaķešī II, 248, 254, 421.

Punch-marked coins, found at Taxila, A note on the two hoards of, 156-159 at Taxila. Punyaślokamañjari, 65

Purgatorio of Dante, 13 n.

Pürnavarman, 421

Purusottama, a. of Sıvakāvya, born in A.D. 1766, 87 n, ded in AD 1856, 87 n Purushottama Sarasvatī, Swāmi, caused a temple of Brahmā to be built, 405 Pusalkar, A D Signed Arrows, 414.

Radhākrishnan, E P.—Jñānaghana Pūj-

yapāda, 62-72 Rādhāmādhavavilāsa by Javarāma Kavi, 83 n, 96

Raghavan, V. Pratyabhıjñā and Advaita, 32-34

Räghavedraswämi, disciple of Sudhindratirtha, 296.

Rüghavendravijaya of Nüräyana, 296 Rähabhji, his death, 339. Raghurātha Nāyaka, pationised Sudhin-

dratīrtha, 298. Raghūttama Tirtha, 289-92 , an honoured saint of Madhva Calendar, 289, a contemporary of Vijayındra and Vadirāja, 289, his works, 290-292.

Raisimhji, 284, 287, 341. Rājadhara, 195, 276 Rājamalla, 197.

Rājası, 343. Rājasimhaji, his death, 346; 371, 372. Rajasithapur, inscription of, 344-345; a town, 406. Rājoji, 344.

Rāma, grandson of Narapāla, 112,

Ramābai, of Guhila family, 120, m. to Raṇavīra, 119, caused a well to be built, 120, her sons, 120

Rāmācarya, a disciple of Raghūttama-tīrtha, 290.

Rāmadāsa, son of Ramābai and Ranavira, 120

Rāmadeva, 112

Rāmaji, usurped Sāiangaji's gādī, 112. Rămappa, brother of Yadupatı Acarya,

Rāmānuja, 72

Rāmeśvara-pandita, a copyist, 191 Rampura-Inscription of, 124-125, date 124, description, 124, text, 124-125 Ramiji, a Paramana King, 338. Ränakade of the Zala family, 126 Ranamala, 195.

Ranamalji, death of, 346

Rānibai, caused a well to be made in Sūrvapura, 124.

Ranigade, 276 Ranjit Singh, 264

Ranmaljı, 285. Ranmaljı, 285; kılled in a battle, 375 Ranmallajı, 276, 406 Ranavira, Rāna of the Zālā family, 120, 195, 276

Rāniga, 195, 276

Rātbā, a village in Wadwan state, 124 Ratnā, engraver, 193, 346

Ratanji, 283

Ratnasimha, 197

Rau, Visvesvara, Outline of a scheme for an Indian Academy of Art and Letters, 74-75.

Ravāji, 350 Rāval, Jam, 373 Raval, inscription of, 372-373

Ravibai, wife of Kācā Parvata, 201

Ravidasa, 204 350.

Rāyadhanji, 350 Rengkarnedi, a sthaviia, 28

Renou, Louis, Sur Les Infinitifs Vediques En-Ase, 225-231,—Juxtaposition et composition Dans le Rgveda, 266-272 Revati, 412

murdered by

### Reviews:

The Silappadikāram or The Lav of the Anklet, by V R Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, review by S M K, 47

Calendar of Persian Correspondence, review by G S SARDESAI, 47-48

Annual Report of the Mysore Archeological Department for the year 1937, University of Madras, review by P K G, 76-77

Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Commemora-tion Volume, Pub Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association etc., review by P K G, 77-78
Bhāskarī (Vol I). A commentary on

the Iśvara-Pratyabhijñāvimarśini of Abhinavagupta, Edited by K A Subramania IYER and Dr. K C PANDEY, review by P. K. G., 78-79. Malwa in Transition, or A century of Malina in Transition, of a century of Anaichy, The First phase (1698-1765) by Dr. Raghubin Singh, review by P. K. G., 79-80

The Successors of the Salavahanas (in lower Decean) by Dinesh Chandra Sincar, review by P. K. G., 80

The Early History of Bengal, (From

the earliest times to the Muslim conquest, Vol. I by Prof Pranade Lal Paul, review by P K Gode, 255-

Kamsavahö of Rāmapānivāda, Edited by Dr A N Upadive, review by K Goda Varma, 305-303

Tāzak-i-Wālājāhi of Burhān Ibn Hasan, Translated into English by Dr S Muhammad Husayn Nainar,

review by P K Gode 115-416

Citracampii by M M Binesvara
Vidyalamkara Bhattacarya, review

by P. K. Gode, 416-417 Kāyātaram edited by Rao Saheb S Varyapun Pillal, review by C R.

SANKARAN, 417-118

History of Rajputana (in Hindi) Vol. I by Jaedish Smeh GAHLOI , review by M V KIBE, 411

Sources of Kanadaka History, Vol I Edited by Prof S Sukanth Sastri, review by A. N. Upadius, 142-143

Upanisad-vākya-Mahākoʻa (or a con-cordance of 223 Upanisads, Vol. I, by Gajanan Shambhu Sadhale SASTRI, review by P K GODE, 443-4 Some Sayings of the Buddha (according to the Pali canon), translated by F. L. WOODWARD, review by P. K. GODE, 414

Rgveda 4, 1 n

Rgveda, Justaposition et composition dans le. 266-272

Rise of the Maratha Power, by Justice M G Ranade, 86 Ross, Demson, Sir, obiting notice of,

256 Rūdībai, a satī, 340

Rūpabhārati, 378

Rūpakuvar, mother of Adāji, 377 Rūpālibā, mother of Vikramātji, 405, repaired the temple of Mādhavarāi, 405.

Sabalasımhıı, 351, 380 Sabhāsad Bakhar, 81 n, 84 n, 86 , date of, 91

Sabhasad, Krishnaji, Anant, 83 n Sādalji, 348

Sadāshiv, son of Thākur Khīmā, 279 Sadbhāvaśambhu, 36, founded the Golaki-matha in Dāhala, 36

Saddarsanasamuccayatikā of Gunaratna, 68

Sagara, as described in Jīvasambodhanai, a Jain Tamil work, 320-321.

Sahasakarana, 121. Sakrāditya, identified with Kumāragupta I. 36. Saktısvāmın, 67. Sākva Nāgasena, an ambassador in the Court of China in 484 A.D., 25. Salavati, a courtesan and mother of Jivaka, 411 n Salim Shah, 279, 339. Samanta, a Buddhist, 25 Samarā, 343 Sambhurājacarita, by Hari Kavi, composed in AD 1685, 94, 95 n, was composed by the order of Kṛṣṇapandita, 96 Samudra Gupta, 35, 249. Sandhyākara Nandin, his Ramacanta. 35; mentions Kotatavi, 35. Sangara, son of Mahipaladeva, 116 Samgrāmasımha, 197 Sangrāmasımhı, his death, 374, 376 Sangrāmji, 347. Sankara (of Srngeri Mutt), his predecessors, 63, date of his demise, 64, 66. Sankarācārya, his Nirgunamānasa-pūjā, compared with Mahopadeśavimsatikā, 32 ff. Sankarācā yacarita by Govindanātha, 63, Sankar, K G The Epoch of the Gupta Era, 419-428 Sankaran, C R --- Tocharian and the invalidity of the Satem-centum Hypothesis forming a parallel to the Hitite and the Rathas-Patis hypothesis, 40-Sankşepaśārīraka, of Sarvajñātman, 69. Sāntināthacarita of Mānikyacandia, mentions, Pratihāra, 414. Sañyuttanıkāya, 412. Sapādalaksa, 414 Saptaratna, of a Cakravartin, 310; mark the preeminence of the emperor, 311 Sarā—inscription of, 127 description, 127, text, 127 date, 127, Sāranātha, 411. Sārangde, Baghela, 195 Sarangaji, son of Kanoji, 112, 351 Sarankara, a Sāmaner, 21. Sarbhoji, of Tanjore, 414 Saring, 204 Sārīputta, 412 Sārngadharapaddhatı, 261 Sartānji, Rānā, 284 , his death, 284 Sarvajñātman, a of Samksepaśārīraka, Sāsanavamsa (ed. by Bode), 23 n Šasanka, 421. Satāji, 375 Satara, 381 Satrasālji, 374 Satrasālaji, of Kuvā, 121 Satruñjaya hill, inscriptions of, 197-199, 205-210

Satruñjaya, inscriptions of, 274, 281-283,

Satruñjayamāhātmya of Dhanañjaya, 424,

its date, 424

Sātruśalva, 195, 276, 279, Satruśalyaji, 351. Sayallā, 412 Sekhapāt, inscriptions of, 346-347, 408 Seśamalji, 372, 374, 376 Savā, son of Narasimhavara, 193 Shaker Furniture, 14 n. Shah Shuja'ā, his portrait and its des-cription, 264 -Jahan, 338, 344 Shams-1-Tabrīzi, 10 n Sharma, Dasaratha, Jagaddeva Prati-hāra, a forgotten Hero, 413-414 Sherkhan, 200 Shimara, inscription of, 111, description of the inscription of, 111, a village near Ajār, 111, date of the inscription ol, 111. Shimroli, inscription of, 407-408 Shurāji, built a well, 400 Shivarāja, Dosi, 126 Siam, Buddhism of S. belongs to Theravada school, 21, date when Buddhism entered in, 22, the form of Buddhism ın, 22. Siddhäntalesasamgraha of Appayya Diksita, 62, 67 Siddhāntaśekhara of Sripati, 426. Siddhāntasıddhānjana of Kṛṣnānanda, 71 Siddharaja Jayasimha, built the Brahmakunda at Sihore, 405 Signed arrows, 414. Sihala Sangha, introduced in Burma in 1181-1882, AD Sihore, inscription of, 405 Sikandar, a Mewad King, not mentioned in the Satruñjaya-hill, inscription, 197 Sircar, Dinesh Chandra Vāmadeva-Padānudhyāta, 36-37. Sisupāla, 423. Siva Bharata, 86, 87, 89, date of, 92, 93. Siva Chhatiapati, by Dr. Surendranath Siva Chinarapan, by Dr. Strendranath Sen, 84 n, 85 n. Sivadeva (I), 244, 251, 254 Sivadeva (II), 246, 247, 250, 251, 254. Sivadiguyaya Bakhar, 81 n, reference to Bhavlin Sword in, 84-85; 84 n, 85, Śivakāvya, by Pursottama 87, its date, Sivasoma, predecessor of King Indraverman, studied the sastras from Sankara, 66 Sıvalā, 412. Sivāni, inscription of, 377-378 Skandagupta, 419, 424. Ślokavārtika, 68. Smrtuandrikā, 36 Somji, 280 Somesvara, a. of Kirtikaumudi, 413 Sonā, 412. Sorath, 197. Soul distinct from spirit, 5 n; used in many senses in European tradition, 5 n.

Souls, man has two, 5 Srī-Bhānu, a Cātāmlāna chief, 191.

Srī-Jogadeva, father of Śrī-Bhānu, 191.

Śrīkantha Sāstri, S. The Uttara Kāsī Pillar Inscription of Guha, 34-36. Sri-Rājapura, 191. Srīsimhaji, Gohel, 398. Srīvidyāpaddhati, mentions Bodhaghana as successor of Visvarūpācārya, 64 n Srngagirīguruparamparā, gives a list of pontifis of the Srngen mutt. 62, 61, Stambha-tirtha, 114 Subhadrāparinava by Sudhindratīrtha. Sudharmasvāmī, 278 296-298 Sudhindratīrtha, 296-298, disciple of Vijayindratīrtha, 296; his date, 296, his works, 297-298, honoured by Venkatarāya of Vijayanagar, 296, patronised by Raghunath Nayaka of Tanjore, 296; his death, 296 Sukkā, 412 Sumantindra, successor of Sudhindratirtha. 297, wrote a com on the Alamkāra-māñjarī of Sudhīndra, 297 Summa Theologica, 8n. 9n. Sumdhārā, 246.
Sūradāsa Rānā, son of Devā, 125, his death, 125
Surāji, 286, 340
Surat, visited by Barmer, 223 Sureśvarācārya, 65, Sankara's disciple, 65; identified with Visvarupa, 65. Sürjavarman I, 26. Sūrsimhji, his death, 351. Suryanarayana Sastii, S. S.—Paiamārthasāra of Ādıdeśa, 355-370

Svarnadipa, by Majumdar, 26 n. Swazenski, H 13

Survavarman, 247. Sutrāpādā, 119

Tabārı, 1 Taittiriya Upanisad 4 n, 15 Tajkhan, 126. Taimūr Shāh, 264 Talājā, 374 Tamacı, 371, 372. Tao-Sivan, assistant of Hiuen-Tsang, 317. Taranetar, inscription of, 403 Tārikh-i-Shivan, 84 n Tarkatāndavaļikā by Sūdhindratīrtha, 297 Tattvadvota-pañcikā-tippana by Vedeśa Bhiksu, 292-293 Tattvaprakāsikā, by Raghūttama, 290, quoted and criticised by Jagannathatīrtha, 290, quotes Nyāyavīvarana, Tattvasamkhyānatīppani, 295 Tattvaśuddhi, referred to by Appayya Dīksīta, 63, composed by Jīnānaghana, 62, list of pontiffs of Singeri in, 62examination of the list, 64 ff, order of acaryas given in, 65, 67, 69, based on Atmatattva, 70, 71, 72
Tattvodyotatippani, 295.

VOL. Tauler, 5. Taxila, 411, 412 Tejapāla, 413 Tejasi, 343 inscriptions of, 371-372, Thān. 376-377 Therigāthā, composed by nuns, 412 The Raigath Life, Eng translation of Tocharian, and satem-centum hypothesis. parallelism to 10-45, does not differentiate between the primitive Indo-European palatals and labio-yelars, 42, Toramāna, 422 Turvasus, and Yadus, the first immi-grants of India, 224. 1) Uālı, 412 Udā, 313. Udakarana, 381 Udāna, 14 n Udayadeva, of Nepal, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, 246, succeeded Dhruvadeva, 251 , 252, 253, 254 Udayasımla, 276 Uddhavadāsa, 280 Umābai, caused a temple of Mahādeva to be built at Hāmpai, 274 Umrālā, 373. Umveka, 68: 18 regarded to be the same as Bhavabhūti, 68; a disciple of Kumārīla, 68, discovery of his commentary on Slokavārtika, 68 Unā, a town in Junāgadh State, 193; inscriptions of, 193 194, 273-274, deities mentioned in the inscription of, 193.

Vācaspatīmišra, 67 Vachāni Virji, slain, 350. Vādel, Rānā of Aramdā, 102 Vadvā, a village, 375 Vägha, 195, 276. Vaghada, 400 Vāghada, 400 Vāghalji, 348 Vāghelā Vūktā, son of Hībā Mālā, 201, his death, 201 Vāghji, Rānā, 124, identified with the Zālā ruler of Kuvā, 124, 373 Vajerājji, 372, 374, 376 Vakhatsimhji, 382 Vakhatsımhajı, of Bhūvanagar, 402, visited the temple of Somanūtha at Ghela Somanatha, 402 Vāja, son of Ranā Sūradāsa, 125 Vajraichedika Sūlra, 8 n.

Uttara, 412

Valā, inscription of, 400. Valabhi destroyed by Turuskas, 420 Vālāka, 112 Valiabha, King of Valabhī, 420. Välmika, 414 Valvā, 196.

Vasur Khacar, ruler of Jasdan, 402

Vamasambhu, 36; identified with Vāmadeva, 36, Prof. Mirashi's suggestion examined, 36. Vänkäner, inscription of, 284-285 Vankaner, 350, 403. Vansteenberghe, 3 n. Varadarājācārya, supposed to be a teacher of Raghuttamatirtha, 289. Varāhapurāna, regards Paņis as Rūksasas, 224 Varasımhadeva, 121, 276 Varajang Patel, 126 Varma, Siddheswar, Indo-European Gmskō, or Gm-skhō ? 383-385. Variej, inscription of, 281. Vasaji, 352, killed in a battle, 352 Vāsanga, 200 Vlasani a brahmin, caused a temple to be built, 285. Vasantadeva, 250, 251, 254. Vastupāla, 413 Vatsādevī, 254. Vattagāmanı, King, introduced important changes in Buddhist religion in the 1st cen BC 19. Vavānia, 203 Vāyupurāna, passage on Cakravartin in, 307-308, 309, 312. Vedānga Jyotisa, 426 Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī, by Prākāšānanda, 64 n. Vedeśa Bhikṣu, 292-293, his works, 292-93, a disciple of Raghūttama and Vedavyāsatīrtha, 292. Vejā, 280 Vejānanda, 375 Velāvdar, inscription of, 196, a village m Wadhwan state, 196 Velhāde, wife of Setha Vinā, 121, caused a well to be made in Sūryapura, 124 Vendidad, 31 n Venkatapatırāya, Kıng of Vıjayanagar, 296, honoured Sudhindratīrtha, 296 Verāji, killed, 401 Vhālibai, became a sati, 283 Vibhā, 373 Vibhāji, 285 Vibhaji, son of Phulji, his death, 371 Vidyā, 112 Vidyāranya, 64, came to the pontiff seat of Srngeri in 1331 AD 64, supposed to have succeeded his guru Vidyātīrtha in 1375 AD 64 n , 65 V11a. 193 Vijaya Rājasingha, Siī (1734 AD), 21 Vijayasenasūri, 273, 278 Vijayındra, 289 Vijoji, 373 Vikramāditya, 244, 420 Vikramāitjī, 123, 121 Vikramajit, 250, II, 252. Vikramasena, 216, 251 Vikramasilā, 411 Vikramasımha, 345 Vikramātji, of Jethvā family, 405

Vımanavatthu, 412.

Vimuktātman, 67. Vinā of Srimāla family, 124; the account of his family, 124. Virade, wife of Sarangde, 195. Virade, whe of Sar Viradhavala, 413. Viramgaon, 381. Virji, Thakur, 280 Visāji, a King, 203; 349, 380. Visnupurāna, 312. Visnutattvanirnavatīkā, by Raghijttamatīrtha, 290. Vishnuvardhana, 247

Vison, 281. Viśvarūpācārya, succeeded by Bodhaghana. 64 n; successor of Sankaracarva.

65, identified with Suresvara, 65, 69. his Bälakridā, 69. Vīśvavarman, 419, 423, 424 Viśveśvara Sāstri, father of Laksmana

Sāstrin, 64 Viśveśvaratirtha, 293-294, a of a com. on the Astareya-Bhāsya of Madhva, 293, identified with the 14th swami of the Pejāvar Mutt, 294, probably a disciple of Vādirāj, 294; later than Jayatīrtha, 294

Jayattula, 2593 Vithal Bābāji, 403, caused a temple of Trinetra to to be built, 403, a famous general of Gaikwad, 403, built the Nāganātha temple at Amreli, 404 Vithal, Sanghavi, 398 Vinaranodāhāra by Raghūttamatirtha,

293.

Vyāsarāja, 193 Vyasaraya, Post, Commentators, 289-298 Vyāsa Smrti, 36

Wadhwan, inscription of, 202-203, 344, 347, 380. William, of Thierry, his Golden Epistle, 5 n.

Yādappaya, father of Yadupatı Acarya,

Yadupatı Ācārya, 294-296, his works 295-296; a pupil of Vedeśa Bhikşu, 294, his date, 295, his pupils, 295 Yadus and Turvasus, the first immigrants of India, 224.

Yajñanārāyana Dīksita, a of Prabhāmandala, a com on Sästradīpikā, 71 n

Yāqūt, 258 Yasna Hā XI-Hōm Yast, 29-31.

Yasodharman, 419, 422
Yasodharman, 419, 422
Yasovarman, of Kanauj, sent an embassy to Chuna, 252; defeated by Lätäditya of Kashmir, 252; 254.
Yasuji, wife of Phulin, 371

Yuan Chwang, 251.

Z

Zālā family, description of the, 276 Zalavad, 202. Zaotar, the chief priest who recites Gathās 29 n.

attention to the building of the theatre, to musical accompaniment, to action and to the delivery of the speech. Otherwise he could have stopped with Rasa, Kāvyabandha and the Daśarūpaka chapters. When Abhinava says that it is from Drama that complete Rasa-realisation is got, he means the *enacted* drama, for he speaks here of the make-up, the intonation (Kāku) in the delivery of the speech etc. But the Sanskrit critics are not so uncritical like some European critics as to say that the dramatist is nothing, that the dramatist's glory is in finding out his actor to interpret his play and that acting, the stage paraphernalia, theatre architecture etc. are more important than dramatic poetry or literature

The question has been long discussed in the West Fortunately we have a fine article by J E SPINGARN on this very subject, giving us definite details on this very question, the title of the essay however being "Dramatic Criticism." First of all, it should be remembered that our Aristotle, namely, Bharata, dealt with drama not only as the art of the genius called poet but also as the ait, in part, of the pioducer and actors. Bharata speaks of the appropriateness of dress, the Nepathya-rasa is one kind of Rasa, says Mātigupta; but Bharata views that question as settled that drama is first the art created by the poet-dramatist and then the art presented by the actors A serious controversy as seen in the West whether it is not the art only of the actor, whether it is not more an art of the actor than of the poet-dramatist or whether it is, as held by the other extremists, purely an art of the poetdramatist, never faced the Sanskrit writers Bharata's followers and commentators answered the question most sanely. Before coming to this answer. as seen in the works of Abhinava and Bhoja, we shall survey the views of the European critics

Aristotle himself was responsible for starting the discussion. For he held the view that Tragedies might be acted and effectively too, but acting, dress etc, have really nothing to do with the greatness of the tragedy. Of Ahāryaabhinaya, dress and scenery, he said. "This has an emotional attraction of its own, but of all the parts it is the least artistic and connected least with the art of poetry. For the power of tragedy, we may be sure, is felt even apart from representation and actors. Besides, the production of spectacular effects depends more on the art of the stage mechanist than on that of the poet." In chapter xiv he said that a great drama need not be acted at all and can affect us even as it is read. Surely it is only inferior drama that needs light effects and spectacular scenery. Aristotle said. "For the plot ought to be so constructed that even without the aid of the eye, he who hears the tale will thrill with horror and melt with pity at what takes place." Again in chapter xvvi, he said that tragedy like Epic Poetry produced its true effect even without action, it revealed its power by mere reading.

<sup>,1</sup> Quoted by Rāghava Bhatţa in his commentary on the Sākuntala—See p 113, Vol XI, JOR, Madras, my article on Number of Rasas

One Lodovico Castelvetro, an Italian scholar who translated Aristotle with a critical commentary in AD 1570, disagreed with Aristotle He said

- (i) It is not true that tragedy produces equal effect when read as well as when acted
- (n) When acted, learned and ignorant alike follow it, whereas only the learned can follow and appreciate it by merely reading it
- (iii) Drama is for the stage, to be acted, and this fact shall form the basis of any dramatic theory

This at least, Castelvetio said that when a dramatist wrote a drama he had to keep in view that it was to be acted before an audience. He granted that the cultured could feel its power by mere reading but he opined that acting the drama is the general rule, for all the world is not cultured. Another writer named Didetort went further and said in his work called "Entretiens" that the essential part of the play was not created by the poet at all but was created by the actor. Still further went the playwright, GRILLPARZER who attacked the "read drama", with relentless contempt for all line writing, poetry, soliloquy etc., which, according to him, did not contribute to action. He considered that there can be no distinction between the theatrical and the dramatic. Then there was the age of "theatricalism rampaint" beginning in France in the middle of the nineteenth century. SPINAGRAN characterises this stage of dramatic culticism as "dramatic materialism."

As against this opinion, coming down to modern times from Castelvetro. was persistent view. promulgated bv Aristotle pointed out above. which did not condemn stage. producer and actor but gave them then DIODCI place. which was however only next to that of the poet-dramatist who created And this view agrees perfectly with that of Bharata and Abbinava and other Sanskrit writers. Bharata, by his encyclopædic treatment of 'Diama' as well as of 'Theatre', took into consideration both the poet and the actor 1. Abhinava, his greatest exponent, says that Drama is the greatest form of literary art, for, from Diama alone is complete Rasa realisation possible. Only when actors take parts and speak with appropriate dress, accent etc., do all emotional conditions get fully presented re., in Abhinava's language, the Sama prādhānya, equal importance, of Vibhāvas (excitants and object of emotion) Anubhāvas (ensuants) and Sañcārms (crossing feelings) is had only in the enacted drama. The fullest Rasassvada. Rasa asvadautkarsa-is thus got first in the enacted drama There is some truth in Castelyetro's contention that Diama needs to be enacted if one means to give its joy to the uncultured as well as the cultured. The cultured can, he ac-

<sup>1</sup> Bhoja also is not an extremist. Though he considers the text of the Drama, the Kāvya, which is the work of the poet's genuis, as greater than actors and acting, we know from reliable authorities like Sāradātanaya, Sāringadeva, Pārsvadeva and other Nātya and Samgīta writers that Bhoja wrote another work dealing with action and music and other subjects of Nātya Sāstra.

cepts, relish a play by merely reading it whereas to the uncultured, presentation of play on the stage by the actors alone carries understanding. Somewhat similar is the position taken by Abhinavagupta. It all depends upon the nature of the audience. Everybody is infected with the emotions when a play is acted but he who can relish it by reading alone must be highly cultured. Says Abhinava that the more a man is Sahidaya, the more he is attuned to aesthetic impression from literature by constant literary habit, the more mirror-like his heart is as a consequence of constant study of property, the more easily is this Rasa roused. Such a Sahidaya can enjoy drama even by reading it. Even when stray verses are read he quickly understands the setting etc., his mind fills up the missing emotional conditions, and he enjoys it completely, whereas for another of a less cultured and less attuned heart, a lot of prefatory explanation is necessary to make the stray verse relishable Smilarly a drama also, if it has to be understood by less cultured souls by mere reading, has to be explained.

'' किन्त समप्राधान्य एव रसास्वादस्योत्कर्षः । तच प्रवन्य एव भवति, वस्तुतस्तु दशरूपक एव । यदाह वामन - सन्दर्भेष दशरूपक श्रेय । तिद्वचित्रम्। चित्रपटवद् विशेषसाकल्यात् (I-iii ३०-३२)। तद्रपसमर्पणया तु प्रवन्धे भाषावेषप्रवृत्योचित्यादिकल्पनात्, तद्रपजीवनेन मुक्तके। तथा च तत्र सहृदयाः पूर्वापरमुचित परिकल्प्य ' ईहगत्र वक्ता अस्मिन्नवसरे' इत्यादि बहतरं पीठबन्धरूप विद्धते । तेन ये काव्याभ्यासप्राक्तनपुण्यादिहेतुवलात् [इति ] सहृदया , तेपा परिमिताविभावाद्यन्भील-नेऽपि परिस्फट एव साक्षात्कारकल्पः काव्यार्थः स्फरति । अत एव तेषां काव्यमेव प्रतीत्यत्पत्ति-क्रद अन्पेक्षितनाट्यमपि।" Abhi Bhā Chap VI, p 288, Gaek Edn I. Even in the case of the Sahrdayas, there are times when their hearts are turbid and minds distracted -- Kalusa viksipta So much so that not only do the dramas not infect them when read but they do not, even when enacted Therefore it is that the Sanskiit critics first posit that to appreciate poetry and diama one has to be first of all a Sahrdaya, and not all are Sahrdayas, secondly even Sahrdayas are not influenced by drama when they are distrac-Abhinava says that it is to remove such distractions, to increase receptiveness and even to make an Ahidaya into a Sahrdaya that the preliminaties, music and other operatic elements, and the peculiar atmosphere of the decorated theatre are intended "Niia sukhādi vivašībhāva" is a vighna or obstacle to Rasa-realisation and it has to be removed by music etc

" निजमुखाविविवशीभृतश्च कथ वस्त्वन्तरे संविद् विश्रामयेदिति तद्दृपप्रत्युह्न्यपोहनाय प्रति-पदार्थनिष्टं: साधारण्यमितिम्रा सकलभोग्यत्वसिहण्णुभि ज्ञान्दादिविषयमयेः आतोद्यगानविचित्रमण्डप-विद्ययगणिकादिभिः उपराजनं समाधित, येन अहृतयोऽपि सहत्यवैमन्यप्रात्या सहृदयीक्रियते।" Abhi Bhā Gack Edn I pp 282-283

<sup>1</sup> The Sahrdaya, Abhinava defines, as one whose heart has been made transparent (receptive) like mirror by constant 'chewing' of poetry and who is therefore able to become immediately the emotion that is portrayed

<sup>&</sup>quot;येपा काव्यानुकीलनाम्यासवञाद् विश्दीभूते मनोमुकुरे वर्णनीयतन्मयीभवनयोग्यता ते हृदयसंवादभाज सहृदया.।" Locana on Dhva Ā p 11

Therefore greater is the appeal of drama, greater in degree in the heart of a Sahidaya, and greater in respect of the numbers of people to whom appeal is made. For the uncultured as well as the cultured (as well as the cultured who are not receptive in mind by their individual cares) are able to enjoy the drama when it is enacted.

''—इति न्यायेन सुतरां निर्मलांकरणम् । अहद्याना च तदेव नैर्मल्याधायि । "

Abhi Bhā Gaek Edn I p 288

It is on this score that drama is the best form of literary composition

The drama is called Disva, that which is seen, only so long as it is But when it is not acted and is capable of being enjoyed by mere reading, it is simply Kavya Bharata uses the word Kavya often to mean the text of the drama. The name Natya refers to the Kavya in a certain dramatic form, dialogues, division into acts etc. and when it is enacted. The vocabulary of the Sanskrit critic has significantly no word for dramatist as distinguished from poet. To him everything is Kāyva, diama as well as epic poem. Diama versus Poetry is a problem as absent in Sanskrit Alamkara sastra as Prose versus Verse. All these are Kayva. What is it in essence? It is expression ensouled by Rasa—बाक्य रमात्मद हाज्यम 1e, expression which rouses emotional sympathy in a responsive heart. It is the representation of moods and feelings and this is its eternal, unchanging, essential and fundamental character. It has various forms like epic poetry, drama and lync. In the drama, poet's explanation, description and narration are omitted and their absence is made up by the addition of the ait of acting. For, this, in essence, is the difference between poetry, epic or otherwise, and drama. The one describes the emotional condition, the other presents the same through the actors

अनुभावविभावाना वर्णना काव्यमुच्यते । तेपामेव प्रयोगस्तु नास्य गीतादिरजितम् ॥

SCHLEGEL also said the same thing as regards drama and poetry. He considered drama as dialogue with conflict or change but without any explanation by the poet. This lack of explanation makes it necessary that dramatic dialogue to be understood must be aided by the introduction of men, women

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Mahimabhatta's V V p 20

This is from the point of view of the primary end of Kāvya or Nātya namely Ananda. Even from the point of view of the secondary purpose namely the didactic, the Vyutpath in the form of Vidhi-Nisedha, there is no difference between Kāvya and Nātya. There is, as Mahima says, only difference in means, upāva. The drama is for educating the duller people whom Kāvya fails to influence. For, as said above, the drama when enacted is understood by less cultured people also. Further music, action etc., make drama a more charming medium of instruction, a sweeter pill to swallow.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;'सामान्येन उभयमपि च तत् जास्त्रवद् विधिनिषेधविषयव्युत्पत्तिफलम् । केवल ब्युत्पाद्यजन-जाड्याजाड्यतारतभ्यापेक्षया काव्यनाव्यकास्त्रह्मपेऽयम् **उपायमात्रभेदः, न फल्फभेदः।** etc" p 20 Vyakt Viveka, I.

<sup>2.</sup> Vide Spingarn's essay on Dramatic Criticism

and scenery, otherwise an interpreter has to explain the sequences. Bhatta Tauta points out that Rasa is realised when the emotional conditions of Vibhāvas etc., are powerfully realised, they can be realised in that manner surely in a drama which depicts to the eye all those conditions rousing the Rasa. Drama gives a Pratyaksa-sāksātkāra which is not available from poetry but a powerful poet's expession, makes his descriptive and narrative poetry have such life as will equal the life which drama enacted before the eye has. Thus there is little essential difference between Kāvya and Nātya.

"प्रयोगत्वमनापन्ने काव्यं नास्वादसम्भव ।" "वर्णनोत्कळिकासोगग्रीहोक्या सम्यगर्णिताः।

उद्यानकान्ताचन्द्राद्याः भावाः प्रत्यक्षवत्स्फ्रटाः ॥ "

Bhatta Tauta quoted in the Abhi Bhā Gaek Edn I, p 292 Therefore to the cultured soul of the Sahrdaya, there is no difference between un-acted drama and poem. When a drama is not acted but yet can be relished as keenly, by mere reading, it is only Kavya and it is supremely the art of the poet's genius only 
It gets its vitality by the genius of the diamatist A great drama needs no actor, no theatre Its greatness can be felt by mere reading in a corner of a room As Aristotle says . "Tragedy like Epic Poetry produces its true effect even without action, it reveals its power by mere reading" Divden tells us that it is his ambition to be read which he considers as surely 'the more lasting and nobler design'. A great French scholar, Dacier (end of the seventeenth century) admits that while stage decoration etc, add to the beauty of the play, they make the piece in itself neither better nor worse. In the middle of the next century Voltaire says (in the Notes to the Tragedy of Olympie) "What has the stage decoration to do with the ment of the poem? If the success depends on what strikes the eyes we might as well have moving pictures" At the end of the same century, Pye, in his commentary on the Poetics, says that good tragedies affect us as forcibly even while read in a room. Their effect is independent of the stage effect, Lessing, the German writer, in his work on Diamaturgy, expresses himself similarly that "there is no real relation between elaborate scenery or splendid theatrical edifices and great drama itself." Too much emphasis on the stage craft and scenic extravaganza is 'theatricalism lampant', this has nothing to do with drama What have these do with real dramatic to when cuties are of opinion that even such important cessory as the art of acting itself has little to do with the greatness of the drama whose beauty can be realised even by reading? He is really a great poet who creates dramas whose influence is had even when he is read LAMB even says that a great play cannot be properly acted "A masterpiece is rarely as well represented as it is written, mediocrity always fares better with the actors" Therefore by Anvaya and Vyatireka, it can be maintained that first and last, a great drama is the creation of the genius of the poet-dramatist Really great dramas need no acting, and acting, however great, cannot make insipid plays great. According to Bhatta Tauta, the greater the poet's power

of description the lesser grows the need for presentation by actors. For Rasa-realisation is had when we see things powerfully living before our eye, physical or mental. And this can be accomplished either by acting and production or by the inherent dramatic power of the piece. If it is not there already as a result of the Praudhi of a poet's genius, no amount of Prayoga by actors can create that Pratyakṣāyamāṇatva. Therefore all Nātya is Kāvya, the art of the poet, and not of the actors. So it is that Bhoja says that more than actors and acting, he esteems poets and poetry or drama.

"अतोऽभिनेतृम्यः कवीनेव बहुमन्यामहे, अभिनयेभ्यक्ष काव्यमेवेति । `

### CHAPTER VIII

## SÄHITYA

## 'शब्दायों सहितौ काव्यम् '

Bhāmaha I. 16.

- I Introduction
- II Beginnings Early history of the concept, Bhāmaha, Mukula, Pratīhārendurāja, Rājašekhara and Ksemendra
- III Bhoja's conception of Sāhitya Sī Pīa. & S K Ā
- IV. Sāradātanaya follows Bhoja
- VI Kuntaka's definition of Sāhitya
- VII Bhoja's and Kuntaka's conception of Sāhitya: comparison and contrast Bhoja's Sabdārthaguna-'Sammitatva' compared to Kuntaka's Sāhitya
- VIII Conclusion Meynel, Vidyādhara, Nīlakantha dīksita, Parāśarabhaṭta and Kālidāsa on this Sāhitya

The concept of Sāhıtya had a grammatıcal orıgım — It became a poetic concept even as carly as Rājaśekhara, as far as we can see at present, the Kāvyamīmāmsā is the earliest work to mention the name Sāhıtya and Sāhıtya vıdyā as meaning Poetry and Poetics. Even after him, grammatical associations were clinging to the term up to Bhoja's time — Kuntaka, about the time of Bhoja himself, was responsible for divesting Sāhıtya of dry grammatical associations and for defining it as a great quality of the relation between Śabda and Aitha in Poetry — Sometime afterwards was written by Ruyyaka or Manikhuka a work called Sāhıtya-mīnāmsā, which was the first work on Poetics to have the name Sāhitya — Afterwards Sāhitya became more common and we have the notable example of the Sāhitya-darpana of Viśvanāha i

Sāhītya is derived from the word 'Sahīta', "united together" महित्यो-भावः माहित्यम् i All literature is made of the material of word and sense united together and so also is Poetry. The earliest definitions of Poetry are material, giving us the substance of which Poetry is made, namely, Sabda and Artha. Bhāmaha says.

अन्दार्थो महिनौ काव्यम K. A I. 16.

This is the starting point and no one can ignore this essential element, so long as Poetry is a kind of expression, expressed through the medium of language. So Rudrata follows with his indication of the nature of Kāvya—

<sup>1</sup> Vide my article on Kriyā Kalpa, with a Note on the Evolution of the Names of the Alamkāra Sūstra in the JOR, Madras Vol. VIII, part 2

नत् अन्याभी हाज्यह, and many late, writers 'he Maminate and Vidvānātha define Poetry through Sabda and Aitha Even after the establishment of the Atman of Poetry, Sabda and Aitha were taken as the body of Poetry. The two are inseparable and always go together, the one meaning the other No Interature, no talking even, is possible without the two. But there seems to have been in the early period of Poetres a view on this grammatico-poetre question that of the two elements of Sabda and Aitha, the former is more essential and important. It is perhaps to answer this via w that Magha says in his poem, the Sishapālavadha, that a disenting man will pay equal regard to Fate and Self-exertion, and a poet will, to both Sabda and Aitha

जन्दाको सत्कविरिव दय विदानपेक्षते । II 86

Mägha here emphasises that Šabda and Artha are of equal importance. It is to this same controversy that Bhāmana refers in chapter 1 and replies like Māgha.

रूपकादिमलद्वार बाव्यमाचक्षने परे । मुपा तिडां च ब्युत्पत्ति बाना बाञ्छन्यवरुकृतिम ॥ तदेतदाहु मौजव्य नार्थव्युत्पत्तिगैडक्षी । राज्यभिषयालदकारभेदाव्यि दय त नः ॥

It is immediately after this that Bhāmaha says that both Sabda and Aitha, united together, form Kāvya ক্রেণ্ স্থিনী হাত্র্য । It is meaningless to emphasise either Sabda only or Artha only, to call the one as Tohyantana and the other as Bāhya—Quoting the above-given verses of Bhāmaha and knowing full well the complete significance of the immediately following observation of Bhāmaha ক্রেণ্টা মহিনা ক্রেক্সে, Kantaka thas concludes—নির সক্রেণ্টা বিশেষ্টা দিবের্টা ক্রেন্টা বিশেষ্টা বিশ্ব ব

" शब्दार्था काव्यम् : बाचको बाच्य चंति है। समितिनी काव्यम् । हावेवर्गानि विचित्रेवोक्ति । तेन अक्तेपाजिन्मत कविकोशकातित्वसम्भायातिशय शब्द एव केवल काव्यमिति। केपाथित बाच्य-मेव रचनावैचित्र्यनमकारकारि काव्यमिति, पक्षद्वयमपि निरम्त भवति । तम्माव हुशोगि। प्रतितिक्रीयव तेल, तद्विदाह्यदकारित्व वर्तते, न पुनरेकस्मिन् । " । । / । 1, р. 7 Dr.'s Edn

In another way, the very late writer Jagannātha emphasises Ṣabda to stait with, though he includes Artha also in his definition of Poetry. He defines Poetry as Sabda that gives such an idea, Artha, as is productive of non-worldly æsthetic bliss when contemplated upon নাল্যাবার্ত্ত্বাল্যক সাত্র কাল্যন বিশ্বালয় কাল্যন কাল্যন বিশ্বালয় কাল্যন কাল্যন বিশ্বালয় কাল্যন কাল্যন বিশ্বালয় কাল্যন কা

<sup>1.</sup> See also Namisadhu on Rudrata, II, i

SÄHITYA 89

The emphasis on Sabda by a school which considered Artha as Bāhya was perhaps strongly influenced by the grammatical Sabda Brahman philosophy of the  $V\bar{a}kyapad\bar{i}ya$  which holds Artha as a Vivarta of Sabda Bhoja is a great follower of Bhartthaii and his VP which is quoted numberless times in the opening chapters of the Sr Pra Bhoja takes trouble to explain that the acceptance of Dhvani does not bring any difficulty regarding the basic tenet that all Artha is the Vivarta of Sabda He explains Dhvani also as a Sabda Vivarta (Vide infia, section on Bhoja and Dhvani) As against this view of Sabda prādhānya, it can be said that the Etymologists or Naiiuktas considered the Idea or Artha as chief and Sabda, secondary in importance. Durgācārya on Yāska says

अथो हि प्रधानम , तृदगुण जन्द । p 3, Venkatesvara Steam Press Edn

It is as a reply to this controversy that Bhāmaha says, श्राच्याओं **सहितो** काल्यम् that *both* Sabda and Artha *together* constitute Poetry This is the first signiticance of Sāhitya

The old writers did not go further than demping Poetry as made up of Sabda and Artha, words and ideas. Anything said or written is of this nature and this does not define Poetry or, on the face of it, give us an idea of the nature of the charm in Poetry The old writers described Poetry as linguistic composition (Sadba and Artha), divided it into Prose and Verse, Sanskrit and Präkit. Read and Acted, and so on But at the same time they realised that Sabda and Artha in Poetry had a special beauty not found elsewhere, that, to put it briefly, the Sabda and Artha in Poetry had some speciality. Visesa It is a question of deciding this Visesa that is the problem of Poetics Some approached the problem from the outer expression, the garb called Sabda and Artha, some plumbed the content within, while others emphasised that, whether it be a Visesa of the Sabdaitha or of the content within, everywhere in Poetry, in the Sabdartha sarīra as well as the Atman of Rasa and Dhyani, it is the poet's peculiar way, the work of his genius, Kavi Vyāpāra, that is the Visesa A fine sum up of the poetic theories from this point of view is thus made by Samudiabandha on the Alamkara Sarvasa

"ःह विशिद्यं शब्दार्थों काव्यम । तथोध वैशिष्ट्य धर्ममुग्वेन, व्यापारमुखेन, व्यडग्यमुखेन वैति त्रय पक्षा । आंद्यऽप्यळन्कारतो गुणतो विति द्वेषित्यम् । द्वितीयेऽपि भणितिवैचित्र्येण भोगक्कत्वेन वैति द्वैवित्यम् । इति पन्तम् पक्षेषु आद्य उद्ध्वद्यदिभिग्द्वीकृत , द्वितीयो वामनेन, तृतीयो वक्रोक्ति-जीविनकारेण, चतुर्थो भद्यनायकेन, पत्रमः आनन्दवर्धनेन । '' Triv. edn p. 4

<sup>1</sup> Both Kuntaka and Bhatta Nāyaka emphasise Kavivyāpāra but there seems to be an apparent difference. The former's Kavivyāpāra leans towards the old writers' view and approaches from the expression-side arriving at Bhantit-varcitrya. But Bhatta Nāyaka's Kavivyāpāra is related by him to the Rasa, to the content school. But as explained in my paper on writers quoted in the Abhinavabhārati (JOR. Madras, Vol. VI, pp. 212-214), Nāyaka also had much inspiration from Bhāmaha und the old school. As the Locana says, the Bhogakrtva is preceded by

It is the analysis of this Viscsa that engages our attention and it is the main theme in the history of Sanskiit Poetics. That it is some beauty is accepted by all. Replying to Bhatta Nāyaka, Abhinava says that it is acceptable to him to say that the 'Soul' of Poetry is the realisation of beauty.

''यचोक्त—'चारत्वप्रतीतिस्तर्हि काव्यस्य आत्मा म्यात' उति, तदर्शाकुर्म एव । नास्ति खल्वय विवाद इति ।"

Sabda and Artha that are 'beautiful', Ramaniya, are Kävya Within this Rāmaniyaka come Alamkāra, Guna (Rīti included in it), Rasa, Dhvani and Aucitya These form the speciality of poetic speech, of the relation between Sabda and Artha in Poetry. In ordinary speech, Sabda and Artha are united, Sahitau. Without this Sāhitya, no linguistic expression is possible. Then what is the meaning of Sāhitya with reference to Poetry? The Sāhitya meant is one of a special kind, an unusually beautiful relation between Sabda and Artha in Poetry.

"नतु च वाच्यवाचकसंबन्धस्य विद्यमानत्वात् एतयोः न कर्या दिपि गाहित्यविग्ह , सत्य-मेतत् । किन्त् विशिष्टमेवेह माहित्यमभिष्रेतम् ।" Kuntaka V / p 10

Poetry is speech par excellence, and Sāhitya, relation par excellence. Thus to begin with, the word Sāhitya meant only the mere union of Sābda, the expressed.—Vācya vācaka sambandha. This means correctness and purity of grammar on the one hand and logical sensibility on the other. Taking Sābda and Artha united as Kāvya, the early writers examined the varieties of Sābda, different languages, different kinds of words as Noun, Verb, Preposition etc., and sentences made up of words. ( प्रमान्द्रात्मक्वाक्य) and of types of compositions made up of Vākyas, like the Saigabandha, Nātaka etc. This analysis pertains to Sābda and is had in the first chapters of the works of Bhāmaha and Dandin. But there is no trace of any analysis of the Artha in Poetry in the texts of these two writers. The first writer who began to talk of more varieties of Artha than one, in Poetry, is Udbhala according to the evidence of the Dhvaryāloka and the Locana. Analysis of Artha in Poetry begins here. In his Bhāmaha

Bhāvakatva which Abhinava says, as tar as Kāvya is concerned, is due to certain elements of beauty in *expression*, Sabdārtha, namely, Gunas and Alamkāras

भावकत्वमपि समुचितगुणालङ्कारपरिग्रहात्मकमस्माभिरेव वितत्य व्यथत । Locana p 70 It is to this view of Bhatta Nayaka that Abhinava refers in his 1bhi Bhā

अन्ये तु कार्व्येऽपि गुणाल्ह्यार्सीन्दर्यातिजयकृत रसचर्यणमहु: 1 p 292, Gaek Edn. I. It it is so, Năyaka's view is not far distant from that of Kuntal a and of the old schools which defined the Visesa as a 'Dharma' The difference between the three schools as analysed by Samudrabandha is that while the first sches to the expression, the third to the expressed, the second comprehending both the expression and the expressed, emphasises the peculiar poetic activity of the poet's genius which shapes everything

 $<sup>2\,</sup>$  Vide my paper Kriyā Kalpa and the Evolution of the Other Names of the Alamkāra Sāstra, above referred to , the section on Saundarya and Cātutva

SÄHITYA 91

vivarana, while commenting upon Bhāmaha, I 9 চাৰ্ক্সক্তিমিখালার্থ- Udbhata tries to interpret the two words Sabda and Abhidhāna as distinct and points out that in Poetry, besides the primary sense of the words, there is a second sense which is the secondary meaning

"—तथापि गुणवृत्त्या काव्येषु व्यवहारं द्र्ययता ध्वनिमार्गो मनाक्स्पृष्टो (ऽपि न ) रुक्ष्यत इति परिकल्यैवमुक्तम्—। " Dhva Ā p 10

'द्र्यायतेति । भट्टोद्भटवामनादिना । भामहोक्त 'शब्दख्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थः' इत्याभिधानस्य शब्दाद् भेद व्याख्यातु भट्टोद्भटो वभाषे 'शब्दानामभिधानमभिधानयापारः, मुख्यो गुणवृत्तिश्च' इति, वामनोऽपि 'सा सादस्यात् लक्षणा वकोक्तिः' इति ।" Locana, p 10

Udbhaia thus mentioned the Amukhya or Gauna Artha and Vāmana definitely speaks of Laksaṇā which gives the secondary meaning as underlying the beauty in certain expressions. Soon critical circles discovered the third and greatest variety of Artha, the suggested idea—ध्वित or ध्वन्यमान अर्थे Taking sabda and Artha together, ie, the two in Sāhitya, and leaving aside the grammatical aspects of their mutual relation, it was found out that in Poetry the relation between the two consisted of some beauty analysable into Alamkāra, Guna etc. In such a manner, in course of time, Sāhitya which at first meant only the inevitable grammatical and logical relations between sabda and Artha in any kind of linguistic expression came to mean those things which form the distinguishing characteristics of Poetry as different from the other utterances. Soon Sāhitya came to be used as a synonym of Poetry

We do not know when and how exactly the world Sāhitya came into existence and came to be used in the sense of Poetry We have an old verse which uses the name Sāhitya for Poetry.

# साहित्यसङ्गीतकळाविहीनः साक्षात्पशुः पुच्छविषाणहीनः ।

but its date is not decided In Bhāmaha we have only the qualifying adjective 'Sahitau' from which Sāhitya is derived सहितयोभीवः साहित्यम्। Mukula uses the word (Pp 21-22)

## पदवाक्यप्रमाणेषु नदेतत् प्रतिविवितम् । यो योजयति साहित्ये तस्य वाणी प्रसीदति ॥

Commenting on this, he himself mentions Sāhitya twice as a Sāstra (Poetics) along with Mīmanisti, Vyākaitana and Tarka Mukula's pupil and commentator on Udbhata, Pratīhātendurāja, while describing his Guru in the closing verse of his commentary on the KASS mentions the word in the sense of Poetics माहित्य श्रीमुरारे:। In Rājašekhaia's KM we find Sāhityavidyā meaning Poetics as one of the Vidyās पञ्चमी माहित्यविद्या इति यायावरीय:। माहित्यवर्गामिप विद्याना निष्यन्दः। He explains Sāhitya derivatively as the Vidyā of Sabda and Aitha placed together in the proper manner

In section 3, describing the legend of Kävva Purusa and his descent into the world, Räjasekhara mentions Sähitya-vidyā as the spease of Kävya Purusa

"—तदंतस्य (काव्यपुरुपर्य) बशीकरण कामपि विय सजाभीति विकित्तयन्ती साहित्य-विद्यावायूमुद्रपादयत्, आदिक्यना-एप ते ग्या धर्मपति पुर प्रतिष्ठते, तदनुवर्तस्य, एन निव-तिय न।"

From the first quotation it appears that by Rājasekhara's time it is definitely settled down in books that Sāhitya is synonymous with Poetry or Portics Abhinava's pupil, poet and critical writer, Ksemendra, uses Sāhitya (wice as meaning Poetics, the subject which he studied under Abhinava

युन्वाभिनवगुप्ताल्यात् **साहित्यं** योधवारिषे । आचार्यश्रोखसमणे विद्याविद्यतिकारिण ॥ Brhatkathāmañjani p 260

It is only when we come to the eleventh century that we see the concept of Sāhitya entering into its 'Bhāgya dasā'. It begins to loom larger and gets two exponents for itself, one in Malwa and another in Kashinii, Bhoja and Kuntaka two of the names among first rank 'Jamkārikas who must be specially noticed in a history of Sāhitya. It is strikini, that both Bhoja and Kuntaka start with Bhāmaha's definition  $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}$ 

We have already said that Poetry being speech supreme, Sālntya is between the two parts of language Sabda and Artha relation supreme Thus, Sālntya first means all linguistic expression and the general and inevitable grammatical and logical relations between word and sense, and then it means Poetry and the poetre relations between the two Bhoja means by Sālntya both kinds of relation and he not only deals with Poetry but with language also. At the lower levels, his language with its general Salntya higher up the language has risen above itself and has bloomed into Poetry and here, the Sālntya is poetre relation between word and sense. Bhoja diffines Kāvya as the Sālntya or unity of word and sense.

"तत् (काव्य) पुनः शब्दार्थयो साहित्यप्रामनांत्र । तथना- भाष्या गहितो काव्यप्र हित्। It is to a treatment of this Sähitya of Sabda and Artha that the Si-Pra is devoted. Bhoia calls his work itself Söhitya Prakása in chapter si

> यिममन्नशेपविद्याम्थानार्थविमृत्य प्रकाशन्ते । सहत्य, स **साहित्यप्रकाश एतादशो** मर्वात ॥

> > Chap xi, i. 430 Sr Pra, Vol 11

The scheme of the whole work is contained in the definition, "Sabdarthan sahitau kävyam" and under the edifice of the Sr Pra Ins the foundation and system called Sāhitya. This has been already pointed out by me in

Sāhitya 93

a previous section Sāhitya is thus defined by Bhoja. It is the relation petween Sābida and Artha and is of twelve kinds. Eight of these twelve Sāhityas can be called general and the last four are special and can be classed as the poetic Sāhityas.

िक साहित्यम् १ य. जब्दार्थयो संबन्ध । स च द्वादशधा, अभिधा, विवक्षा, तात्पर्यम्, प्रविभागः, व्यगेधा, सामर्थ्यम्, अन्वयः, एकार्थोभाव , दोपहानम्, गुणोपादानम्, अलङ्कारयोगः रसावियोगधेति । "

Again, at the beginning of chapter vii which begins the treatment of Sāhitya, Bhoja repeats these twelve-fold relations between Sabda and Artha as constituting Sāhitya

" तत्र अभिधा-विवक्षा-तात्पर्य-प्रविभागः व्यपेक्षा-सामर्थ्य-अन्वय-एकार्थाभाव-दोपहान-गुणो-पादान-अल्डकारयोग-रसावियोगरुपाः अव्दार्थयो द्वादश सम्बन्धाः साहित्यमुच्यते ।

Vol I, p 428, Śi Pra.

Even the earlier work of Bhoja, the  $SK\bar{A}$ , contains indications of this conception of Sāhitya of Bhoja. The first verse of the work ध्वितिवर्णाः पद वाक्यम् etc covers part of contents of chapters i-vi of the Sr Pra and the second verse of the  $SK\bar{A}$  gives the last four-fold poetic Sāhitya, दोपहान, गुणादान, अलङ्कार-योग and रमावियोग or रसान्वयः; commenting on the above-said first verse of the  $SK\bar{A}$ , Ratnesvara who is acquainted well with Sr. Pra says

"तद्यमत्र तात्पर्यसंक्षेप —साहित्यस्वरूपनिरूपणाय किल एष प्रन्थारम्भः । साहित्य च इाव्हार्थयो संवन्य । तत्र शब्द एव क इत्यपेक्षायामय विभागो ध्वनिरित्यादि । अर्थस्तु स्तम्भकुम्भादि-छक्षण लोके शास्त्र च प्रसिद्धः । सम्यन्थः कथिदनादिः । सर्वस्यायमानस्तु संवन्धः नान्यत्रेति अस्मिन्नायतते । ग चतुर्विध –दोपहानम् , गुणोपादानम् , अलङ्कारयोगः स्मामि ( वि )योगश्रेति ।"

Ratneśvara on S.K A I, 1

''निदोंप गुणवस्त्राध्यम् अलङ्कारॅरलङ्कृतम् । रसान्वित कविः कुर्वन कीर्ति प्रीति च विन्द**ति''** S K A . 2.

There is the well-known eternal, external grammatical relation between Sabda and Artha but these are subjects pertaining to grammar. As far as Poetry is concerned, the relation is of a superior kind, Visisiam Sāhityam as Kuntaka says, or Sarvasvāyamānah sambandhah as Ratnešvara says. Sāhitya is thus really the poetic relation only, or rather it is necessary to investigate the poetic Sāhitya only, leaving aside the well-known external Sāhitya. But, with a suggestion of the historical origin of the concept of Sāhitya in grammar, and, as in most places, writing here also under the great influence of the Sāstra of grammar, Bhoja takes at first Sāhitya as merely relation between Sabda and Artha and includes under it two sets of relations, grammatical and poetical. Among the eight grammatical relations, four are classed together

as Kevale sunda sambandia salati na sa sa sabdasambandia salatis. The following to describe the sambandia salatis.

	•	
J(~;	1.	* 141
(12 km	d. it' i	F I t
(manua)	atreal	President
8 knd	(1)*	1 11115
Sabda sambandna (akt)		ं . नीत 'लिसे
		*### 17e-17
1		। भारतीय-
। केन्छ्यन्त्रान्त्रा	, erffi i i	**। सार वाग
1 आस्ता	1 1 1 1,	
े विवच	1 +1,+1 +	
े लाह्य क	7 1*1	
1 पांचमाल	. To x , x +1, 4	

The first cight are called Sabda analysis!

A visit comprises the three Vittis, Mukhya, Gairri and Lidicis. A visit is cight kinds. Kakwadi vyangyi, Prakaran di vyangyi end. Mensis.

In Latpaya is included the Pratiyanama and Dheiren. Social control on Bhoja and Dhyani). These cight Sabda analysis.

We remarked above how it a consistence of the color Poetes to investigate into this Poete Salats from the color of the col

This contradicts the statement that all (0, 1), (0, 1), (0, 1) (0, 1) form Sahitya. There is yet another contradiction which  $(\operatorname{cpp}_{T_{i+1}}, 0, 1)$  is  $(\operatorname{cpp}_{T_{i+1}}, \operatorname{cpp}_{T_{i+1}}, \operatorname{cpp}_{T_{i+1}}, \operatorname{cpp}_{T_{i+1}}, \operatorname{supp}_{T_{i+1}})$  subtlines  $(\operatorname{Pra}_{T_{i+1}}, \operatorname{Pra}_{T_{i+1}}, \operatorname{cpp}_{T_{i+1}}, \operatorname{cpp}_{T_{i+1}}, \operatorname{cpp}_{T_{i+1}}, \operatorname{supp}_{T_{i+1}})$  and Artha

Sāhitya 95

"तत् (काव्य) पुन. ज्ञब्दार्थयोस्साहित्यमामनन्ति । तद्यथा−'शब्दार्थों सहितौ काव्यम्' इति।''

This would mean that Sāhitya is neither the sum-total of all the twelve relations, grammatical and poetical, nor the sum-total of the first eight only but that it is only the four-fold poetic relation of Dosa-hāna, Gunādāna, Alamkāra-yoga, and Rasa-aviyoga,—a view that will correspond to that of Kuntaka and Ratnesvaia. The second view of Sāhitya that it is the sum-total of the eight Sabda-sambandha-saktis is the view of the work called Sāhityammāmsā which we shall notice presently

Bhoja wrote without a systematically thought-out unitary idea of Poetry He borrowed from all, accepted all and somehow accommodated every writer from Bhāmaha to Ānandavardhana and the Dasárūpakakāra in his big berth of \$\hat{Sr}\$ Pra Bhoja accepted Alamkara as expounded by Bhāmaha and Dandin Following the former, he took his stand on his definition of Poetry, "\$ab-dārthau sahitau kāvyam" Following the latter, he completely incorporated the Kāvyādarša into his own work. He followed Vāmana on Gunas and their relations to Alamkāias. As a matter of fact, the chapter heads, Doṣa-hāna and Gunādāna, are taken from Vāmanā's Sūtra, स दोषगुणाखड्दारहानाचाना-च्याम्। 1, 13 He follows Bhāmaha in another respect also, i.e., in considering all Alamkāras to be of the form of Vakrokti. (See below section on Alamkāia and on Vakrokti.)

'' अस्मिन् सति सर्वालद्कारजातयो वकोत्त्यभिधानवाच्या भवन्ति ।

तदुक्तम—

वकत्वमेव काव्याना परा भूषेति भामह ।

श्लेष पुष्णाति सर्वामु प्रायो बक्नोक्तिपु श्लियम् ॥ Sr Pra Vol II, p 372

Following both Bhāmaha and Dandin, Bhoja considers Rasas and Gunas also as Alamkātas

'' ण्वमवस्थापित गुणरगतदाभासभावानामलङकारत्वे पट्प्रकारोऽलङकारसङ्कर. सम्भवति । '' *\$r Pra* Vol II, p 388

(See also Pp. 612-3 S K  $\bar{\Lambda}$  See also below sections on Guna, Alamkāra, and Rasa). Bhoja then follows Vāmana and says that, of the two, Guna and Alamkāra, the former is more important. He quotes the two verses of Vāmana on this point.

"गुणयोगस्त्रयोमस्य गुणालडकारयोगयो ।"-- S K त I, 59, p 42

As a follower of the Rasa-school also, he considers that the last aspect of Sāhitya called Rasa-aviyoga or non-divorce from Rasa is the most important. It is the greatest factor of heauty in Kāvya and the three preceding it, only serve it

"निवंपस्य गुणवतोऽलडकुतस्य काव्यवारीरस्य कामिनीवारीरस्येव बोमितिवायनिष्यत्तौ रसा-वियोग एव प्रकृष्ट उपयोगी।" Sr Pra Vol II, p 352 In the SKA, among the three Ukts which comprehens the whole field of Poetry, namely, Syabhāvokti, Vakrokti and Rasokti, he assens the greatest place to Rasokti

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वकोक्तिय रगोक्तिय स्वभावोक्तिय वाटमयम् ।
सर्वास ब्राहिगी तास रसोक्ति प्रतिज्ञानते ॥ - S.A. 1. V. 8
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He also adopts as much as possible verses or \times \text{Tuanda}, \text{ which subject I have separately examined in a further section on Bhoja and \times \text{Tinal}, in brief, is the plan by which Bhoja improvises a system called Schitya, in which is envisaged his conception of Poetry as speech made more attractive by four factors, namely absence of grammatical, logical and literary flaws (\text{Dosahāna}), securing of stylistic qualities of Slesa etc. which are of primer importance and which must necessarily be present (\text{Gunudāna}), adoptiment with Alamkāras which is optional and is intended to further beautification (\text{Alamkāna-yoga}), and above all, seeing that no part of Poetry is devoid of Rasa (\text{Rasa-aviyoga}). This is his definition of Poetry also

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निदोप गुणवन्काच्यम् अलस्यारेरलदक्तम् ।
स्यान्विन कवि जुर्वेन् कीर्ति प्रीति च विन्दति ॥ १८४ मे १ १
१एनेन काव्यलक्षणमपि कदाक्षितम् । " —Ratnesvara on the above.
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Thus, if it can be granted that there is some thought system of Poetics in Bhoja's  $\$i\ Pia$ , it must be this system of Sāhitya

Săradătanaya, în his  $Bh\bar{a}vaprah\bar{a}sa$  (chapter vi, p. 145, Gaek Edn.) follows Bhoja's conception of Săhitya. He gives the twelve told Săhitya în a clear, classified and succinct manner. The three fold classification of the twelve relations indicated by us above is also made by him. The verses in the  $Bh\bar{a}$  Pra on pp. 145-152 form a good metrical summary of chapters vii-ix of Bhoja's  $\bar{sr}$  Pra

वाक्यार्थत्वं (रमस्य ) च ज्ञव्दार्थमवन्थाद्वयम्यनं । मवन्या द्वाद्वजविश्व स्मृत ज्ञव्दार्थशेष्ठुंचे ॥ द्वाद्वज्ञात्वा सम्बन्धः गञ्दस्यार्थस्य यस्म माहित्यम् । त्रिस्कन्धः स चतुर्भस्तनुश्विस्स्यात् चतुर्भद्य ॥ वृत्तिविवक्षा तात्पर्यप्रविभागविद्दोदितो । ततो व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्यान्वयार्थकार्थमावना ॥ दोपहानं गुणादान तथालङ्कारयोगिता । रमावियोग इत्येते संबन्धा कथिता वृष्टे ॥ p 145

See also Mr K S RAMASWAMY SASTRI'S Introduction to the Gack Edin of this Bhā Pra pp 42-43 Following the phiaseology of the (anti-Dhyani) Tātparyavādins headed by the Daśarūpakakāra, Śūradātanaya calls here Rasa the Vākyārtha, towards the comprehension of which the Padūrthas named Bhāvas help The Vibhāvas etc., are 'Vākyārthapara', re., Rasapara Their Tātparya is Rasa, the Vākyārtha Bhoja follows Dhyani as well as Tātparya, recenciling the two somehow and uses the phiaseology of Padūrtha-vākyārtha for Bhāvas and Rasas

Sāhitya 97

"किन्तु अन्यपरतया ते (विभावादयः) उपादीयमाना तत्रैव न्यग्भवन्ति । न वाक्यार्थप्रति-पत्तो पदार्था पृथक् स्फुरन्तीति।"—Sr Pra Ch XI.

śāradātanaya, who follows Bhoja, says that this Vākyārtha of Rasa is got at by the Sambandha between śabda and Artha

काव्यादिवन्धवर्दस्य रगस्य स्थायिनोऽपि च । वाक्यार्थत्व च राज्यार्थस्वन्धादगदम्यते ॥ सवन्यो द्वादगविष स्मृतः राज्यार्थयोवेषैः ।—p 145

This Sambandha helping the manifestation of the Vākyāitha of Rasa is the twelve-fold Sāhitya of Bhoja, out of all of which Bhoja himself says that the last, namely, Rasa-aviyoga is the most important. Bhoja says that it is for securing Rasas that such Gunas as Kānti, the absence of such flaws as Giāmyatā, the adding of such Alamkāias as Kaišikī vrtti and Vaidarbhī rīti etc, are resorted to by poets.

"तयोः वाक्यविषय (रमावियोग ) अभ्योल-अमङ्गलखृणाबद्धं ग्राम्यम् इत्यादि दोषहानेन, दीप्तरसत्व कान्तिः दत्याविगुणोपादानेन कैशिक्षोवेदस्यीखलङ्कारयोगेन च etc.—।"

5r Pra Mad MS Vol II, p 356, Ch. XI.

Thus according to Bhoja, the Vaisistya of Sabda and Artha (in Samudrabandha's terminology), which is responsible for making ordinary Sabdartha into Kāyya (Visistau šabdārthau kāvyam), is Sāhitya If the Alamkāraschool and the Guna-viti school define the peculiarity (Visesa) about Poetry by 'Dharma', ıf Kuntaka's Vakroktı defines ıt as a Kavı-vyāpāra, ıf Ānanda's system defines it by the suggested Rasa, Bhoja, whose position contradicts that of none, arranges all the views suitably and says that the Visesa is Sāhitva which compichends all these—Alamkāra, Guna-iīti, Dhyani and Rasa Kāvya is Sabda and Artha with a special kind of beauty, Sobhā, i.e., the Varsistya or Visesa of Samudrabandha. The Kavya-sarīra is the point from which Bhoja studies Kāvya Kāvya is understood as 'Sabdārtha', अर्गार ताबदिलार्थव्यविन्छना पुदाबली 'of Dandin is accepted. The Sobhā of the Sarīra of Sabdārtha is due, in Bhoja's opinion, to the absence of flaws, the presence of excellences, the addition of ornaments, and the non-divorce from Of these, the first is the negative element of Sobhā in the form of absence of flaws Regarding the other three, Bhoja completely follows Dandin, his greatest Guiu, quotes his text काव्यकोभाकरान धर्मानलङकारान्यचक्षते and says that whatever is responsible for the charm in the Sabdartha of Kavya is Alamkāta, be it Guna, Alamkāra (figure) or Rasa Rasa may be the most important, Guna may be more important than Alamkara which is the least important of the three but functionally, all the three are identical in that they contribute to the charm of the expression, in being Kavya-sobhakara-dhaima Thus, in another way, we arrive at this conclusion that, in Samudrabandha's phraseology, Bhoja is one who would put the speciality of Kāvya as a 'Dharma', as Alamkāra. Bhoja goes with the ancient Bhāmaha and Dandin and is of opinion that even as the Rasa,

the way of saying things in Kāvya through suggestion (he accepts Dhvani as functioning supremely in Poetry— वृत्तिस् काव्ये ) beautifies only expression Therefore, to sum up. Bhoja considers the speciality about Poetry as a Sobhā, which is due to Sāhitya, this Sāhitya is Alamkāra, analysable into Rasa, Guṇa and Alamkāra. This is a solution which is really an arrangement or an adjustment of the various items, a synthetic or ecclectic theory.

Bahurūpamiśra is a very late commentator on the Daśarūpaka and his work deserves notice here as one of those which follow Bhoja's theory of Sāhitya. Bahurūpamiśra drew upon Śāradātanaya and he had direct access to Bhoja's \$r Pra also In his commentary on the D R, the MS of which is available in the Madras Govt Oriental MSS Library, he quotes Bhoja and his \$r. Pra often In the commentary on the fourth chapter of the D R dealing with Rasa, he gives us the concept of Sāhitya as expounded by Bhoja and as reproduced by Sāradātanaya in his  $Bh\bar{a}$  Pra. He says

नसु रसस्य स्थायिनो वा काब्येन क सबन्यः, येन वाक्यार्थः स्यान् ! उन्यन्, गाहित्यम् । xxx द्वादशिवो हि गटदार्थयोस्सवन्यः साहित्यमित्युन्यन् । चतुर्भिवतुर्भि सबन्ये. त्राणि पवाणि । स च वृत्तिविवक्षातात्पर्यप्रविभाग (ब्यपेक्षा) साम्र्यान्ययेकार्थीभावाः (दोपहानगुणादान-अलडकारयोग) रसावियोगा हति ।—p 73, Mad MS R 4188

Bahurūpa explains each with definition and illustration and most of the illustrative verses are those found in the  $S_T$  Pra. This portion of his work is a clear summary of Bhoja's vast treatment of Sūhitya in nine chapters. Both Sāradātanaya and Bahurūpa made a slight emendation and gave Bhoja's first item called Abhidhā as Vitti. As we shall notice presently, the Sūhitya-mīmāmsā also adopts the name Vrtti and thereby, confusion is removed; for Abhidhā, which Bhoja gives as a general name for the three Vittis of Mukhyā, Gaunī and Laksanā, is generally used only to denote the first, name by Mukhyā

The Sāhītya-mīmāmsā on Sāhītya

There is a MS of a work called  $Sahitya-m\bar{n}m\bar{a}ms\bar{a}$  (henceforth written as SM) in the Tanjore Library, a copy of which has been secured for the Madias MSS Library. The work is short and incomplete, in Kārikās and Vitti A copy of the work is available in the Curator's Library at Trivandrum and the work has now been edited in the most careless manner as no 114 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The following account of Sāhitya according to the SM is based in the Tanjore MS and its Madras copy.

The work SM may strike one, as it has struck the Editor of this work in the TSS, as the same mentioned in the  $Alamk\bar{a}ra$ -sarvasva and the commentary on the Vyakli viveka. We know of a SM by Viiinca miśra, fifth ancestor of Lolla Laksmīdhara (end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th cent), mentioned in the long colophon at the end of Lakṣmīdhaia's

<sup>1</sup> See JOR, Madras, VIII, pp 321-334, my article on Bahurūpamiśra's Daśa-rūpakavyākhyā

Sāhitya 99

Saundaryalaharī vyākhyā, Mysore Edn ) A S M is guoted by Rājacūdāmani in his Kavya-darpana This MS of SM does not bear the name of either Ruyyaka or Mankhuka What is plain is that the work is later than Bhoja. Kuntaka and Ksemendra 1 The work as its name shows, discusses regularly, for the first time in the history of Sanskrit Poetics, as far as we know now, the subject under the name Sāhitya. The work states its scheme thus treats of Sāhitya and Pariskāra, i.e., of the (four and four) eight relations of Vrtti. Vivaksā, Tātparya, Pravibhāga; and Vyapekṣā, Sāmarthya, Anyaya and Ekārthībhāva, and then the Pariskāra, consisting of the last four items of Bhoja, namely, Doşahāna, Gunādāna, Alamkāra-yoga and Rasa-aviyoga Next the work speaks of different kinds of poets and different kinds of Rasikas but our interest at present is in the discussion on the term Sahitya The author of the work is not only well acquainted with Bhoja's Sr Pra and Bhoja's method of treating Poetics, but reproduces also long passages from the Sr Pra The SM accepts Bhoja's conception of Sāhitya as the sum-total of the general relations between Sabda and Artha from Vrtti to Ekārthībhāva coming under two heads of four,-four Kevala and four Sāpeksa Śabda-sambandha-śaktis There is, however, this definite difference that this SM makes It restricts the name Sahitva to the first eight items of Bhoia and calls the rest, Dosahāna etc., by a new name Sāhitva Pariskāra or Śabdärtha Pariskāra or Prasādhana (polish or refinement) The work says

> साहित्य सपरिकारं कविना परिकाल्यतम् । भावयन् रसिको छोके सुखमत्यन्तमधृते ॥ बृत्यादीना समष्टिस्स्यात् साहित्यं तत्त्वित् (तत्परि )ष्कृतिः । शब्दार्थयोः परिष्कारः कविस्तस्य प्रसाधकः ॥

अष्टौ वृत्त्यादयस्तत्र परिष्कारश्रतुर्विधः॥

-SM. Mad MS p 1, (TSS Edn, pp 1-2).

The 'Vrttyādı Asta' consisting of the four Kevala and the four Sāpeksa Sābda Saktis constitute Sāhitya in the opinion of this  $S\,M\,$  It again says so :

एपा सम्प्रिस्था( प्रा )ना साहित्यिमिति निर्णयः। —p 5 TSS Edn, (p 11)

The MS briefly explains these eight, following Bhoja, but with some slight difference. Dhvani is not mentioned under Tātparya as is done by Bhoja and the work follows the Daśarūpaka and holds Rasa as the Vākyārtha and the Tātparya.

वर्तनं यत्परः शब्दः स वाक्यार्थं इति स्थितिः। एनदः रसस्य प्रस्तावं परस्तातः साधिप्रिध्यते ॥ —p 3 (TSS Edn. p.7)

It is on the basis of this Tātparya and Vākyārtha view of Rasa that we have to doubt strongly that this  $S\,M\,$  is different from that believed to be

The work reproduces from all these three authors. If only this fact had been realised by the editor, the work would have been edited better.

written by Ruyyaka of Mankhuka, both of whom are staunch Kasamman followers of Ananda's theory of Dhyani

To return to this SM's view of Sühitya, it is after word and meaning are united through these eight relations, that the poet handles them and now begins the fact of Poetry by virtue of the poet refining this 'Word-Idea', Sabdārtha, having Sühitya

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तत्परिष्कृति । शक्तार्थयोः परिषक्षाः कविष्तम् । भगविष् ॥ Mad MS p 1 (188 Eda p 1)
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This Pariskāra or retinement is all the activity of the poet. It is of four kinds. Dosahāna, Guna-ādāna, Alamkāra yoga and Rasa-aviyoga. This, the work says, comes in due course.

साहित्यस्य परिकारः पारपर्यण सिद्यति ।

TSS Edn p 12

Therefore, Sāhitya according to this work is not the fit of Poetry but only language and linguistic expression, it is not the poetre qualities that charaterise Poetry and its words and ideas but is only the inevitable general relations, syntactic etc., between word and meaning

The Vitti more clearly says that Sāhitya means only the eight relations of Vitti etc., and that Dosahāna etc., are excluded. We have here the concept of Sāhitya again sinking back into its original grammatical meaning. The text of the Vitti runs thus

" वृत्तिचिवक्षांदे साहित्यान्तर्भाव दोपहानगुणाळङकारररामधन्धस्य यदिभाव च सहेतुकगाट।" —p 6 Mad MS (TSS Edn p 12, passage corruptly printed)

This however is not Bhoja's view. As RatheSvara explains the second verse of the  $S\,K\,\bar{A}$ , and as Kuntaka would take it, Sāhitya is really Poetry and the poetic relation between Sabda and Artha, the Pariskāra as this  $S\,M$  calls it. This consists of the four qualities, Dosahāna etc., which alone Bhoja deals with in his smaller and earlier work, the  $S\,K\,\bar{A}$ . In the  $Sr\,Pra$  however, which is a larger work with a greater scope, grammatical relations in

<sup>1</sup> The vrtti mentions Bhoja See TSS Edn p 12

SĀHITYA 101

addition to the peetic, are included and thus Sāhitya is made to mean not only the four-fold poetic relation but also the eight-fold grammatical relation It was also pointed out above that in an opening passage at the beginning of chapter 1 of the  $\hat{S}$ ? Pra, Bhoja describes  $K\bar{a}vya$  as the Sāhitya between Sabda and Artha and not exactly all kinds of expression in language. In that case, Bhoja would seem to agree with Ratneśvara and hold only Dosahāna etc, as Sāhitya. Again it was pointed out before that the third view, now found to be held by the S M that the 'Vrttyādi Asta' alone form Sāhitya and that Doshāna etc, represent a separate department, is also warranted by one sentence of Bhoja at the beginning of chapter ix

"तत्र अभिधाविवक्षादिभि निरूपिते शब्दार्थयो. साहित्ये, वाक्यस्य प्रयोगयोग्यता प्रयोगानहे-ता च निर्धायत । यदाह—'एक्स्शब्दः सम्यकप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे छोके कामशुक् भवति ।' दुष्प्रयुक्तः पुनर्ध्यम् सपर्यत । सम्यक्प्रयोगधास्य तदोपप्रयते यदा दोपहानम्, ग्रुणोपादानम्, अरुङ्कारयोगः, रसावियोगध भवति ।'' —Sr. Pra. Ch 9, Mad MS. Vol II, p. 144.

It is from this passage that the S.M must have taken its inspiration. The phrases of Bhoja, Prayoga-yogyatā, Prayoga-arhatā and Samyak-prayoga which are to be secured by the four means of Dosahāna etc., exactly correspond to the S.M's Pariskāra or refinement of the language that has already come into being with the eight-fold Sāhitya

The SM. then reviews another view of Sāhitva

जञ्दार्थथोः सहस्थान साहित्यमपरे जगुः । श्रिया( द्वयोः )परस्परस्त्रार्थाः( स्पर्या )युक्तयोः कान्यसिन्नतम् ॥ साहित्यमनयोः जोभाजालितां प्रति काप्यसा । अन्यूनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिण्यवस्थितिः ॥

V J p 27), SM p 7, Mad MS (TSS. Edn p 13).

This represents the view of Kuntaka, the author of the Vakroklijivita The SM clubs together the Kärikas of the VJ with the Sangraha and the Antara Ślokas in the Vitti of the VJ. The work quotes the two sets of Antara Ślokas of Kuntaka found on pp 28-29 of the VJ. Of these two only the first set of three verses on p 28 are on Sāhitya and the other set of four verses on p 29 are on Vakrokti. But the SM puts the two sets together and takes the description of Vakrokti also as one of Sāhitya. It concludes its review with the remark that this view does not differ from that first described, i.e., the slightly modified view of Bhoja.

" एतन्मतमपि प्रायो मतमस्माकमञ्जूते । अभेद म्ब्याप्यते तत्र किन्तु साहित्यकान्ययोः ॥

एतन्मतमि अम्मनमतमेव आप्नोति। इदमन्तरम्। [स] परिष्कारं (रः) साहित्यमिते (त्यमिति) तपा मतम्। वथ तु जञ्दार्थयोः समिलनमात्रयोः मिलनमात्रयुक्ते रूप साहित्यम्। तत् शास्त्राध्यानादिसाधारणम्। अन्यद यत् परिष्काराविशिष्टं तत् काव्यमिति मन्यामहै।'

(TS.S. Edn p. 15)

The difference also has been stated by the work. According to Kuntaka Sāhitva is Kāvya, the embellished or refined Sabdartha, the Pariskāra only But the SM says that Sāhitya is not Poetry, it is a grammatical fact common to all utterances, of Poetry, of Sastra and of Akhyāna, it is the grammatical relations, Vrtti etc., which all linguistic expression mevitably means. What brings in Poetry after the coming into existence of language and Sāhitya is Pariskāta. This view of the SM is a degradation of the idea of Sāhitya and a sinking back of the concept to its original meaning With Kuntaka's view agrees Bhoja's view implicitly expressed in the S K A. I, 2, and expounded by Ratnesvara. It is only in the Sr. Pra. that the concept of Sahitva is expanded to embrace also the grammatical and the logical relations between word and idea. This itself seems to be a degradation of the poetic concept of Sähitva but the SM has dragged it down further by separating the grammatical and the poetical relations, by conferring the name Sähitya on the former only and by creating the new name of Pariskara for the latter

The reason why Bhoja considered Sähitya as literature in general besides Poetry and as the general and the movitable relations also, besides the four poetic relations, is Bhoja's great love for the Vyākerana Sāstia which is in evidence all through this big work of Si. Pia. It is no surprise that in many places in Bhoja, there is more grammar than real Poetics The fact can be realised by a comparative study of the conception of Sahitya according to Bhoja and Kuntaka and the difference can be seen to be immense. Even while beginning the poetic part of Sähitva in chapter ix. Bhoja does not say 'beautiful expression' but only 'good and correct expression' -Samyak prayoga, Prayoga yogyata, Prayoga arhata And here, Bhoia quotes the text which refers to the Apūrva resulting from the grammatically अयुक्त etc This makes all the difference, it shows how again and again it is grammar that is Bhoja's fascination. In this connection even the author of the SM is more imaginative and poetic. To give Vedic plamarya for Poetry, he quotes the beautiful text भद्रपां उक्ष्मानिहिताभित्राचि, which Bhavabhuti has adopted into a verse of his in his Uttararâmacarita (IV 18) The SM. says

" तदेव काल्यार्थमावनया रसेन [स्य] निर्ताशयानन्दलाभस्य कविवचनेतु मद्रया लक्ष्म्या निधानस्य च श्रवणात् कविकाल्ययोः महत्त्व, रांसकस्य च प्रशेजन श्रुतिमिद्धगर्यात सर्व रामधाराम् ।' —pp 49 and 50, Mad MS (TSS Edn., p 161)

Thus to sum up

(1) Sāhitya rose as a grammatical concept denoting the eternal and well-known united character of Sabda and Artha, comprehending the general Sambandhas of Vrtti etc, between the two SĀHITYA 103

- (2) As far as Poetry is concerned it seems to have emphasised on Bhāmaha's observation হাত্রাফ্রী মৃত্রিন স্কাত্রামু that neither Sabda alone nor Artha alone is Poetry but both together are Poetry There is no question of superiority, as between the two Māgha and Kuntaka are clear on this point
- (3) The third stage is represented by Bhoja's view according to which the grammatical or ordinary Sāhitya between Sabda and Artha has expanded to embrace the poetic qualities in the relation of the two in Poetry Bhoja fully expounds this view, taking Sāhitya to mean ordinary expression as well as poetic expression, ordinary Sābdārtha sambandha as well as the peculiar noetic Sabdārtha sambandha
- (4) Kuntaka can be said to represent the fourth stage. Even very much earlier than Bhoja, the name Sāhitya had come to mean Poetry and Poetres, e.g., in Rājašekhara's KM—Kuntaka recognises that Sāhitya surely means, primarily, only the ordinary relation of Šabda and Artha as Vācaka and Vācya but he says that the word in Poetics is restricted to the poetic relation, Višista Sāhitya, which is the same Vācya Vācaka sambandha made finer—Sāhitya is considered at this stage as above Pada-vākya-pramāna and only as a poetic concept—This view of Kuntaka we shall presently examine in detail
- (5) The next stage it is that the anonymous S.M represents It is the direct opposite of Kuntaka's view and between its view and that of Kuntaka stands that of Bhoja embracing both The SM's Sähitya is a return to that of stage No 1, where it is a purely grammatical concept meaning the Sabda saktis etc. Poetry and poetic relations between Sabda and Artha fall out of its scope and come under the separate head named Pariskära

### Kuntaka on Sāhītva

The eleventh century was a favourable time for the concept of Sāhitya ideas are in the air and at a certain time they seem to descend on our earth and reveal themselves for the good of humanity through certain chosen persons. It happens often that laws and discoveries in all departments of knowledge have their destined time when they come to light and more than one 'Seer' sees those truths. So it is that many discoveries, though going in the name of one noteworthy personality, are really found out to have been at the same time or a little earlier or later revealed to certain others also. The same is the case with Ideas. When Bhoja was defining the concept of Sāhitya, Kuntaka was doing the same thing in Kashmir. Kuntaka is a great name in Sanskrit Poetics. Besides his new doctrine of Vakrokti, there are many other points on which his genius made special and valuable contribution. One such point is Sāhitya.

Like Bhoja, Kuntaka is a follower of the ancients whom he re-interprets Like Bhoja, Kuntaka starts with Bhāmaha's definition of Poetry—Sabdārthau sahitau kāvyam—and accepts it by adding it to his own Vak-

rokti. He says that both word and sense together, having Sähitya, are Kävya, when set in Vakrokti

शब्दार्थो सहितौ बक्रकविवयापारशास्त्रिन । बस्ये व्यवस्थितौ काव्य तहिष्ठातादकारिण ॥ V(J) प्रT

Thus, language or word and sense become Poetry by virtue of what we might call a Guna called Sāhitya and an Alamkāra called Vakrokti, both the words Guna and Alamkāra being used here in a large sense. This Sāhitya is the prime requisite. It is only Kuntaka who has given us a full and significant exposition of the concept of Sāhitya. He himself says that though people have been using the word Sāhitya. The himself says that though people have been using the word Sāhitya for a long time, no writer ever systematically thought out its full significance and explanded it in any treatise. Kuntaka rightly takes credit for having done this work.

"बहिद साहित्य नाम, तदेतावित निम्सीर्मान रामपार्थान राहित्यान्यमान्नेण असिद्म । न पुनरेतस्य कविकमेकावालकाष्ट्रायिकहिरमणीयस्य अद्यापि क्यियपि विपायि असमस्य परमार्थं इति मनाहमात्रमपि विचारपद्मवतीर्णे । तदय सरस्वतीहदयार्यित्यमकरत्यक्षित्रस्यार्थस्यस्य स्वाविकस्याप्यायस्य सरक्ष्मित्रस्यायस्य स्वाविकस्यायस्य स्वाविकस्य स्वाविकस्

Sālnītya līterally means the relation between word and sense <u>महित्यो</u>र्माव साहित्यम्। Kuntaka, p. 27 ंसहितौ सहितसावेन साहित्यम् अवस्थितौ ं *Ibid., p.* 10

This relation is eternal and there is no language without it, i.e., without the word and sense being united together as the expressing and the expressed ( $V\bar{a}caka$  and  $V\bar{a}cya$ ). This Vācyavācaka sambandha comprehends the consideration of the structure and varieties of the Vācya the Pada, of the syntactic import of a succession of words in a Vācya and of the logicality of the idea, i.e., Pada, Vākya and Pramāna. These are present in all kinds of expression and form the original meaning of Sāhitya.

शन्दायों सहितावेव प्रतातां म्फुरत सदा। सहिताविति तावेव किमपूर्व विभीयते॥

This original Sāhitya which is fairaffical apartial becomes Sahitya of a superior kind by the operation of the poet's genus of Kavi-vyapara. It is this superior Sāhitya that is discussed in Poetros. It is the magical quality pertaining to the words and ideas coming from a poet which makes ordinary utterance with Pada, Vākya and Pramāna into Poetry. It is not present in either Sāstra of the ordinary utterances of the world but is seen in Poetry only. It is Pada-vākya-pramāna-atrikta. It is not the Sāmānya but is the Visisla Sāhitya.

" तनु च वाच्यवाचकसंवन्धस्य विद्यमानत्वाद् एतया न कथा तद्पि गाहित्यविरह , सत्यमेत्त् । किन्तु विविष्ठमेवेह साहित्यमाभित्रतम् । " V=I=0

Kuntaka defines this Sāhitya as the quality of Sabda and Aitha vying with each other in the suggestion of Rasa, or, to put it generally in enhancing the beauty of Poetry He gives this Sāhitya as applying to all the ele-

SĀHITYA 105

ments in Poetry, it is something like Aucitya. First of all kinds hitya comes the  $S\bar{a}$ hitya of  $\hat{s}$ abda and Artha, their mutual commensurateness.

समसर्वगुणां सन्तौ मुहदाविव सङ्गतौ । प्रस्परस्य शोभायै शब्दार्था भवतो यथा ॥ V I p 11

There must be beautiful expression as well as beautiful idea. The question of whether form or content is important in Poetry does not arise. Mere idea or emotion is the subject of psychology. As long as Poetry is expression, the form is unquestionably important. It has to contain also an Artha that is equally charming. This is the first kind of Sāhitya of Kuntaka. He takes Sābda as a whole meaning expression and Artha as a whole meaning the sense. He examines some verses and points out the presence or absence of this commensurateness between the expression and the expressed. Inadequate expression and expression devoid of idea are both bad. Beautiful expression without beautiful idea and a beautiful idea not couched in an equally beautiful expression are both bad. The fault on the one side affects the other also.

Idea insufficiently expressed is 'dead' and expression without idea or expressing something other than the intended idea is 'disease'—Mrtakalpa and Vyādhibhūta Thus, the first Sāhitya is the complete harmony and commensurationess between expression and expressed, form and content

The second Sāhitya is that between one word and another in the expression and between one idea and another in the expressed.

महितावित्यत्रापि यथायुक्ति स्वजातीयायेक्षया शब्दस्य शब्दान्तरेण, वाच्यस्य वाच्यान्तरेण च माहित्यम्, परम्परमर्थावत्वरुक्षणमेव विवक्षितम् ।  $^{\prime\prime}$  V J p  $^{12}$  The first Sahitya takes Sabda and Artha as a whole meaning expression and

The first Sanitya takes sanda and Artha as a whole meaning expression and expressed while the second Sāhitya emphasises that in the expression itself the several units, namely the Padas, must have mutual Sāhitya and that similarly, the various Artha-units, in the expressed. This Sāhitya is defined at length in Kārikas 16-17 and the Vṛtu thereon

''र्गाहित्यमनयो शोमाशालिता प्रति काप्यसौ । अन्यनानिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिण्यवस्थिति : ॥ V. J. I, 17

गहितथोभांव साहित्यम् । अनयोः शब्दार्थयो या काण्यलांकिकी चेतनचसकारकारिताया कारणम् अवस्थिति , विचित्रेव विन्यासमङ्गी । कीदशी अन्युनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिणी, परस्परस्पिधित्वरमणीया । यस्या द्वयोः एकतरस्यापि न्युनत्व निकर्षो न विद्यते, नाण्यतिरिक्तत्वसुत्कर्षो वा अस्तीत्यर्थ । नतु च तथाविव सास्य द्वयोग्ध्यद्वत्यापि संसवित इत्याह—शोसाशालिता प्रति । शोमा सौन्दर्यसुच्यते । तथा शालते श्वाध्यते य न शोमाशाली, तस्य माव शोमाशालिता, तां प्रति सौन्दर्यश्वाविता प्रतित्यर्थः । सेव च सहद्वयाह्याद्वर्शाविता । तस्यां स्पर्धित्वेन यासाववस्थितिः प्रस्परस्वास्यस्यभगम् अवस्थानं सा

साहित्यमुच्यते । तत्र वाचकस्य वाचकान्तरेण वाच्यस्य वाच्यान्तरेण साहित्यमभिष्रेतम् , वाक्ये काव्य- रूक्षणस्य परिसमाप्तलादिति प्रतिपादितमेव ॥ "  $V\ J$  p 27.

Word and sense must be so set that neither of them is dull, they are to be of the same power; they are to be so set that they mutually vie in enhancing the beauty of the poem. The expression and the expressed are to be neither more not less than the other but must be most piecise and equally powerful. In the matter of promoting the Rasa and the Camatkāra of the Sahrdaya each should emulate the other. This is the first Sāhtiya Similarly one word should vie with another and one idea with another. This is what Kuntaka means by defining Sāhtiya as Paraspata-spardhā of Sābda and Artha. He compares the sympathetic co operation between the two to the understanding between two friends. Haraffaq  $H_{al}(\vec{q})$ 

तस्मादेतयोः शब्दार्थयोः यथास्य यस्या स्वरापस्मामर्प्रासमुदायः सहद्यहृदयाहादकारा परस्पर्-स्पर्धया परिस्करतिः सा कान्विदेव वाक्यविन्यासस्यत् साहित्यव्यपदेशभागभवति ।  $V\cdot I$  1 p 27

The Săhitya between one word and another which is one part of Kuntaka's second Sāhitya can also be described in his simile of two intimate friends. The Varsiavite writer, Parāšarabhatta, (c. 1123-1151 a.d.) speaks of this Sāhitya between one word and another in a composition in another telling simile in a verse of his. He compares the beautiful way in which words in a good composition help each other and together help the main idea commonly, to the best brotherly feeling, Saubhrātra.

अनाद्यातावय बहुगुणपरीणाहि मनरां दुहान साहार्द परिचित्तमिवाधापि गहनम् । पदानां सोभ्राचाद् अतिमिपत्तिषेट्य अवणयोः रहमेव श्रीमृद्धां यह मुखर्य वाणीविट्यानितम् ॥

Srīgionaratnakoša ŠI 8

Thirdly, Kuntaka speaks of this Sähitya with reference to other elements in expression like Märga or Rīti, Vitti, Guna, Alainkāra and Vakratā in general. Every part or aspect of expression has to vie with the other towards enhancing the beauty of the poem.

> "मार्गानुगृष्यमुमग माधुर्याविगुणेदय । अलङ्करणाविन्याम चक्रतातिश्यान्वित ॥ चृत्योचित्यमनोहारि रमानां परिपोपणम । मर्पाया विद्यते यत्र यथाम्बमुभयोगपि ॥ मा काप्यविभिषति तद्विद्यनन्दस्पन्दसुन्दरा । पदादिवाकपरिस्पन्दसारः साहित्यमुच्यते ॥ " V I ।

<sup>1</sup> Kuntaka adds that Sabda and Artha should be such as to beautify each other, they must be for each other's beauty— प्रस्पदस्य जावार्य (To adopt Kähdāsa's words, they are equally so beautiful, that between the two, it is difficult to decide which is the beautifier and which, the beautified.

अन्योन्यशोभाजननाद् वभ्व साधारणो भ्पणभूष्यभावः । К 5 1

SÄHITYA 107

Thus Kuntaka's conception of Sāhitya in general is that the expression  $(V\bar{a}caka\ sabda)$  and the expressed  $(V\bar{a}cya\ artha)$ , as also the several units in either part of Poetry, must be set in a glorious race, competing with each other in making the poem beautiful. This notion of Sāhitya has to base itself on the beauty of the poem or the relish of the Sahrdaya as the test, according to Kuntaka. In this respect the concept means the appropriateness and power of the Vācyavācaka in suggesting the Rasa. For, Rasa, Kuntaka accepts as supreme. Therefore, this conception of Sāhitya generally likens it to the other concept of Aucitya which also figures very much in Kuntaka Criticising the introduction of Sābālāiamkāras with special effort. Kuntaka says that this would result in the loss of Aucitya and through that would mean an over-emphasis on Śābdā-saundarya and a loss of Sāhitya

" व्यस्तितया प्रयत्निवरचने हि प्रस्तुनौच्चित्यपरिहाणे वाच्यवाचकयोः परस्परस्पर्धत्वलक्षण-स्माहित्यविरहः पर्यवस्यित । "  $V\ J\ ext{II}\ ext{p}\ 84$ 

Kuntaka has thus brilliantly expounded the concept of Sāhitya as a great principle in Poetry, as the greatest perfection in expression a poset should attain, namely, the harmony between the expression and the expressed When Rājasekhara slightly explained Sāhitya as the proper equipoise between Sābda and Aitha—" ग्रान्थियो यथावस्त्रद्वभाचे विद्या महिंद्यविद्या "—p. 5, we must undeistand him as having had in his mind ideas similar to what Kuntaka has expressed. The word Sāhitya is derived from Sahita, united Another explanation can be given bringing out this same significance, namely, the equipoise between Sābda and Artha, the harmony of Kuntaka. The word Sāhita contains the affix 'Sa' standing to denote 'Samam' (सम्म्)' equally'—and the main word is the past passive participle of 'Dhā', to put, place or set. Thus 'Sahita' means equipoised word and idea."

A comparison of Kuntaka's exposition of Sāhitya with that of Bhoja reveals interesting points Firstly, Bhoja and Kuntaka start with the same definition of Bhāmaha शृद्धार्थी सहितों कान्यम्। The difference is, Kuntaka emphasises by Sāhitya, a quality of Sābda and Artha resembling Aucitya Besides that, Kuntaka mentions Rasa, Dhvani, Mārga, and above all Vakrotki That is, Kuntaka adds to Bhāmaha's definition of Poetry (that Sābda and Artha united, are Kāvya), the Vakrotki in which the Sābda and Artha having Sāhitya, must be set वृक्कविव्यापारशालिन। वर्षे व्यवस्थिते। V J I 7

Thus, though all the varieties of Vakrokti also as forming aspects of expression have to observe Sāhitya, they are not included in Sāhitya. Therefore

<sup>1</sup> The author of the Sanskrit introduction to the Nirnaya Sāgar Edn of the Sāhitya Darpana suggests another derivation for the word Sāhitya. He says that the 'Sahabhāva' means that Poetry has in it all the eighteen Vidyāsthānas And he quotes the verse of Bharata and Bhāmaha containing that idea—Na sa śabdō na tad vācvam etc

there are two ideas, Sahitya and Vakrokti, in Kuntaka's definition of Poetry Bhora's conception of Sühitya differs in being very wide. It means Poetry as a whole in Bhoja, whereas it is a supreme quality of Poetry that has to be present along with Vakrokti according to Kuntaka. Bhoja's Sahitya means all the manifold activities of the poet's genius namely elimination of flaws style and its qualities, figures and diction, and finally making every point of expression the embodiment of Rasa - That is, Bhoja's Sāhitya comprehends not only the whole of Kunfaka's Vakrokti also, but every other thing in Poetry Beyond Sabda and Artha, the only other fact in Poetry is Sāhitva and under it comes everything else. In another way also Bhoja's Sahitya is very much wider than that of Kuntaka. For, Sahitya means all life fature and all kinds of Sabdartha-sambandhas to Bhoja, while to Kuntaka, it means Poetry and a poetic relation only, though he also recognises that ordinarily Sālutya refers to the Sambandha between Sabda and Artha in general as Vácaka and Vácya Only, Kuntaka leaves out the consideration of language itself and its inevitable Sabdartha sambandhas related to Pada. Vakya and Pramana, and treats only of the poetic Sambandha above all these. Just as Poetry is finer speech, Silhitya is the liner Sambandha between Sabda and Artha Rājašekhara calls Sāhitya or Poetry as the finest essence of all the four Vidyās—सा हि चनसणामपि विद्याना (नागन्द: (p. 4) even as Wordsworth says that Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge. We can say with reference to Săhitya here, making a slight change, that Poetry is the breath and finer spurt of language

It is not the concept of Sāhitya in Bhoja that has any exact correspondence to Kuntaka's Sāhitya. It is interesting to note that almost the same idea contained in Kuntaka's Sāhitya, is found in Bhoja's Guna called Sammitatva. बाब्दर्शपदस्य च ग्रीसन्थ्यस्थास्य ।  $S = K - \bar{1} - 1 - 71$ 

It is the avoidance of verbiage or 'over expression', it is the use of words enough for the idea on hand. Bhoja further explains this Sabda sammitativa as the quality of Sabda and Artha being as if held in a balance

अत्र अर्थस्य पदाना च तृत्यावधूनवत तृत्यत्वेन समितत्वम् । S A 1 p 58

This is what Kuntaka means by his Sahitya which be describes as Anyūna anaturiktatva of word and idea being neither more nor less than each other Sammita means well-adjusted or harmonised utterance. The above-given definition is of the Sabda guna, Sammitatva, and Bhoja has the same Guna for Artha also. The difference between the two is that in the former the poet weighs the adequacy of expression from the point of view of Artha and in the latter, vice versa.

शब्दार्थों यत्र तुल्ये। स्त समितत्व तदुच्यते । - S K A 1 86

Ratneśvara comments on this:

"अर्थस्य विसन्य तुलापृतवत् प्रतिनिवेश समितत्वमिति । अर्थमुह्च्य जञ्जतुल्य काव्यभाव-वीजं संबद्गुणः, जञ्दमुहिद्य त्वर्थतल्यसर्थगुण्य ।"  $S(K(\Lambda))$  71 SĀHITYA 109

All qualities of precision, powerfulness, clarity, and such others are comprehended in this weighing of word with idea. Its breach brings in a train of flaws-verbiage or Vithā pallava, Apustārtha, Nevārtha, the Avakara of Mahima Bhatta and so on When we have too much of words we have Avakara, Pādapūrana, Apravojaka, etc When we have inadequate expression we have the Dosa, Neyartha, by which Prasada and Arthayyakti are lost, This is perhaps the greatest quality of poetic expression, the peak of perfection of poetic art as Kuntaka says—कविकर्मकौशलकाष्ट्राधिरूढि । V I p 26 This quality is variously called, descriptively and metaphorically. Kuntaka calls it Sāhitya, Anyūna-anatiiiktatva oi Paiaspara-spardhā between Sabda The Sabda and Aitha having this quality are compared by him to two friends united in some glorious task. Parāsara Bhatta calls them 'brothers' with the best Saubhrātra feeling Bhoja calls the same as Śabdaartha-sammitatva and gives the imagery of the poet weighing Sabda and Artha in the scales of a balance A greater comparison comes from Kālidāsa himself, who gives the simile of the ideal prime divine couple Pārvatī and Paramesvara, the prototype of Man and Woman, in Raghuvamsa, I 1 The Sāhitya or Sampaika between Sabda (Vāk) and Artha is compared by Kālidāsa to that between Pārvatī and Parameśvara or to the ideal Sāhitva laid down by the Smitis between wife and husband There is no question of inferiority or superiority between the two. Their marriage is sacred and they enter the holy union for the service performed together to Dharma to which they are both and equally subordinate. Rasa or 'beauty' of Kayva can be likened to that Dharma and Sabda and Artha to the married couple It is not likely that the great poet wrote the above verse merely to mean by Väg-artha samparka the well-known and eternal Sabdartha sambandha might have meant it also, but he powerfully suggests here the Visista Sāhitya or the Visista sambandha Similaily there is no 'Sārasya' or credit to the great poet to say that by 'Vagartha pratipatti,' Kalidasa prayed for the attainment of proficiency in lexicography, in words and meanings The compound is often explained by Mm Professor Kuppuswami Sastri as meaning the same as Kuntaka's Sāhitya or Spardhā between Vāk and Artha or the understanding between the two बागर्थयो परस्परप्रतिपत्ति। It is for this great quality of Poetry that Kālidāsa piays for. He describes it with the simile of the prime divine couple, Aidhanārīśvara, as Śabda and Artha fused together or wedded in perfect sympathy and harmony. It is this same Sāhitya that Wilfred MEYNELL speaks of in the same conjugal metaphor, in his biographical note attached to a selection of the poems of Francis Thompson. He says (of the particular poem, "Sister Songs"). "Sister Songs is a poem to be read aloud, for sound and sense herein celebrate their divine nuptials" The same is conveyed by Kālidāsa's comparison of Poetry to Ardhanārīśvara Vidyādhara describes the Sabda and Artha in Poetry in the same metaphor:

The goddess Pārvatī is Vāk or Šabda, god Paramesvara is Artha, their union as Ardhanārīšvara signifies the greatest ideal of Poetry variously emphasised as Sāhitya, Sammitatva etc., by the above-noticed writers, and by Nīlakantha Dīkṣita, by the following verse

सब्यं बपुः शब्दमय पुरारे-र्यात्मक दक्षिणमामनन्ति । अञ्चं जगन्मतल्मेश्वरं तद् अर्हन्ति काव्य कथमल्पुण्याः ॥ Swalilārnava I. 15

and which Kālidāsa kept before him when he wrote his immortal poetry

बागर्थाविव संप्रक्ती बागर्थप्रतिपत्तये। जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1. &</sup>quot;अर्थः शंभु शिना वाणी' इति लिद्धपुराणम्" quoted by Visvesvaia in the Kavindrakarnābharana, p 52, K M. Gucciiaka 8 स्द्रीडवीडवरम्यीमा तस्मे तस्ये नमी नमः। Rudhahrdyopanisad, Adyar Edn of Saiva upanisads, 1925, p 151

<sup>2</sup> Kālidāsa is charmed with this idea. He says in his Kumāra sambhava, VI 79 तमर्थिमिव भारत्या मृतया योक्तुमईिम and Mm Prol S. Kuppuswamy Sastra loves to dwell on this passage and to speak of the birth of 'रम-किन्द' 'as a result of the union of शब्द-पांचती and अर्थ-परमेश्वर Since Rasa is 'अवास्य' the poem, KS, stops with the marriage of शब्द and अर्थ, leaving रम-स्कन्द's birth as a matter of course to be suggested.

#### CHAPTER IX

#### UKTI

## 'उक्तिविशेषः काव्यम्'

### Rājašekhaja, Karbūramañjari, Prologue.

Very intimately related to Bhoja's Alamkāra-synthesis is another synthesis of Bhoja which can be called the Ukti-synthesis. Besides the systems of Sāhitya and Alamkāra, there is also a system of Ukti in Bhoja's  $S_T$  Pra The history of this concept of Ukti is a very interesting study

Ukti can be translated as poetic expression or poetic speech as distinguished from expression or speech, either of the ordinary work-a-day life or of the scientific laboratory, the scholastic class room and the philosophical text book As we say in the Dosa-prakarana that poetic words are to be neither Grāmva or Loka-mātra-pravukta, ordinary, vulgar, colourless words of our daily routine life, nor Apratīta or Śāstra-mātra-prayukta, technical and pedantic, so also we can say of poetic expression as a whole that it is in that place which is too sanctified for either the Gramva and the Pamara or the pure pandit and pedant. It is the very essence of speech, language beautified, a high-power communication That poetic expression possesses this peculiar beauty or power not found in ordinary talk or writing, scientific treatises or mere historical documents can be seen by every person. That this beauty and power pertain to the method of expression can also be seen easily; for, poetic expression or the poetic form depends upon how a thing is said and not upon what is said. The emphasis on what is said is in ordinary talk where we are careless regarding the manner of saying, as also in mere narration of story or history, and in mere recording of scientific or philosophical truths The same is the case with Law also where again the emphasis is not on how beautifully the thing is expressed. In the history of Sanskrit Poetics1 it was given to the great critic. Bhatta Nāvaka to enquire into this subject and formulate the following as the difference between Poetry on the one hand and Sastra and Akhvana (Veda and Narration) on the other.

> शब्दप्राधान्यमाधित्य तत्र गास्त्र पृथिग्विदुः । अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः । द्वयोग्गणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यगीभवेत ॥ Bhatta Nāyaka.

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed this aspect of the question in relation to what the Western writers like Arbergrowners have to say on the difference between poetic and other expression in a separate paper on a comparative study of the Sanskrit Alamkāra Sāstra and Western Literary Criticism Here I deal only with the ideals of the Sanskrit writers on this subject

The Veda is Sabda pradhāna, the Purāna, Artha pradhāna, Kāvya or poetry makes both Sabda and Artha apradhāna, unimportant, and makes Vyāpāra, the most important. The Vyāpāra of Bhatta Nāyaka is the poet's peculiarly beautiful expression, embellished with Guna and Alamkāra, capable of becoming universalised and producing delight to the reader, i.e., Abhidhā, Bhāvakatva and Bhojakatva

" भावकत्वमपि समुन्वितगुणालङकारपरित्रहात्मकमस्मार्भिरेव ौत्तरप वश्यते । " Locana, p. 70.

This beauty of form or the peculiar grace in poetic expression can be called the characteristic poetic Abhidhā vyāpāra, using Abhidhā here in a wide sense. While commenting on the section on the Laksanas in Bharata, Abhinavagunta quotes in his Abhi. Bhā the above-quoted lines of Bhatta Nāyaka and equates the idea contained therein with Bhāmaha's conception of Vakrokti Abhinaya also quotes here Bhāmaha -Saisā sarvaiva vakroktili etc Nāvaka distinguished Poetry from Veda whose words cannot be changed at all, and from Akhyāna, story or semi-historic narration in which the story or the events (Artha) alone count. But in Poetry one looks to the beautiful way in which a story is told and the words are used. The 'beautiful way of expression' is the thing. As mere expression it has to interest us. In all other expressions related to our daily life, scientific literature etc., we are interested more in the Artha. The Artha is the 'Tattya' in those cases: in poetry, the manner in which the poet has said those things is the 'Tattya' It is only an inelegant way of saying this that is contained in the following given as Udbhata's observation in the Kāvyamīmāmsā of Rājasekhara

"अस्तु नाम निरसीमा अर्थमार्थ । किन्तु द्विष्प एवामो, विचारितसुर्भः, अविचारितसम्भणीयव । नथो. पूर्वमाश्रितानि शास्त्राणि, तदुन्तर काव्यानि ' इस्ये।हृद्दाः । KM, p. 44 The Vastu svarūpa is comparatively less important than the Bhangi Bhanti, the beautiful manner of poetic expression—Says Rājašekhara's wife, Avantisundari .

"वस्तुस्वभावोऽत्र कवेरतन्त्र गुणागुणावुक्तिवशेन काव्ये । स्तुर्वात्रवन्नात्यमृताशुमिन्दु निन्दस्तु दोपाकरमाह धर्न ॥''

and "'विदम्यभणितिभिद्गिनिवेद्यं वस्तुनो रूप न नियतस्यभावम् दित अवस्तिसुन्द्री।"

K M, p 46

The same idea is stressed by poet Nilakantha Diksita in a verse in the first canto of his  $Sivalil\bar{a}mava\ mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}vya$  .

यानेव जन्दान वयमालपाम यानेव चार्थान वयमुहिस्साम.। तरेव विन्यासविद्योपभव्याः समोहयन्ते कवयो जर्गान्त ॥ I 13

<sup>1.</sup> Is this from Bhāmaha Vivaina, on Bhāmaha, V, 33 'নের তীক্ষাপ্রয় কাত্যমাণ্যমা নক্তর্তিন ।'?

UKTI 113

This Vinyāsa višesa is the secret of Bhatta Nāyaka's Vyāpāra It is what Bhāmaha calls Vakra-ukti and Rājašekhara, Ukti.

To Rājašekhara, I think, must go the credit of making important the word Uktı We find in the list of Alamkaras given by Bhamaha, Samasa-Ilkti, Atisava-Ukti, Svabhāva-Ukti, Visesa-Ukti and Saha-Ukti, and above all In all these we find the Visesva as Ukti qualified by different attributes. Here it is that the conception of Ukti was born. Ukti as such came to mean poetic utterance and soon there was felt to be no need to qualify Ukti by the attribute of Vakra to mean poetic expression as a whole Rajasekhara. while describing the Kāvya Purusa, says that his speech is rich in Ukti: उक्तिज्ञण ते बच: । K M p 6 All Alamkāras are Vakrokti to Bhāmaha but poetic expression itself is denoted by Ukti What we have now as the Kāvva-mīmāmsā is only the first chapter thereof named Kavirahasya. According to Rajaśekhara himself, his next chapter dealt with Ukti ओक्तियम उत्तिसमे । It is a pity that we have lost the bulk of Rājaśekhara's treatise. It must be in that chapter on Ukti that Rajasekhara classified the various Uktis into which poetic expression could be brought. Classifying poets, he says on p. 27 (1 5) that there is a class of poets called Ukti-Kavis and on p. 28 he illustrates his Ukti-Kavi thus:

र्जाक्तकविः---

'उदरमिद्मिनन्य मानिनीश्वासलान्य स्तनतटपरिणाहो दोलंतालेह्यसीमा । स्फुरति च वदनेन्दु रक्क्प्रणालीनिपेयः तदिह मद्दशि कल्याः केलयो यौवनस्य ॥ '

This is an intensely animated description full of specially graceful expressions teeming with the Samādhi guna This is Ukti in a restricted sense Another instance of Ukti in a restricted sense is found in what Rāḥaśekhara calls Śāstra-Ukti—सेय बाह्मोक्तिः (р 3) regarding the verse द्वा मुन्नां संयुजा etc. In another context also Ukti in a restricted sense is mentioned by Rājaśekhara

"्या गव्दप्रामम्, अर्थसार्थम्, अलङ्कारतन्त्रम्, उक्तिमार्गम्, अन्यदिप तथाविधमधिहृदय प्रतिभागयति, सा प्रतिभा ।" р 11, K M

From this restricted sense, the larger concept of Ukti developed even as the concept of Vakrokti Ukti in a general sense emphasising the beauty peculiar to Poetry as distinguished from other writings is found used by Rāja-śekhara himself in a verse in the Prologue to his Karpūramañjarī

अर्थविशेषा. त एव शब्दास्त एव परिणमन्तोऽपि । उक्तिविशेषः काञ्यं भाषा या भवत सा भवत ॥

Neither is the idea (Artha) the point, nor the mere word (Śabda) but the manner of expressing that idea in words, Ukti-viśesa, is the thing which makes for Poetry This verse and that of Nīlakantha Dīkṣita quoted above correspond exactly Abhinavagupta, while elucidating Bharata's concept of Laksana in his Abhi  $Bh\bar{a}$  equates Bhāmaha's Vakrokti with Bhatta Nāyaka's Vyāpāra

and these with the concepts of Bandha, Gumpha, Bhautt, and lastly Laksana (See p. 65, Vol. VI, J.O.R. Madias, my article on Laksana). To these concepts meaning the peculiar poet's expression, the concept of Ukti gets equated

The word Ukti occurs in Bhoja both as a Guna and as an Alamkāra The Guṇa of Ukti has two varieties, one of the Śabda, the other of the Artha The Śabdaguna Ukti is defined by Bhoja as a graceful turn of expression—Viśista bhaniti

विशिष्टा भणितियां स्याद् उक्ति तां कवयो विदुः ।  $S = K - \bar{\Lambda} = I = p = 60$ 

In his Vrtti and comments on the verse illustrating this Sabda-Ukti Bhoja uses the phrase Ukti Bhangi. One asks another about somebody's welfare and instead of saying straight whether she is well or ill, the other person says 'she lives', and the whole verse delicately portrays the lady's pitiable plight. That mode of expression powerfully suggests her suffering, describing her as simply living, Jivita-mātra-sesā. This is the excellence of expression, Ukti guṇa, and it is a mode of expression as a whole, a mode that is characteristic of poetry as such. Not altogether different from this Sabda guna of Ukti is Bhoja's Artha guna of that same name. The beauty is achieved more by words, comparatively speaking, in the Sabda guna whereas, in the Artha guna of Ukti, the idea is given in subtle turns and shades and is expressed or suggested by peculiarly graceful elaborations.

उक्तिनीम यदि स्वाथीं भड़ग्या भन्योऽभिधीयते ।

अत्र अमीष्टस्य नायकनायिकासंगमस्य महम्या भणनम् $\mathbb{T}_{0}$  ।  $S \in K$   $\tilde{A}$  I p. 73

Between Visistā Bhaniti or Ukti Bhangi and Bhangyā bhanana, there is no fundamental difference. These two classes of Ukti are not mere Gunas appearing in a part of a specific piece of poetry but constitute the distinguishing mark of poetre expression itself.

Besides these two kinds of Ukti of Sabda and of Artha, which is a Guna, Bhoja recognises a Šabda-Alamkāra called Uktr It is defined in S.K.Ā. II, 42 (p. 146) and is held as the several kinds of expression named by Bhoja in the following manner Vidhi-Ukti, Nisedha-Ukti, Adhikāra-Ukti, Vikalpa-Ukti, Niyama-Ukti and Parisankhyā-Ukti Under his Sabda-Alamkāra called Chāyā also Bhoja gives a set of Uktis Loka-Ukti, Cheka-Ukti, Arbhaka-Uktı, Unmatta-Uktı, Potā-Uktı and Matta-Uktı Keśava, in I 2 of his Alamkāra-śekhara, makes Bhoja's Chāyā his Ukti, and classifies this Ukti into the Uktis of Loka, Cheka, Aibhaka and Unmatta This Ukti which Keśava derives from both the śabdālamkāras of Bhoja, Ukti and Chāyā, is constituted by Keśava as one of three 'Bahnangas', external parts, of poetic expression. He says at the end of I 2 that of this and of how these are to be related to Rasa, he has spoken at length in his other Alamkara treatise named Alamkāra-sarvasva which unfortunately is not available to us now. Perhaps it is Rājaśekhara who described Ukti as a 'Bahiranga' along with Rītı and Keśava might have followed him. It has been pointed out in the notes to the Gaek Edn of the K M of Rājašekhara that a quotation from UKTI 115

the lost Alamkāra section of the K M. is quoted in this Keśava's work, A Sekhara I have spoken of this elsewhere, in the section on Alamkāra, in this thesis

The meaning of the term Ukti in both the Sabdālamkāras of Chāyā and Ukti is very narrow; but both the Sabda and the Artha Guṇas of Ukti, though Bhoja restricts their meaning by some sort of definition, show how the term means the poetic mode of expression in general, Viśistā Bhaniti and Bhangyā Abhidhāna Ratneśvara's comments make this clear Under the Sabdaguna Ukti, he says

" लोकोत्तराः सन्ति हि भणितिप्रकारा (,) लोकप्रसिद्धाः ( द्याश्र ) । यथा, मुतोऽसीति प्रश्ने गृहे देवकुले वेत्यादि । एतत्विस्तिद्विञ्यतिक्रमेण तु या कावित् कविप्रतिभया भणितिराक्रप्यते, सा भवित लोकोत्तरा । तथा च प्रतिभाक्रप्रतया चमस्कारित्वाद् गुणत्वम् । अत एव कवय इत्याह । कविमहृदयानामेव ताहगोक्तिपरिचयसंभवात् ।" p. 60.

Under the Arthaguna Uktı, he says

" स्वीयोऽभीष्टोऽर्थः, स्वार्थः, तस्य साक्षास्त्रतिपादनमनुन्वितमपि अर्थान्तरभाञ्जिमि प्रतिपादन-मर्थगुणः ।''

Expressing in a manner uncommon in ordinary talk, expressing not straightly and baldly but imaginatively, giving a turn to the expression, giving the idea a hiding and revelation through deft suggestion—these constitute Ukti and thus it is clear that the Ukti Guna of Bhoja rises above itself and means poetic expression in general

Bhoja does mean that Uktı refers comprehensively to poetic utterance He agrees with Rājaśckhara who says 'Uktı viśeşah kāvyam' and restates Bhatta Nāyaka that while Sāstra is Sabda Pradhāna and Itihāsa, Artha Pradhāna, Kāvya is Uktı Pradhāna. This, Bhoja clearly says in his description of his Sabdālamkāia called Adhyeya, where Bhoja distinguishes Kāvya, Sāstra and Itihāsa He says (S. K. Ā. p. 260):

"तदिदम उक्तिप्राधान्यात् काव्यमिखुच्यते।" "शब्दस्य प्राधान्यामिति शासनात् शास्त्रम्य "अतीतार्थप्रधान्यान् इतिहासः।"

In the same context Bhoja says more briefly in the Sr Pra (Vol. II, p 285):

"तेषु उक्तिप्र**धानं काट्यम्**।" "—्शब्दप्रधान शास्त्रम्।" "अर्थप्रधानं इतिहासः।" Earlier also while dealing with Vivakṣā, Bhoja says in the *Sr. Pra* 

"तत्र शब्दप्रधानमपीरुपेय, मन्त्रो ब्राह्मण च । + + अर्थप्रधानमापे, स्मृतिरितिहासथ । (उभय ) प्रधानं पारुषेय च ।"

remarks which closely correspond to what Bhatta Nāyaka has said.

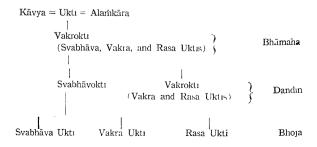
In another place, in chapter xi of the *Śr. Pra*, Bhoja synthesises the whole realm of poetic expression in the concept of Ukti, in an attempt which achieves at the same time another synthesis in Alamkāra. In a separate paper on Svabhāvokti (*Indian Culture*, V, pp. 147-165) and in the section on the Svabhāvokti according to Bhoja in this thesis also, I have gone into the ques-

tion in great detail and here I briefly cover the ground. Bhāmaha had an Alamkāra-synthesis namely Vakrokti Poetry had something strangely beautiful and it was diagnosed as Vakiokti. Within this Vakrokti Bhāmaha had figures like Upamā and Rūpaka, Rasas, and Natural Description Alamkāra Rasayad Alamkāra and Syabhāyokti 1 am of opinion that Bhāmaha did recognise Syabhāyokti as an Alamkāra, but he differed from Dandin in this point. Even though a given instance of natural description is devoid of that amount of Alamkara as is seen in other turns of ideas and expression found in other Alamkāras, it is all the same Alamkāra since even this natural description has a special chaim born of the poet's genius and, in an unmistakable degree differs from ordinary bald non-literary utterance. Rasas are considered Alamkāras because they also go to beautify expression only. This is the stage in Bhāmaha Dandin represents the next Dandin realises that Svabhāvokti cannot be strictly included in Vakiokti, foi, in it, Vakiatva or 'out-of-the-way-ness' is least. So he divides Kavya-Ukti into the two Uktis of Svabhava-Uktı and Vakra-Uktı

### भिन्न द्विधा स्वभावांकिः वकोक्तिवेति वादमयम् ।

He however retains expressions dominated by Rasa Rasavad Vacah under expressions beautified by Alamkāra, the Rasavad alamkāra. He follows Bhāmaha but amplifies by treating of all the eight Rasas in Rasavad alamkāra. Dandin however is aware of a strange superiority in expressions dominated by Bhāvas and Rasas; he sees that the three cases of Preyas, Rasavat and Urjasvi Alamkāras are superior Alamkāras as compared to other Vakroktis. Hence he says—युक्तोहकर्ष च तत त्रयम् 1—II 275

Bhoja takes the suggestion contained here in Dandin's remark पुक्तिस्पें च तन् त्रम् । and makes a logical analysis of poetic expression into three departments, Natural Description of objects, Figurative Description and Delineation of Emotion Svabhāva-Ukti, Vakiri-Ukti and Rasa Ukti All these three are kinds of Ukti and Bhoja means by Ukti 'poetic expression' which he calls by the name Alamkāra also Foi, to Bhoja, Gunas and Rasas also are Alamkāras, thus Ukti means Alamkāra, the beautiful poetic expression as a whole



UKTI 117

Says Bhoja in Chapter XI of his Sr Pra

" त्रिविधः खत्वलङ्कारवगः, वक्रोक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्र उपमायलङ्कारप्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः, सोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, विभावानुभावन्यभिचारिसयोगानु रसनिष्पत्तौ रसोक्तिरिते ।" In Chapter V of his S K A also, Bhoia savs:

वक्रोक्तिश्च रसोक्तिश्च स्वभवोक्तिश्च वाड्मयम् । सर्वासु ग्राहिणी तासु रसोक्ति प्रतिजानने ॥ -V 8

It was noted above how it was Ukti or Bhangi Bhaniti that distinguished poetic utterance from other utterances. The equation of Ukti with such concepts as Vakrokti, Alamkāra and Nāyaka's Vyāpāra was also made. The observation of Rājašekhara, 'Ukti viśesah kāvyam' was taken as defining Poetiy on the basis of this conception of Ukti. It was interpreted as the peculiar poetic manner of expression and as the most important factor and mark in Poetry as compared to the elements of Śabda and Artha, both of which are subordinate to it. It was shown how this definition was similar to Nāyaka's definition based on Vyāpāra prādhānya

The observation of Bhatta Nāyaka is re-stated by Mahima Bhatta with a change Mahima Bhatta holds that Poetry is utterance in which neither Sabda alone nor Artha alone is important but both together. He says that Kāvya is Ubhaya-pradhāna instead of saying like Nāyaka that Kāvya is Vyāpāra-pradhāna and Ubhaya-apradhāna He says

" त्रिविध हि शास्त्रम्, शब्दप्रधानम्, अर्थप्रधानम्, उभयप्रधानं चेति । तत्र शब्दप्रधानं चेदादि, अध्ययनादेव अभ्युद्यप्रवणात्, मनागपि पाठविपर्यासे प्रत्यवायश्रवणाच । अर्थप्रधानमितिहासपुराणादि, तस्य अर्थवादमात्ररूपत्वात् । उभयप्रधानं सर्गवन्थादिकाव्यम्, तस्य रसात्मकत्वात्, रसस्य च उभ-योचित्येन परिगोपदर्शनात् । काव्यस्यापि शास्त्रत्व प्रतिपादितमेव ।"

 $V\ V\ III$ , p. 122 T. S S See also I p 20

Bhoja must be said to follow Mahima Bhatia's modified statement of Bhatia Nāyaka's distinction between Kāvya on the one hand and Śāstra and Ākhyāna on the other — For, as has been noted above in the text quoted from chapter VII of the *Sr Pra* Bhoja also does not say that in Poetry both Śabda and Artha are subordinated (made Apradhāna or Guna) to something else but says that in Poetry both are Pradhāna

"तत्र ज्ञव्यप्रधानमपोरुषेय imes imes imes अर्थप्रधानमार्षः imes 
The chaim of a poet's verses is lost when their words are changed and ideas modified. Thus it is that Poetry is Ubhaya-pradhāna. This is called by another as maturity of expression—Kāvya Pāka—when the poet has written such lines that even a slight change spoils the effect. Says Rāja-śekhara

पदिनवेहानिष्कम्पता पाक. इत्याचार्याः । तदाहु :—
'आवापोद्धरणे तावद् यावद्दोलायते मनः ।
पदाना स्थापिते स्थैर्ये इन्त सिद्धा सरस्वती ॥'

इति बामनीयाः ।  $\times$   $\times$   $\times$  पदानां परिवृत्तिबैसुस्य पानः े इति वामनीयाः । तदाहु — 'यरपदानि स्थजन्त्येव परिवृत्तिस्याहण्युताम् । तं अब्दन्यायनिष्णाताः अव्द्राक प्रचक्षते ॥ ' ( $V\bar{a}$ mana, I=3) " K=M, p=20

In this Kāvya Pāka which means the 'unchangeability' of the words in Kāvya, is emphasised the same idea as is contained in Mahima Bhatta's and Bhoja's remark that Poetry is Ubhaya-piadhāna

This maturity of Ukti or poetic expression – Kāvyə Palaa or Ukti Pāka —is given by Bhoja as a Guna called Praudlin of Sabda and Artha immediately after the Guna, Ukti

That we are justified in finding such an Ukti-synthesis of a system of thought called Ukti in Bhoja can be granted when one sees what Bahurūpamiśra, a latter-day commentator on the Da%arūpaka, who reproduces many ideas from Bhoja's Sr Pra, has to say. Bahurūpa chooses the word 'Sūkti' instead of 'Ukti' and shows Bhoja's three-fold classification of it and relates to this viewpoint, as we have ourselves done above, the Abhirdhā-prādhānya of Poetry of Nāyaka and the Vakrokti-idea of Poetry of Bhāmaha It is a pity that the text of Bahurūpa's Da\$arūpaka vyākhyā in two volumes in the Madras Govt Oriental MSS Library comes to an abrupt end here. Bahurūpa says.

"केचित् शोभाकरत्व-अविशेषात् रसगुणयोरल्डलकारत्व सन्यन्ते । तन्मते त्रिविधा सूक्तिः स्वभावोक्तिः, वक्षोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरित । तत्र गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, उपमाह्मपकाद्यल्डकारप्राधान्ये वक्षोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद् रसनिप्पन्ते रमोक्तिः । अतः गव्देन अर्थप्रतिपादन भूषिर्तुं यत् कविना उपादी (यते, तत्सर्वम् अल्डकारः) । अतः एव भद्रनायकेन अभिशाव्यापारः (काव्यं प्रधानिसित्युक्तम्) ।

( शब्द ) प्राधान्यसाधित्य तत्र गास्त्रं पृथिग्वदुः । अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु बदन्याम्यानमतयो । द्वर्याग्रणत्वे ( व्यापारप्राधान्ये ) काव्यमेव तत् ॥ भामहेनापि- 'नैपा सर्वेव ( वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो ) विभाव्यते ।' ..... |'' pp 107-8, Mad Ms Bahurūpamısta's D R Vyā I 341

#### APPENDIX

(1) The  $Agm\ Pur\bar{a}na$ , in 337|2-3, states Bhatta Nāyaka's remark on the difference between Kāvya, and Sastra and Itihāsa thus

शास्त्रे शब्दप्रधानत्विमितिहासेषु ( इतिहासेऽर्थ ) निष्ठता । अभिधायाः प्रधानत्वात् क्षाव्य तान्या विभिद्यते॥

(2) Commenting on Dandin II, 13, that in Sästias it is all one statement of things as they are—Svabhāva ākhyāna—and that in Poetry also there are a few cases of this Svabhāva ākhyāna—

शास्त्रेप्वस्यैव साम्राज्यं काव्येप्वग्येतदीप्सितम्।

UKTI 119

The  $Hndayamgam\bar{a}$  points out that Sastras are Tattva Pradhāna or concerned with truthful statement of facts and things as they are, but Poetry is  $Varnam\bar{a}$   $Pradh\bar{a}na$ , Poetry emphasises the mode of giving the thing, 'description' or 'expression' as such

" ज्ञास्त्रेषु धर्माधर्मादिशास्त्रेषु अनृतवचनाभावात् अस्यैव स्वभावाल्ड्कारस्य साम्राज्यं सपत्ति-र्भवति । काट्येप चर्णनाप्राधान्यादः असत्यवचन कल्पितमपि च अस्ति ।"

K  $\bar{A}$ , p 64, Mad Edn

(3) Vidyādhara thus explains Bhatta Nāyaka's remark in his  $Ek\bar{a}val\bar{i}$ 

शब्दप्रभान बेदाच्य प्रभुसंमितमुच्यते । इंपन्पाठान्यथापाठे प्रत्यवायस्य दशनात् ॥ इतिहासादिक शास्त्रं मित्रसंमितमुच्यते । अस्यार्थवावरूपत्वात् कथ्यतेऽर्थप्रधानता ॥ ध्यनिप्रधानं काव्य तु कान्तासंमितमीरितम् । शब्दार्थो गणतां नीत्वा व्यक्तनप्रवण यतः ॥

I 4-6.

As a follower of Ānanda and Abhinavagupta, Vidyādhara has interpreted the Vyāpāra as Dhvani, following Abhinavagupta's observation to that effect in the *Locana* 

"तेन यदाह भट्टनायकः 'शब्दप्राधान्यं + काव्यधीर्भवेत् ।' इति तदपास्तम् । व्यापारो हि यदि ध्वननातमा रसनास्वभावः, तन्न अपूर्वमुक्तम्।" Locana, p 27

#### CHAPTER X

### BHOJA AND VAKROKTI

'बक्कोक्तिरेव काज्यानां परा मधेति मामहः।'

Bhoja Ši Pra Ch. XI

The history of the concept of Vakroktı must be older than Bhāmaha and Dandin, for, we find it used with settled connotation in the works of both writers. It is needless to point out here the very well-known passages on Vakroktı in Bhāmaha. To him, Vakroktı means Alainkāra

वाचां वकार्थशब्दोक्तररुदकाराय कल्पते । V=60 यक्त वकस्वभावोक्त्या सर्वभेवैतदिष्यते । I=30

In his description of the Atisayokti Alamkāra (II, 85) he has used the word Vakrokti as a synonym of Alamkāra. Therefore according to Bhāmaha, the whole realm of poetic expression is permeated with Vakrokti, striking, deviating expression. In II, 86-87, Bhāmaha refutes Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa, that they do not deserve to be called Alamkāra because, in them, the expression as a whole has no Vakrokti in it.

समदायाभिधानस्य वकोक्त्यनभिधानतः । II, 86

This Vakrokti is the one requisite and it distinguishes poetic expression as such. In its absence, Bhāmaha says, we have no Kāvya, but only insipid narration, speech or mere news called Vārtā.

Therefore the distinction in Bhāmaha is between ordinary and poetic expression, Vārtā and Vakrokti. This point as well as another that Bhāmaha does accept Svabhāvokti as an Alamkāra has been elaborately explained by me in my paper on Svabhāvokti (Indian Culture, V, pp. 147-165). None can deny that 'natural description' or Svabhāvokti is a striking and powerful portrature, and as such, differs from mere report of news of ordinary dull speech. Mammata points out that it is this amount of strikingness, and effect in Svabhāvokti that we take as Vaicitrya and count it as an Alamkāra. Even the opponent of Svabhāvokti as an Alamkāra, Kuntaka, who refuses to consider it as an Alamkāra on the plea that Vastu svabhāva is not Alamkāra but is Alamkārya,—even he accepts that instances of graceful and effective penpictures of Nature, men, and things as they are found, constitute Vastu Vakratā (III Unmesa). It is by virtue of this element of Vakratā in it that Bhāmaha also considers it as one of the Alamkāras coming under Vakrokti. It is not unreasonable to hold Svabhāvokti also as an Alamkāra and Vakrokti,

when one can accept delineation of Rasa as a Vakrokti-variety called Rasavat Bhāmaha, thus, has one universe of Vakrokti, falling into three departments, the description of things as they are (अर्थस्य त्दबस्यानं,—स्वमानोत्तिः) more definitely deviating stilking expression deserving the name Vakrokti to the greatest degree, Rūpaka, etc., and thirdly, delineation of Rasa, Rasavad Alamkāra

In Dandin, there appears a clearer analysis Svabhāvokti no doubt involves strikingness, but strikingness is least in it point for further Alamkāra or Vakrokti So it is that Dandin separates it and calls it the first Alamkāra,  $\bar{A}dy\bar{a}$  Alamktih He classifies poetic expression into Vakrokti and Svabhāvokti , description of things as they are and figurative description. The cases of Rasa-delineation, Dandin still keeps like Bhāmaha within Vakrokti.

The third stage is reached in Bhoja who makes a further analysis of poetic expression Elsewhere, in the sections on Ukti, Alamkāra and Svabhāyokti, I have spoken of this subject. Bhoja takes the suggestion directly from Dandin and by Bhoja's time, Rasa has become sufficiently important Though he described the three Alamkaras of Preyas, Rasavat and Ūrjasvi as Vakrokti, Dandin realised that they, as related to Bhavas and Rasas, are of a special nature and of greater appeal. Hence it is that he said of them that they were superior यक्तांत्कर्ष चतत् त्रयम् । Bhoja includes Preyas and Ūrjasvi under Rasavat. He constitutes a class called Rasavad Alamkāra which is the delineation of Rasas and Bhavas, and he separates it from other kinds of Vakrokti This is a better treatment, for, delineation of Rasa has greater affinities with Svabhavokti than with Vakrokti As Jayaratha on Ruyyaka and Ruyyaka himself also point out, the Sahrdaya has a Samvāda in Poetry and it is of two kinds. Citta Saniyada and Vastu Samyada former refers to delineation of Rasa and Bhava, and the latter, to descriptions of Artha or objects. Both are natural non-figurative descriptions and are Rasavad-Alamkāra and Svabhāvoktı. Though Bhoja, following Bhāmaha, Dandin and Vāmana would call the whole realm of poetic expression Alamkāra, he would restrict the name Vakrokti to figures beginning with Upamā Improving upon both Bhāmaha and Dandin, he would separate and exclude the Rasas from it. Thus he says in his S. K. A. Chapter V:

वकोक्तिश्र रमोक्तिश्र स्वभावोक्तिश्र वाइमयम्। SI 8.

In Chapter XI of the & Pra he says that an instance like ''धूमोऽयमने 'is no Alamkāra, because, the necessary Vakratā or poetic beauty is not seen in it. He speaks here of Vakratā or Vakrokti as Alamkāra-sāmānya-laksana, Kāvya śobhā as such

" न चेतद्वाच्य 'धृमोऽयमग्ने ' इत्यात्राग्यर्थान्तरन्यास प्रसजेत् । यद्यपि धूमस्य उत्पाद्यस्य साधनसमर्थोऽधि , तथापि

<sup>&#</sup>x27;काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मान् अलङ्कारान्प्रचक्षते '

इत्येतद्पि सर्वाळङ्कारसाधारणं ळक्षणम् अनुनर्नेश्यमः। ऑन्यान् गति मर्याळङकारजात्यो वकोक्त्यभित्रानवाच्या सर्वान्तः । नदक्तमः—

> वकत्वमेव काव्याना परा भूपेति भामह । रेटपः पुष्णाति सर्वामु प्रायो वकाक्तिए क्रियम् ॥

नन्वेव सित विभावानुभावव्यक्तिचारितयोगाद् रसांनण्यांनाग्न्यायिना न भावतव्यभव अलङ्कार् स्थ नैवेवम् । त्रिविधः खलु अलङ्कार्कार् , वक्षोक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, स्योक्तियः खलु अलङ्कार्कार्यः सामावाक्तिः, स्वभावानुभावव्यक्षितः, नोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये समावाक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यक्षितः, नोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये समावाक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यक्षितः। समाविक्तिः। समाविक्तिः समाविक्तिः। समा

Thus Bhoja uses Alamkāra in the sense in which Vainana used it in his Sūtra I. 1. 2. ফুলিব্ৰুল্ভত meaning poetic beauty in general. In this same sense Bhoja uses the concept of Vakrokti also and in this respect he follows Bhāmaha. Therefore in Bhoja we find Vakrokti used in two senses, the major and the minor, the former meaning poetic expression in general and the latter, only the figures of Upamā, Rūpaka etc. In its second sense we have to trace its history as indicated above through Dandin who first restricted Vakrokti to Rassa and figures like Upamā Finally, Bhoja iestricted it to the figures Upamā etc.

It is not enough if one finds in an expression the presence of the technical features of a particular Alamkāra Besides conformity to the definition, the expression has to exhibit the primary requisite of an all-pervading beauty which alone makes the expression deserve the name of

1 On p 23 of his Theories of Rasa and Dhram Dr. A Sankaran takes this verse as a quotation from Dandin. The first line mentioning the name of Bhāniaha is absent in the printed texts of the  $K\bar{a}nv\bar{a}darsa$ . Dr. Sankaran teels some gap in Dandin's text as it is in II 362, which gap he says this line in Bhoja's quotation fills up.

The text as printed does not seem to have any gap, secondly, if this half verse is added to the text of Dandin, the 362nd verse at the end of this chapter will have to be ended like an epic Anustubh with three feet, or, the line भिन्न द्विधा स्वभावोक्ति वक्षोक्तिश्चेति वादमयम must stand single Thirdly, Vakrokti is certainly old enough for use in Dandin as in the line भिन्न दिना etc., but, when one sees the history and the rise and the time of the currency of various words in the Alamkāra Sāstra, one can see that the concept under the briefer name 'Vakiatā' or 'Vakratva' is very much later than even Ananda. My feeling is that, if this is a quotation by Bhoja, it is from some later writer who adapted and incorporated into his text parts of the texts of older writers, making the necessary changes. If one goes through the Sr Pra one comes across numerous instances of Bhoja giving verses of old writers with necessary changes, he quotes Vāmana's Anustubh Vaidarbhi Riti changing the first line. The Dosa and Guna sections are full of such reproductions with necessary changes from Bhamaha, Dandin and Vamana Therefore it is extremely likely that this verse बक्रदेवसव कृदिवान etc is Bhoja's own One need not be troubled by the introductory words 'तृहत्तम्' which may suggest that the verse is a quotation from another author. We have instances of Bhoja quoting himself with the words 'नदक्तम'

Alamkāra, for Alamkāra is a thing of beauty Bhoja considers this beauty as Vakratva, Vakrokti and Sobhā and gives a very significant interpretation to Dandin's definition of Alamkāra কান্যহামিকেশ্বে ধর্মানু প্রভয়কাশ্ব সুৰক্ষরী।

Herein lies the defence of the Alamkāra school I have spoken of this m my paper on Kriyā Kalpa and Other Names of the Alamkāra Sāstra, published in the IOR, Madras (Vol VIII pp 130-132) Taking the idea of Cārutva or beauty as essential from the text of Ānanda, Abhinava elaborates the idea with illustrations in his Locana on the third Uddyota of the Dhvanyāloka in the following manner.

''तथाजानीयानामिति—चारत्यातिज्ञयवतामित्यर्थः । सुरुक्षिता इति यत् किरु एपा तद्विनर्सुक्तं रुपम्, न तत् कान्ये अभ्यर्थनीयम् । उपमा हि 'यथा गौ तथा गवयः' इति । (रूपक हि ) 'गौवांहीकः' इति । श्रेषः 'द्विचेचने (ऽ चि 'इति ) तन्त्रात्मकः । × × × एवमन्यत् । न चैवमादि कान्योपयोगीति ।" Locana, p. 210

Appayya Dīksıta emphasıses sımılarly that expressions derive their life as Alamkāras by being graceful—Hrdya Otherwise they are not Alamkāras.

"सर्व।ऽपि ह्याउन्कारः कविसमयप्रभिद्धश्चरोधेन हृद्यतया काव्यशोभाकर एव अरुङ्कारतां भजते । अतः 'गोमहशो गवयः' इति नोषमा । 'गौर्वाहीक ' इति न रूपकम् ।'

Citramimāmsā. p 6.

This has been pointed out by Dr S K DE also in the Introduction to his edition of the Vakrokti Iīvita pp xlyi-lyii The truth has been realised by Bhoja and by Abhinava as the texts above quoted clearly show. Hence it cannot be contended by Dr DE that Sanskrit Poetics and the study of the theory of poetic figure owe this idea and its importance to Kuntaka (p. xlvii V. J. Introduction) But it can be accepted that new importance and new enthusiasm for Vakrokti in the post-Ananda period are due mainly to Kuntaka and his V. I Bhoia takes up the Vakrokti from Bhamaha and Dandin, independent of any other writer and without any knowledge of Kuntaka. Bhoja and Kuntaka were writing at the same time and it happens in the history and destinies of ideas and subjects, that, at different places, different scholars happen to work at the same idea. The current of Vakrokti coming down from the hill of Bhāmaha had two courses There is one culmination in Bhoja and another in Kuntaka Regarding Kuntaka and how he developed the doctrine of Vakrokti or Vakrata as the life of Poetry, there is little need to devote any part of this study.

Though Bhoja definitely put down Vakrokti as a general name for all figures beginning with Upamā, he retained the substance of Bhāmaha's conception of poetic expression as Alamkāra to which also Bhoja applied the name Vakrokti. To avoid confusion Bhoja restricts the word Vakrokti to the minor sense of figures. Upamā etc., and generally applies the name Alamkāra to the larger concept. The use of the word Vakrokti in the larger sense is only rare in Bhoja. Elsewhere however Bhoja uses the concept.

and name Vakratā in the larger sense of poetic expression as such, forming the very distinguishing mark of Poetry—It seems that Bhoja turns back to concur verbally also with Bhāmaha—It is surprising how Bhoja's standpoint agrees so remarkably with that of Kuntaka—We shall now examine this aspect of the question.

It is in connection with Dhvani, and this again is strange and suggestive, that Bhoja talks of Vakiata Bhoja holds Dhyani as a variety of Tatpaiva and also as the poetic counterpart of the prosaic factor of Tatparya. The intention of the speaker in ordinary affairs and expressions is called Tatparya whereas the same, as far as Kavya is concerned, is called Dhyani. He says ' तालुर्यमेव वसरि ध्वासरेव यहने ' and a perusal of the section on Bhoja and Dhyani will elucidate the point. Bhoja asks himself. wherefore this classification of expression into two kinds, Laukika and Sastriva on the one hand and poetic on the other? He speaks of Vacas. ordinary expression, and as against it, of Kayya. He does not say that Dhyani marks off the Kävya, for, he considers Dhyani as part of Tatparya and as obtainable in ordinary expression also, Dhyani being only another name for Tatparya. Then, what is it that Bhoja finds out as the element which distinguishes the poetic and the non-poetic expression? He says that beauty or poetic chaim called Vakiatā distinguishes the two. In the ordinary speech there is a blunt straightforwardness in expression and there is no regard for beautifully saying things. The manner of saying things in a beautiful and embellished way is discounted and is considered as an extravagance. When, of course, one praises or abuses, he heightens or lowers and resorts to his powers of praising or damning by the power of his expression Literary expression now results

''—नात्पर्य, यस्य काव्येषु 'वनिरिति प्रसिक्ति । तर्काम 'तात्पर्यसेव वर्चार वान्येव काव्ये '

# कः पुनरनयो काव्यवच्यन्तोः ध्वनिनात्पर्ययोः विशेष ८ उत्त्यते

यदवक वच आसे ठोके च वच एवं नत्। वक श्रदर्थवादार्वे। तस्य काव्यक्तिति स्पति ॥

Si Pia Vol I p 427 chap VI

Again, at the end of his treatment of Dhyani, Bhoja says

"क पुनः काव्यवचर्मोः ध्वनितात्पर्ययो विशेष / नम्क पुरस्तात -

यदनक वचः शास्त्र लोकं च वच एव तत् । वक यदर्थवादादे। तस्य काव्यसिति स्मृति ॥

Śr Pra Vol II p 42 chap VII

This is almost a definition of Kāvya in terms of Vakialā or Vakiokti and in this respect, Bhoja would use Vakrokti or rather the name Vakiatva in the sense of Bhāmaha's Vakrokti, comprehending all the three Uktis of Svabhāva, minor Vakra, and Rasa Thus Bhoja has a major and a minor

Vakiokti and corresponding to the two, a major and a The conception of two Alamkaras, Alamkāra the maior Saundarva or meaning poetic beauty. and the latter Alanıkāra meaning only figures like Upamā, corresponds to Vāmana's view. In Bhoja's opinion Dhvani as such does not distinguish Poetry so much as this primary Vakratā without which Kāvya will only be mere Vacas, and as noted earlier, even Alamkaras cease to have any right to deserve that Therefore even Dhyani will cease to be poetic when it is not the case of an expression which is essentially beautiful. This insistence on an essential and primary beauty lying at the very basis of poetic expression is accepted by Abhinava also. This has been pointed out by me in the paper on Kriyā Kalpa With regard to Dhvani, Abhinava says that even Dhyani has to be beautiful

"नन्वव 'सिप्टो वटु.' इत्यत्रापि काव्यरूपता स्यात् ।  $\times \times \times \times$  गुणालट्कारौचित्यसुन्दर- शब्दावैशरीरस्य सित् व्वनगत्मिन आत्मिन काव्यरूपताव्यवहारः ।" Locana p 17.

"—तन सर्वत्रापि न ध्वननसदभावेऽपि तथा व्यवहार: 1" Ibid p. 28

This Gunalamkara-aucitya-saundarya of the Sabdartha or the Sarīra of Poetry is held by others as comprehended in the composite concept of Vakratā, Vakrokti or Alamkāra This is a strong point for the Vakrokti and the Tatparya schools of thought and a somewhat weak point for the Dhyanivadins Take for instance the implication or the suggestion of a prohibition from an expressed injunction-Nisedha from Vidhi-as in the well known Gāthā. भूम अम्मिअ etc The Dhvani-theorist who refutes the Laksanāvādin stresses this as the chief point everywhere that Dhvani cannot be Laksana, since in the latter, the primary sense is incompatible whereas in Dhyani, the primary meaning also is acceptable and as such forms part of the intention of the speaker. If the cleverness of the lady of the Gatha speaking to the pious man is the point in the verse, if her clever speech is of importance as much as her final intention of preventing him from frequenting the banks of the Godavari, if much, if not all, of the poetic beauty of this Gatha is due only to the way in which the clever ladv told the prohibition in the form of an injunction, if the primary sense also matters, the ground is let to the Vakrokti-vadin who considers the out-ofthe-way, strange and beautiful expression, Vakra-Ukti, as such, as the life of Poetry, and Dhvani as one of the many elements helping this Vakrata or resulting from this Vakratā Śrī Harsa, the poet, makes this "reconciliation", if it can be called so, between Vakrokti and Dhvani, in his own characteristic way of introducing Sastraic ideas into his poem

> निषेश्र**वेपो** विधिरेप तेऽथवा तवेव युक्ता खळु वाचि **वक्रता** । विजृम्मित यस्य किळ ध्**वने**रिदं विदम्धनारीवदन तदाकरः ॥ *N C* IX. 50

As one of those following the ancients and as one who emphasises the expression-aspect or the form in the terms Alamkāra and Vakratā, Bhoja considers Dhvani also as an embellisher of expression, as the Guna called Gāmbhīrya (Hence Dhvani is an Alamkāra, for, Bhoja holds all the Gunas as Alamkāras) And Rasas also are taken as Alamkāra by Bhoja Thus, Rasa, Dhvani, and everything go to make the beauty called Vakratā that is Poetry. So Bhoja will accept Dhvani and will consider it as holding a supreme position in Poetry. প্রনিইব ক্রিব, but he will at the same time emphasise Vakratā

#### BHOIA AND KUNTAKA

There are many similarities between Bhoja and Kuntaka First of all there is agreement to a notable degree regarding the concept of Vakiokti or Vakratā considered as the life of Poetry or the very distinguishing mark of Kāvya In Bhoja, however, there is but a verse on this Vakratā, Kuntaka works out the idea into a whole work Kuntaka defines Poetry as Sabda and Artha in unison and set in Vakiokti

अन्दार्थो सहिते। वक्तकविन्यापारशास्त्रिन । वन्धे व्यवस्थितो काव्य तदिवाह्यकार्शण ॥ 1.7 V J

2. Bhoja will not deny that his Vakitatā which distinguishes Kāvya from Vacas, is synonymous with Alamkāra. He classifies this Vakitatā or Alamkāra into Gunas (Svabhāvokti), Arthālamkāras (Vakitokti in a restricted sense), and Rasas (Rasokti). Kuntaka is a similai reviver of the old Alamkāra. His Vakrokti which is of six kinds is equated by him with Alamkāra. He says that there are only two factors in Poetry, Alamkāra and Alamkāra, the latter is Vakrokti.

काव्यस्थायमञ्ज्ञकारः कोडःयपूर्वे। विधायते । 1 - 2 - V - J उमावितावञ्चकार्ये। तथोः पुनरुङ्कृतिः ।  $\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}$ 

To Kuntaka also, therefore, Dhyani which comes under certain aspects of his Vakiatā, is Alamkāra Kuntaka says actually that Gunas also are Alamkāras

"अलङ्कारशन्दः गरीरस्य शोभातिशयकारित्वान सुन्धतया कटकारिषु वर्तन, नत्कारित्वसामान्याद् उपचारादुषमाथिषु, तक्कदेख च तत्स्सष्टशेषु सुर्णेष्—।" --"  $V.\ J$  p 3

Though Kuntaka expressly refutes at length the older view that Rasas are Alamkāras and accepts mostly the new ideas on Rasa, as on Dhvani, he treats of Rasa as if it is also part of Vakitatā, the poet's peculiai mode of expression, as part of his Vastu vakiratā III, 7, pp. 150-3. On the surface one must say that Kuntaka differs from Bhoja, for, while Bhoja follows Bhāmaha's and Dandin's view of Rasa as Rasavad Alamkāra, Kuntaka criticises Bhāmaha on this point III, 10, pp. 156-166. He holds Rasas as Alamkāryas. But Bhoja and Kuntaka agice in the main that Poetry is

distinguished by Vakiatā, that Vakrokti or Vakratā means Alamkāra in general and that Gunas and Dhvani also form part of it. If one can grant that anything coming under Poetry is directly or ultimately a manifestation of the poet's Vakra vyāpāra or Vakratā according to Kuntaka, and if all Vakratā is, as Kuntaka himself says, Alamkāra in a general sense of the term, he can see that Bhoja and Kuntaka completely agree with each other Bhoja brings under Sabdālamkāra the proper choice of the form of composition, of appropriate language, of appropriate medium of verse or prose, the adopting of the proper Vrtti and Rīti etc. Most of these are generally comprehended in one or the other of the sub-varieties of the six kinds of Kuntaka's Vakratā. Any element of poetry, Rīti, Dhvani, Sabdālamkāra or Guna, Kuntaka must deal under some kind of his Vakratā

3 Another point of striking similarity between Kuntaka and Bhoja is that they both recognise the factor called Alamkāra of "Prabandha". Bhoja, it will be explained at length in the Alamkāra section, considers that Gunas and Alamkāras are of two kinds, those of Vākya and those of Prabandha. He gives a set of Gunas and Alamkāras for the work as a whole. This corresponds to some aspects of Kuntaka's Prakaraṇa vakratā and Prabandha vakratā. Thus the second aspect of Prakarana vakratā given by Kuntaka

दतिवृत्तप्रयुक्तेऽपि कथावे चित्र्यवत्मेनि । उत्पादालवलावण्यादन्या भवति वकता ॥

corresponds to what Bhoja describes as Prabandha dosa hāna, avoiding the Anaucityas in the source by new imaginative creations and deviations from the original  $\dot{Sr}$ , Pra chapter xi

Then Kuntaka gives সুমুর্গান্তানুসালুকাল as a Prakarana vakratā pp 225-6. Bhoja similarly speaks of Suślista sandhitva (মুক্তিয়ান্ত্রনান্ত্রনা) which is explained with reference to Mahākāvyas as the unity and the mutual help between the various cantos and subject-divisions forming part of the one unity—Ekavākyatā and Prabandha-upakāritva P 431, chapter xi, Vol II, \$r Pra

Kuntaka explains his Vakratā with reference to Kāvyas also in IV 9 (P 231)

" कथावैचित्र्यपात्र तद् विक्रमाणं प्रपद्यते । यददग सर्गवन्धादे सान्दर्याय निवन्धते ॥ "

''—यदङ्ग संगवन्धादः सौन्दर्शय निवश्यते । यज्जलकीडादिप्रकरणं महाकाव्यप्रभृतेः उपशोभा-निष्यस्ये निवेदयते ।

Bhoja considers these as Artha-alamkāras of Prabandha

"नगराश्रमङोळमेन्याबाराणिबादिवणेनम्, ऋतुरात्रिठिबांकास्तमयचन्द्रोद्यादिवणेनम्, नायक-नायिकाकुमारमहायबाह्नाहिवणेनम्, मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणसप्रामाभ्युद्यादिवणेनम्, बनविहारजल्ह्यीडामधु-पानमानापरामरनोत्स्वाह्विक्येनसस्यर्थाल्डकाराः।" P 431. Vol. II. Sr. Pra. The next Vakratā of Prakarana in Kuntaka is about Rasa, the Angin and the Anga, chief and accessory IV 10 pp 232-3 Bhoja considers this as an Artha guna of the Prabandha and calls it "Rasa bhāva nirantaratvam". He explains this as incliness in emotions. The one main interest of a single Rasa is like eating one kind of dish continuously, it produces Vairasya, therefore there are to be many subsidiary emotional interests.

Another Vakratā of Prakarana is explained by Kuntaka as the introduction of episodes.

प्रधानवस्तुर्भनपुर्त्ये यस् वस्तरांपचित्रता । यत्रोङ्गाति सीक्षेत्रा गापसायस्य वक्ष्ता ॥ - Pp 203-4 V/J

This is taken up by Bhoja under two heads . पताक्षात्रक्षर्यांत्रकरपनम् and कथान्तरा-तुपञ्जनम् , two Ubhayālamkāras of Prabandha (p. 443 Vol. II. St. Pra).

कचित्रकरणस्यान्तः स्मृत प्रकारणान्तरम् । सर्वप्रवन्थसर्वस्वकळां पुष्णाति वकताम् ॥ । р.  $235\ V\ J$ 

Bhoja counts the same feature as one of the items of his Ubhayālanikāta of Prabandha—गर्भाइ स्विधानम् (i) 422 Vol II Si Pra) Both Kuntaka and Bhoja cite the same instance of the diama within the third act of the Bâla-rāmāyana called Sītā svayanivara, श्रवणे। अञ्चलनेंग्रे etc (III 12).

The last Prakarana vakratā prakāra spoken of by Kuntaka (p. 236) is the well-knit expression of the plot in a drama or in a story, through the successive stages of the development of the purpose in the Sandhis

मुखामिसन्धिमन्यादिसांबधानकवन्धुरम् । पूर्वे।नरानुसङ्गत्या ( यदगा ) ना धिनिवेशनम् ॥

Bhoja has, corresponding to Kuntaka's phrase ' मध्यानकवन्तुरम् ' the phrase 'सम्यक्छक्षणयोगेन स्विधानमुस्त्रता' (p 411 Vol II *Si Pra*) and corresponding to this Prakarana vakrata, Bhoja has the Ubhayālamkāna चीजचिन्दुपताकाप्रकरीनकार्योपकल्पनम्" (p 431) The Sabda guna of Prabhandha called Suklista sandhitva also refers to this (P. 431)

The last kind of Prabandha vakratā in the text of the  $V\ J$  (as now available in Dr De's Edn) refers to the Vyutpatti derived by a spectator or a reader, the spiritual, ethical, or the social end

 This Bhoja calls as the Mahāvākyārtha which helps man's attainment of the four aims of virtue, desire, material prosperity, and spiritual salvation. Bhoja holds this Mahāvākyārtha as a transformation, Viparināma, of the Sabda Brahman.

"यस्तु तद्रूपरामायणादिश्रवन्थार्थानाम् अवधारणेन उपहितसंस्कारस्य" 'रामवद् वर्तितव्यं, न रावणवद्' इत्यादिविधिनिपेधप्रतिभाविशेष उपजायते, स समस्तविश्वव्यापी चतुर्वर्गैकहेतु. परो महा-वाक्यार्थः अर्थमूर्त्या विपरिणतमनादिनिधनम् अखण्डं शब्दब्रह्मेति उच्यते।

> अखण्ड सैप वाक्यार्थः शब्दब्रह्मोति गीयते । शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्णातः परं ब्रह्माश्चिगच्छति ॥ इदमाद्य पदस्थानं निद्धिसोपानपर्वणाम् । इय सा मोक्षमाणानामजिद्धा राजपद्धतिः "॥ (Vākyapadīya). P 143 Chap, VIII. Vol II Sr Pra

Of this Mahāvākyārtha, Bhoja speaks at greater length in chapter vi (Vol I. p. 407 onwards).

"सर्व हि बाक्य विधिनिषेधयोरेव पर्यवस्यति।  $\times \times$  किन्न महावाक्यैरिप रामायणादिभिरिदमेव व्युत्पाद्यते। रामस्य पितुराज्ञां पालयतः वननिवासिनोऽपि तथावियोऽभ्युदयः संदृतः, रावणस्य परदारान् अभिल्यत त्रेलोक्यविजयिनोऽपि तथाविध उच्छेदः। तस्मात् पितुराज्ञा पालयेत्, परदारान् नाभि-ल्येत्, रामबद्वेतंत, न रावणवद्, इति।"

He speaks of this twice again in his two Prabandha-features-

'चतुर्वर्गफलायन्त्वम्' and 'विधिनिषेधच्युत्पादक्रवम्' p 430. Vol II. a Prabandha guṇa and a Prabandha alamkāra.

''विधिनिषेधच्युत्पाद्करवेन तु गुणवतो नायकस्य उस्कर्षप्रकाशनेन दोषवतश्चोच्छेदप्रदर्शनेन जिगुपूणा गुणवतेव भाव्यम् , न दोषवतेति व्युत्पादयति ।'' p. 432.

4 Another important concept on which Kuntaka made a valuable contribution is Sāhitya. It is again remarkable how, almost at the same time, the same concept possessed another writer and clamoured for definition. Bhoja and Kuntaka are the two most important names in the history of Sāhitya, which have been dealt with in the section on Sāhitya. Here it is necessary to point out only a few facts of similarity regarding that concept between Bhoja and Kuntaka. Both start with Bhāmaha's definition—काच्याओं सिंहतीं काच्यम्। Secondly, Bhoja analyses this Sāhitya between Sābda and Artha into twelve relations, eight of which are grammatical and the last four of which refer to poetical relations. If we leave aside the first eight and take into consideration the last fourfold literary Sāhitya in the shape of avoiding of flaw, taking of Gunas, adding of ornaments, and securing the eternal presence of Rasa, we can see that Bhoja will not refute us if we equate his Sāhitya with Alamkāra For, to Bhoja, Gunas, figures and Rasas are all Alamkāra. Similar is the case with Kuntaka's Sāhitya. Though Kuntaka describes Sāhitya in

his own way, it can be contended that his Sāhitya also is a kind of Vakratā; and Vakratā, we have already pointed out, is Alamkāra — In Poetry, Kuntaka says, there are, to begin with, three factors - Sabdārtha. Sāhitya and Vakratā Sāhitya can be merged in Vakratā and finally only two categories remain, Kāvya which is Alamkārya and Alamkāra which is Vakratā. — In I. 17, which defines Sāhitya, Kuntaka gives it as দ্বাধি গ্ৰাধিপ্ৰি, and in the Vrtti as দ্বাক্ষিবিৰ ৰাজ্যবিক্ষাৰেণ্ড্ৰণ নাচিক্তব্যক্ষিক নামি দ্বাধি। — p 27.

Thus there are many points of similarity between Bhoja and Kuntaka, two great writers of the post-Ananda period, who accepted Dhyani and Rasa, with all their supremacy, but took up the old concept of Alamkāra and Vakrokti and elaborated systems out of them. But there is a good deal of difference also between the two writers. In the concluding part of chapter vi while dealing with Vākyārtha, and in the middle of chapter xi while beginning the treatment of Prabandhas. Bhoja considers the significance of the names of works like Jānakī-harana, Kamara sambhava, etc. In the former context at least, there is some amount of literary treatment of these names as giving to us the idea of the poem, the Vākyārtha. But in the latter context i.e., in chapter xi, Bhoja goes into these names as a giammarian enquiring what Samāsa is involved in them. Compared with these two treatments of names of works, Kuntaka's Prabandhavakratā referring to the significant and beautiful titling of a composition, exhibits greater literary value.

आस्तां वस्तुषु वेदग्य काव्ये कार्माप वक्रताम । प्रधानमविधानावकामाप्राप कृत्ते कवि ॥ V J IV 21 See also Vrtti on p 243 V. J.

In the same manner Kuntaka's treatment of Sāhitya is very much superior to that of Bhoja. Kuntaka relegates the question of Pada, Vākya, Artha, Tātparya etc., to an alien sphere and considers in his work Sahitya from a purely poetic standpoint. Again, Bhoja has devoted chapters to a consideration of Sabda and Artha and his treatment of these two is purely grammatical Compared to it Kuntaka's treatment of Sabda and Artha in the definition—Sabdārthau sahitau kānyam—contains very beautiful ideas of great literary value, V J I 8-9, Pp 14-22, Sabdārtha pāramārthya.

To return to Bhoja and Vakrokti the only Sütta-like verse of Bhoja on Vakrokti as a 'definition' of Poetry is the above-referred to verse

यदवक वच शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत् । वकं यदर्थवादारौ तस्य कार्व्यामित स्मृतिः ॥

What exactly Bhoja comprehended under the 'etc' in the word 'Artha-vād $\bar{a}dau$ ' is not known. Artha-vāda, Bhoja defines elsewhere in the midst of the several Vākyadharmas, as praise or abuse and turning the idea to surt

ether. Anyway, an Arthavāda is an exaggeration this way or that, an Atisayokti  $^{\mbox{\tiny J}}$ 

'' स्तुर्तिनिन्दार्थमितिशयोक्तिरर्थवाद' । तद्यथा—मनोजवोऽश्वः, विश्वव्यापिनी तृष्णेति । यथा च स्तुतौ—

> कवीना मानसं नौमि तरन्ति प्रतिभांभसि । यत्र हसवयासीव भुवनानि चतुर्दश ॥

यथा वा निन्दायाम---

येषा प्राणिवधः कीडा नर्म मर्मच्छिदो गिरः। परापवाद कर्तव्यं ते मृत्योरपि मत्यवः॥

Vol II. p 156 Mad Ms Chap 9.

This kind of approach to Poetry seems to correspond to what Rājašekhara records as Yāyāvarīya's opinion that in Poetry things are not what they are, but what they are to the mind of the poet or of the poet's characters—Pratibhāsa nibandhanam (pp.  $44-45\ KM$ ) and as the opinion of his own wrife, Avantisundaiī, who says, "there is no constant nature of things, so far as Poetry is concerned, for, the poet's artistic mind and the poet's turns of expressions conceive of things in all sorts of ways". The scientific nature of a thing which is the fact does not matter for the poet; he makes things good or bad by his conception and expression; he praises the moon and calls it the 'nectar-rayed', and if he has to say against it, he calls it 'dosā-kara'

"'विदम्यमणितिमिर्गिनेवयं वस्तुनो रूप न नियतस्वभावम्' इति अवन्तिमुन्दरी । तदाह— 'वस्तुस्वभावोऽत्र कविरतन्त्र' गुणागुणावुक्तिवशेन काव्ये । स्तुविश्वभात्यमृताशुमिन्दु निन्देस्तु दोपाकरमाह धूर्तः॥'" P. 46. K.M.

This can also be compared to what Yāyāvarīya says on p. 25 that in Poetry there is no question of things being true or untrue, Satya and Asatya. It is all one Arthavāda.

"नासत्य नाम किञ्चन काव्ये यस्तु स्तुत्येष्वर्थवादः। स न परं कविकर्माण श्रुतो च जास्त्रे च लोके च॥"

This verse throws some light on Bhoja's brief utterance on Vakratā, Kāvya and Arthavāda Even in Veda, Śāstra and Loka, cases of Arthavāda are cases of Poetry By the etc—Ādi—in the statement 'Vakram yad arthavādādau', Professoi S Kuppuswami Sastri suggests that Bhoja may mean Mantra, the Stotras and descriptive Rks, since they form Poetry. But the word  $\bar{A}di$  seems to me unnecessary and Arthavāda, by itself, seems to give some kind of definition of Poetry In Arthavāda, we cast away the facesense, and so also in Poetry We take the intention or the real sense which is either Stuti (Praise) or Nindā (Condemnation) In Poetry also, there are

<sup>1</sup> Cf Bhāmaha's idea that all poetic expression involves Atisayokti Bhāmaha II, 85, Dandin II, 220, Ananda III Pp 207-8

only two facts—heightening of objects and lowering them, Utkarsa and Apakarsa, according to the context or the theme, Artha and Rasa Says Mahima Bhatta also.

बिना उस्क्रपांपकर्पास्था स्वदन्तेऽपी न जानुनित । तदर्थमेव कथ्योऽळ $\epsilon$  हारान पर्युपागते ॥  $V = V = 0.50 - \Gamma - S - S$ 

Ratneśvara, commentator on Bhoja's S K  $\hat{A}$ , as has been already proved, is acquained with Bhoja's Sr Pra well. He explains somewhat Bhoja's notion of Vakratā. He quotes this Amistubh karikā of Bhoja on Vakratā, namely, Yad avakram etc., in his commentary on the S K  $\hat{A}$ . Bhoja has a 'flaw' among his Dosas called Arītimat which is the reverse of the nine Gunas, Ślesa, etc. One kind of this Arītimat is the reverse of the Guna of Audārya. Audārya viparyaya which Bhoja describes as Analamkara.

" यस्तु रीतेरनिर्वाहाद औदार्थस्य विषयेय । बाक्य तदनलङ्कारमलक्ष्यार्गवदी विदः॥

Vrtti:

तिवदमपुष्टार्थेन्बाद् अनुन्कृष्टविशेषणमनुवार निरस्टकारमाचक्षते सीड्यमीवर्धिवर्धम्  $\cdots$ । " S=K=A=1-p. 30

Here, in the word Analamkāra, the name Alamkāra is used to mean the common, minimum, or prime requisite of beauty necessary for making any utterance poetic. Bhoja uses the word in the very general sense in which he uses it when he classifies it into Svabhāvokti, Vakrokti and Rasokti Asimilar instance of Bhoja's use of the word Alamkāra in this wider sense Bhoja's Vākyātha Dosa called Niralamkāra. Under this Dosa also, Bhoja emphasises the same point. Any expression to be poetic must have 'Alamkāra', otherwise it is bald. Raticsvara, while commenting on the Audārya viparyaya, explains this point. He says that without Vakrata there is no possibility of Poetry. Thus run his comments.

"यस्तु रीतिरिति । काव्यरूपताप्रयोजकं शब्दार्थयोः चकताः उदारता । न हि वकताः सन्तरेण काव्यपदवीप्राप्ति । तदाह——

'यतु ( द ) वक बच. शास्त्रे लोके च बच एव तरा । बक यदनुरागादें। तत्र काब्यमिति श्रृति: ॥' (Śr. Pra.)

तदेतदरुङकारमामान्यस्यामाचे निरलङ्कारना भवतीत्याह—-अनल्य धार्गामान् । ..प्रकृतोदाहरणे द्वयोः ( शब्दार्थयोः ) अवकल्य स्फुटयति ।'' P 30 S K Ā

Ratneśvara has here quoted the verse of Bhoja on Vakratva, 'Yad avakram etc.,' given by him twice in his  $\hat{S}i$  Pra. The context in which Ratneśvara quotes it and the purpose for which he quotes it make the meaning of the verse pretty plan. Ratneśvara says that Alamkāra signifies the prime essential element of beauty and is synoymous with Vakratva which is the condition that makes for Poetry—Kāvya rūpatā prayojaka, and it is to supplement this that Ratneśvara quotes the Kārikā of Bhoja on Vakratā from his  $\hat{S}r$  Pra

The Kārıkā as quoted by Ratneśvara, reads in the first line युनु वृक्षम् for युद्वकृम् and is a clear mistake. In the last quarter there is an insignificant change तन for तस्त्र and अति for स्मृतिः. But a really noteworthy change is in the third quarter which substitutes the word 'Anurāgādau' for 'Arthavādādau' Perhaps both mean the same thing Anurāga means love and consequently praise and by 'Ādi' is meant Dveşa or dislike and consequently abuse. Thus 'Anurāgādau' also we may take as meaning Stuti and Nindā'

" वकताव्यतिरेकेऽलङ्कारसामान्यमेव न स्यादिति निरलङ्कारमित्युक्तम् । ×××

ततो **जात्य**लङ्कारेण **वक्तत्व**माक्षिप्यते ।  $\times \times \times$  स्वरूपं चमत्कारिकविप्रतिभामात्रप्रका-शतीय रूप तदेव अलङ्कारकक्षामधिशेते ।  $\times \times \times$ 

कथ तिहैं वक्रताभावरूपदीर्षपुच्छ इत्यादिः शब्ददोषाद् भिग्नते  $\times \times \times \times$  शब्दानामेव वक्रताब्यितिरेकेण अपवादः इति शब्ददृष्णम् : इह तु न तथा । किन्तु उक्तमेव स्वरूपं न वक्रम् इति वाक्यार्थं एव दृष्टः ।" P 38. S. K. A  $Vy\bar{a}$ 

The previous instance of Audārya viparyaya or Analamkāra emphasises sabda vakratā as essential and this Vākyārtha doṣa of Niralamkāra, Artha vakratā

Earlier also, while commenting on the opening part of the flaw Arītimat, Ratneśvara has some introductory remarks where he points out that the nine Gunas, Śleşa etc., secure the requisite Vakratā without which an expression cannot be called Poetry

" एतर् ( श्रवादिनवगुण ) योगात् वकरूपताम् आसाद्य कान्यव्यपदेश रुभते ।" P. 24.

Both Bhoja and Ratneśvara follow Vāmana on the difference between Guṇas and Alamkāras In the larger sense of the term Alamkāra as Saundarya or Kāvya-śobhākara-dharma, Guṇa also is Alamkāra But Guṇa is a necessity, Nitya, and Alamkāra or figure like Upamā is only optional, Anitya In the absence of the former, there is no Kāvya; the latter is only to add additional grace Thus the basic beauty or Vakratā is due to the Gunas This Vakratā increases by addition of Alamkāras like Upamā Hence it is, by the way, the reason why Vakrokti and Alamkāra though they mean Guṇa also, mean, par excellence, figures like Upamā which add the more easily perceptible Vakratva

<sup>1</sup> There is also the third state of Mādhyasthya which means neither Praise nor Abuse. See Pālyakīrti's view on p. 46 Rājašekhara's K. M.

Under the Sabda guna Samādhi, Ratnesvara explains Vakratī as underlying Samādhi

"सम्यगाधान आरोपण समाधिः। सम्यवत्य च वकता, छो हातिगत्वम --।" P 54

Under the Artha-guna, Slesa, Ratneśvara takes Várnana's Kautilya as Vakratā

''—तत्रेव कौटित्यं लोकातिगामिनी वकता । अपक्रभोः शत्याभी वचनगात्रत्यात् ।''

P 63

The second sentence is a paraphrase of Bhoja's dictum that Kayva and Vacas are Vakra and Avakra

Again under the Guna, Samata of Artha, Ratnesvara remarks that Vakratā is absolutely essential

" बक्ता चात्र विशेषणमृहनीयम् ' अन्याया भुतवा बाजवीत्यतः हो विशेष १ वतः । "P 64 On the Vaisesta guna of Analamkāra, he says

''अन्गतेन वर्कामावेन तत्यमर्थनात् । ' P 100

Under the Vasseşika Guna, Niralamkāra, Ratnesvara straightly puts Vakratva as Alamkāra

"--- वकत्वं च अलङ्कार इति । ×× सामान्येन सकता प्रकाशन एव।" P. 109

#### The Vakrokti-alamkāra.

Side by side with this larger concept of Vakrokti, which meant poetic speech and Alamkara in general, there must have been a kind of poetic figure of this name involving clever dialogue turning on ordinary and word-split (Bhanga-ślesa) puns. We do not meet with Vakrokti as a special figure in Bhāmaha and Dandin, both of whom use the word as a common name for Alamkāra in general. But, when Dandin says that in Vakrokti in general, Slesa adds charm, he seems to minimise the scope of Vakrokti. for it is not all kinds of Vakrokti that involve slesa. But much cannot be made out of this remark of Dandin, who simply says that Slesa is an element which can beautify many other Alamkaias In theoretical writings, it is only when we come to Rudrata that we find the first writer who gives the smaller Vakrokti. Rudrata never speaks of Vakrokti as a name of Alamkara in general. He gives a śabdālamkāra called Vakrokti, which is a dialogue involving intonation cleverly employed to change the meaning and another variety of the same which employs word-split pun (II 14-17). The variety employing Kaku soon ceased to be considered as an instance of Vakrokti and Rājašekhara cuticises it in his Kāvya-mīmāmsā. In Ānanda's time, we have poet Ratnākara writing his minor poem Vakrokti-pancāśikā, which contains Vakiokti involving Bhanga-slesa, one of the two varieties of Rudiata Mammata accepted Rudrata completely and gives both the Bhanga-Sleşa and Kāku Vakiokti in the śabdālamkāra section Hemacandra, following Rājasekhara, refuses to accept Kāku as a variety of Vakroktı, as follower of Ānanda, he places Kāku under Gunībhūta-vyaṅgya and accepts only Bhaṅgasleṣa-vakrokti as a Ṣabdā-lamkāra Mammata has added Abhaṅgasleṣa also to what Rudrata gave and, on this point, Hemacandra follows Mammata Ruyyaka accepts (p 175) Mammata's position and gives both Slesa and Kāku Vakroktis, though he takes them over to the Arthālamkāra section Ruyyaka decides the future for this Vakrokti; Vidyānātha follows him (p 296. Bāla Edn) and so also Appayya Dīksita Viśvanātha however chooses to follow Mammata completely in retaining Vakrokti as a Ṣabdālamkāra

Thus, after the time of Rudrata, the word Vakroktı was signifying both the particular poetic figure of Sabda or of Artha, and the general concept of Alankāra as such. It is likely that, as a name for that kind of dialogue in which one outwits another by word-split puns, the history of the word goes far back into those days of Poetics of which we have no work left to us. It is very intelligible how this kind of speech came to be called Vakra-ukti, crooked speech. How by Bhāmaha's time the name Vakrokti came to mean Alamkāra in general, so much, that we do not see any trace of the particular figure going by that name, is not known. But it cannot be settled whether Sabdālamkāra Bhanga-slesa. Vakrokti expanded into the larger Vakrokti or the larger Vakrokti of Bhāmaha and Dandin sank to the level of the mere Sabdalamkāra of that name in Rudrata. In the Dhvanyāloka of Ānanda, Vakrokti as meaning the larger common name of Alamkāra, is met with m. Ud. II. Ruyyaka says that the word means both.

"वक्रोक्तिशन्दश्च अलङ्कारसामान्यवचनोऽपि इह अलङ्कारविशेषे संनितः।" P. 177.

and Vidyānātha also says regarding the Vakrokti-arthālamkāra:

'उक्तिवकत्वे कथानित्संभवत्यिष एवविधलक्षणाभावात् सर्वालङ्कारेभ्यो भिद्यते । P 296

In Bhoja, we meet with this smaller Vakrokti meaning a particular poetic figure also, alongside of the larger concept of that name Bhoja, in common with Mammata, follows Rudrata in accepting Rudrata's Vakrokti as given by him as a Sabdālamkāra But Bhoja makes it a sub-variety of a new class of Sabdālamkāra constituted by himself All instances of Vakrokti, as seen in Alamkāra texts and in such examples of it as the Vakrokti-pañcāšikā are dialogues and this element of dialogue is taken and made a major type of Sabdālamkāra called Vākovākva by Bhoja

उक्तिप्रत्यक्तिमद् वाक्य वाकोवाक्य विदुर्बुधाः । II 143 p 252 S K. A.

One of the six varieties of this dialogue and repartee called Vākovākya is Vakrokti Bhoja accepts only the Slesa variety of Vakrokti of Rudrata. The Kāku variety he has separated , Kāku by itself is brought under another Sabdālamkāia called Pathiti by Bhoja, which is more intelligible (P 164, S K  $\bar{A}$ ) Slesa-vakrokti is divided by Bhoja into two kinds—Nirvyūdha and Anirvyūdha The former is sustained Vakrokti running to the end of the verse , the latter is not so sustained Bhoja cites Rudrata's illustration for Slesa-vakrokti for his Nirvyūdha variety S K  $\bar{A}$ , P. 253

Thus in Bhoia's work Vakrokti means

- Alamkāra, Vakratā, the characteristic poetic expression in general; the very definition of Kävya
- (2) One variety of no 1. That is, the Matikaras beginning with Upamā. The two other varieties are Svabhavokti and Rasokti. These three comprehend the whole realm of poetic expression.
  - and (3) One of the varieties of the Sabdalamkara called Vakovākya,

#### Vakrokti and the Laksana vitti

In the history of Vakrokti, Vāmana holds a striking position, standing somewhat aloof with a singular opinion. Vāmana is the first writer in whose work we meet with the term Vakrokti with the restricted series, as the name of a particular figure of Artha. Vāmana holds a position altogether different from that of Rudrafa who, though he also gives Vakrokti only as the name of a particular figure, gives it as a sabdālanikāra. Vamana gives it as Arthālamkāra, involving similarity. Upamā , an Arthālamkāra which is the saine abandin's Samādhi-guna, being based on the transference of attributes of one to another on the basis of similarity. Its particular arthālam algebra says that it is only Lakṣanā based on Sādījáva, similarity, that is Vakrokti and not those Lakṣanās based on Sāmijya etc.

"बहुनि हि निबन्धनानि रुक्षणायाम ; तत्र साहऱ्याङक्षणा प्रकीत्तर्भात्त ।  $\times$   $\times$  असाङ्यनिबन्धना तु रुक्षणा न बक्रोक्तिः ।" Pp. 130-1 – K A  $S\bar{u}$  and Vr

But writers who want to bring all cases of beautiful poetic expression under Vakrokti will have to say naturally that not only Sadi-Sya laksana but other cases of laksana also form Vakrokti. If even non-laksana expressions, Abhidhāmūla dhvani for instance, have also to be brought under some kind of Vakrokti, it goes without saying that non-sādi-sya laksanas also are Vakrokti.

In Bhoja's Sr. Pra, there is a significant verse quoted by Bhoja on Laksanā in the beginning of chapter VII, which treats of Abhidha, Lak-sinā and Gaunī vrttis. While defining Lak-sanā, Bhoja says.

तदुक्तम----

' अभिधेयाविनाभृतप्रतीतिर्लक्षणोन्यते । मेपा विदम्भवकोक्तिजीवित वृत्तिरिप्यते ॥ '

Śr Pia Mad Ms Vol I, p 429

For those writers who recognise beyond Abhidhā only one Vitti, namely, Lakṣanā and bring under it all the ideas appearing in the train of Abhidhā, and for those writers who hold all aspects of strikingness in poetic expression as Vakrokti, this verse in Bhoja is fully acceptable. It gives Lakṣanā as the very life of the poet's Vakrokti. Bhoja simply gives the verse and makes no comment, he does not utilise it or expand it elsewhere in his work

As in the case of his other verse on Vakrokti, Yad avakram, etc., he leaves us with a meagre Anustubh What kind of Laksana, whether it is that based on Sādrśya only or all kinds of Laksaņā is meant in this verse, is not easy to decide Perhaps Bhoja means by this Vakrokti, here, not Vāmana's Vakrokti based on Sādršya laksanā but the larger concept of Vakrokti which occurs so much in his work; and perhaps Bhoja says here that of all kinds of Vakrokti, i.e. Alamkāra in general, Laksanā is generally a life-giving element, even as Dandın said that Ślesa generally adds beauty to all kinds of Vakrokti end of his definition and illustration of all the sub-varieties of the two kinds of Laksana, named Laksana and Laksita laksana. Bhoja says that all kınds of Lakşanā are found amply in poets' expressions Bhoja gives many fine verses in illustration (Vol II pp 14-18), many of which are found given in the Dhvanyāloka as illustrations for Laksanāmūla-dhvani Surely, of all these, Sādrśya lakṣanā is the greatest but we can take that, in the abovegiven verse, Bhoja does not mean a re-statement of Vamana's Vakrokti based on Sādrśya lakṣanā, but seems to mean that Laksanās of all kinds are found to lie at the root of all kinds of Vakrokti as a fecund principle.1

Under his Śabdālamkāra called Śayyā, Bhoja gives a variety called 'miscellaneous'—Prakīrna Ghatanā, S K  $\bar{A}$  pp 159-164 Bhoja here speaks of the presence in poets' expressions of the Śabda vrttis of Mukhyā, Gaunī and Lakṣanā While commenting on this, Ratneśvara quotes (p 162) the above-discussed verse on Lakṣanā and Vakrokti. And he also seems to con-

Sāradātanaya who summarises Bhoja's text on Sāhitya, has this verse on Laksanā and Vakrokti in his  $Bh\bar{a}$  Pra on page 145

अभिधेयाविनाभृतप्रतीतिरुक्षणोच्यते । सेषा विद्ग्धवकोक्तिजीवितं वृत्तिरिष्यते ॥

कोशन्ति मञा इत्यादों सा बृत्तिरवगम्यते । लक्ष्यमाणगुणैयोंगाद् बृत्तेरिष्टा तु गोणता ॥ Sāradātanaya ıllustrates the Lakṣanā here by the expression "कोशन्ति मखाः" and this shows that Bhoja means in that verse all kinds of Lakṣanā Bahurūpa-mısra, who borrows largely from the Sr Pra and the Bhā Pra., reproduces the above from Sāradātanaya (p 74, Mad Ms R 4188) He also quotes the verse of Bhoja on Lakṣanā as the life of Vidagdha-Vakrokti

<sup>1.</sup> The above-discussed Anustubh in Bhoja on Laksanā and Vakrokti is introduced by Bhoja with the words तुदक्तम We do not know who its author is. Most likely Bhoja himself is its author. The first line 'अभिधेयाविनामतप्रतीतिरूक्षणोच्यते' It 15 Kumārıla's definition of Laksanā On p. 242, Vol. II, in is not Bhoia's a discussion on Gauna vrtti and Upacara, Bhoja quotes it, as also the definition of Gauni vrttı with the mention of the name of their author, Bhatta, i.e., Kumārila It is likely, Bhoja took the first line defining Laksana from Kumarila and added to it the second line giving Lakşanā as the Life of Vakrokti. We need not doubt Bhoja's authorship of the second line and of the idea of Laksanā as the Life of Vakrokti, just because of the words तदुक्तम् introducing the verse Elsewhere It must be noted that Bhoja quotes his own verses with these words तदक्तम. accidentally we meet with in this verse the combination of the words Vakrokti jīvitam, which gives the name of Kuntaka's work!

sider the Lakṣaṇā meant here as the Jīvita of Vakrokti, as not metely the one based on Sādrṣya but Lakṣaṇā of all kinds

''---उक्षणा । तदुक्तम---

े आभिषयाधिनाम्त्यते।(४५५)णोपयते । सेषा विद्ययवको(जजावितः गीतरित्यते ॥ )

सा दिवा-श्रदा, लॉबनलक्षणा च । "

Ratnesvara summarises here a part of the 8° Pro-text on Laksana (from Vol. II.), giving the same illustrations as given by Bhoja.

That the Lakṣanā in this verse described as the life of Vakrokti means all kinds of Lakṣanā and that Vakrokti consequently does not mean what it meant to Vāmana but means various kinds of poeta expression, is also proved by Ratneśvara's comments on Bhoja's Varśesika guna of the Paiusa dosa  $\hat{S} \ K \ \bar{A} \ I \ 145, \ p \ 114 \ Bhoja says that Paiusa dosa becomes a Guna in Viruddha-lakṣanā - Commenting on this, Ratneśvara quotes the above-discussed verse of Bhoja on Lakṣanā and Vakrokti (in a corrupt form), <math>S \ K \ \bar{A} \ p \ 114$ .

#### CHAPTER XI

#### BHOIA AND SVABHAVOKTI

Bhoja's treatment of Svabhāvokti has something new to give us. Firstly, on the nature of this Alamkāra, some valuable information is gained even from his S K  $\bar{A}$  Secondly, an original view and a new definition of Svabhāvokti, and a systematic working out of Dandin's view of Svabhāva and Vakra Uktis are available in Bhoj's  $\bar{S}^1$  Pra

Bhoja describes Svabhāvokti thus in his  $S \ K \ \tilde{A}$ .

नानावस्थासु जायन्ते यानि रूपाणि वस्तुनः। स्वेभ्यस्स्वभ्यो निमर्गेभ्यस्तानि जाति प्रचक्षते॥ अर्थव्यक्तरिय भेदमियता प्रतिपद्यते। जायमानिष्ठ(मि)य पक्ति रूप सा सार्वकाल्किम्॥ III 4-5.

(The text of S K  $\bar{\Lambda}$ , N S Edn, reads here wrongly जायमान्ध्रियं विक ह्रपम but जायमानिक्य विक हुएम is preserved in a quotation of this verse by Bhatta Gopāla in his commentary on the Kāvya Prakāśa T. S S, p 187, part II) the first verse, Bhoja defines his first Arthalamkara called Jati Jati is another name for Svabhāvokti 'Jāti' might originally have referred to "Class attribute" which figures in a Svabhavokti. The name Svabhava-Ukti or Syabhaya-Akhyana emphasises the essential nature of the figure called 'Natural Description' Bhoia's definition gives a new interpretation to the name 'Jātı' Bhoja says that 'Jātı' means the exact opposite of the logical concept of class-attributes! It means those aspects of things that result from particular conditions, but aspects related to the essential nature of the things. There are two ideas in this definition of Svabhavokti of Bhoja: one, attributes which are due to the changes consequent on particular moods or conditions—नानावस्थाम जायन्त यानि क्लाणि--and two, these attributes must be of the very nature of the thing—ह्वेभ्यस्वस्था निसर्गभ्य। We shall first examine the second condition, namely, that the attributes shall be such as are born of the very nature of the things. It rules out all cases of concerts and superimposed ideas-Aropita This is the most essential condition, for it is the chief and direct meaning of the word 'Svabhāva' in Svābhāvokti The action or qualities described must pertain to them as theirs. Mammata emphasises this by the word 'Sva in his definition-

स्वभावोक्तिस्तु डिम्मांट स्वक्रियारुपवर्णनम् । स्वयोस्तदेकाश्रययोः । रूप, वर्ण, संस्थान च ।" Attribution or superimposition -असम्बन्धे सम्बन्धोक्तिः and आरोपः, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vide also the sections in this Thesis on Ukti, Alamkāra and Vakrokti, and my paper on Svabhāvokti in the Indian Culture, Vol. V, pp. 147-165

result in AtiSayokti and Rūpaka, are prohibited. Commenting on the abovegiven definition of Mammata, Vidyācakiavartin says.

''स्वज्ञव्दात कियारूपयोः अनागेपितत्वम् । अतः स्यभावोक्तिरिति अन्वर्थता ।'

p 336 TSS

If something is added by way of comparison or contrast, we have no Svabhāvokti but we land on some Alankāra based on Aupamya or Viiodha. External ideas, our ideas of an object, or reflections on seeing an object,—these again are out of the scope of Svabhāvokti. Ratneśvara clearly explains this as the import of the words होत्रम होत्रमां (त्रियोम्स in Bhoja's definition. Giving an instance of a poet's reflection, he says

''इत्यादाबापि जातित्व स्थातः, अतः आहः- स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यः अति । **स्वभाव**भृतानि इत्यर्थः।'' p 266.

Thus the main characteristic of the 'Natural Description' is that it is purely a Syabhāva varnanā, that the 'Rūpa' described in it shall be 'Svīya' and 'Naisargika'

In the first qualification, Bhoja makes out some new significance for the word 'Jayante' from which 'Jatt' is derived. His new meaning of Jathere restricts the scope of Svabhāvokti. Bhoja emphasises the word 'Jayante' 'produced in certain circumstances'. As for instance, a hoise may be described as sleeping in standing posture in accordance with its nature. The pesc, the attitude etc., in the state of its sleep constitute the 'Jātarūpa' of the Avasthā of sleep.

Why is it that Bhoja stresses this point that the attributes described in Svābhāvokti shall be those which characterise a mood or state of a thing? His source and greatest Ācārya, Dandin, has nothing like this in his work; Dandin simply says "नानावस्य पदार्थानां स्प्रम्" apearances of things as they exist in their various states and actions. And things can never be separately noticed, apart from their states and actions. It is not possible to find a moment when a thing will not be in some Avasthā and if we must really make any distinction of the nature of things into that which is permanent and basic and that which pertains to the moments, we can justify that distinction as of only relative truth

Bhoja brings in his new emphasis on 'Jāyante' because he has to accommodate in his system Vāmana's Arthavyakti Guna, side by side with the Svabhāvokti Alamkāra. This is not the first or only case where, Bhoja following everybody and borrowing from everywhere, with a hundred hands, has to artificially scheme out certain ways of adjusting all that he has gathered. The second verse in the definition of Svabhāvokti quoted above explains. Bhoja more clearly. In it, Bhoja points out that Svabhāvokti Alamkāra is different from the Guna called Arthavyakti. It is necessary here to note what Bhoja means by Arthavyakti, what that Guna means really, apart from Bhoja's idea of it, how it is related to Svabhāvokti in particular and poetic expression in general, and such other matters.

In Dandin, Arthavyaktı is a Guna related to the other Guna of Prasāda It has nothing in its nature which overlaps with that of the Alamkāra Svabāvoktı Vāmana s Sabda Guna of this name is identical with Dandin's Arthavyaktı and so also is Bhoja's But Vāmana has an Artha guna also of this name and that also Bhoja borrows Vāmana defines his Artha guna Arthavyaktı thus

## वस्त्-स्वभावस्फुटत्वम् अर्थव्यक्ति । III 2. 13.

वस्तूना भावाना स्वभावस्य स्फुटत्व यत्, असौ अर्थव्यक्तिः ॥

Bhoja gives the first verse given by Vamana for illustration for his Arthayvakti guna of Artha and adds this definition of his own.

"अर्थव्यक्तिः स्वरूपस्य साक्षात्कथनमृच्यते । "

"अत्र कुमुदस्वरूपस्य साक्षादिव प्रतीयमानत्वेन यत् स्पष्टरूपाभिधानमसावर्थव्यक्तिः।"

S K Ā I p 65 This 'vivid portrayal of an object's appearance'— स्वरूपसा-साकथन is what constitutes the essential mark of Svabhāvokti This phrase, 'साक्षाकथन' stands for Vāmana's 'स्फुट्टन' and is borrowed by Bhoja from Dandin's definition of Svabhāvokti Alamkāra .

## नानावस्थ पदार्थानां रूप साक्षातः विवृण्वती ।

The idea that a 'Natural Description' is poetic or constitutes Alamkāra only when it is powerful, effective, and vivid is emphasised by every writer. Bāṇa says 'जातिरजार ग'. A description of the nature of an object must not be bald and stale Bhāmaha includes Svabhāvokti also in Vakrokti because of this very strikingness, and natural description devoid of this vivid portrayal is dismissed by him as Vārtā having no Vakrokti or strikingness in it

गतोऽस्तमकों भागीन्दुः यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः । इत्येवमादि कि काव्यम ? वार्तामेनां प्रचक्षते ॥ II 87. K A.

Close upon denying Alamkāratā to Hetu, Sūkṣma, and Leśa, Bhāmaha gives the above-given instance and says Is this Kāvya? It is but ordinary speech, or mere news Dandin emphasised that Svabhāvokti must have life and must give us a vivid picture which will conjure up the object before our mind's eye He stressed the idea in the single word 'Sāksāt'—' হল साझाइ विज्ञ्यती'—on which Tarunavācaspati says: साझाइ विज्ञ्यती प्रत्यक्षमित्र इंग्यरती.¹ Rudrata qualifies the general class of Vāstava Alamkāras to which Jāti belongs by the attribute 'Puṣṭārtha' This emphasises the need for the Jāti to be vivid

<sup>1</sup> The  $Hrdayamgam\bar{a}$  interprets 'Sākṣāt' as 'Avyājena' and it is significant in another way. It emphasises the other essential nature of Svabhāvokti that it must be the natural appearance and not the attributed, super-imposed, or conceived form of a thing. This is the idea emphasised by Bhoja in the words—स्वेम्य' स्वम्यो निसगंग्यः and by Mammata, by the word 'Sva' in the definition स्विक्रयास्य etc. Rudrata emphasises the same by the qualifications अविपरीत, निरुषम, अनितिश्य and अश्च्य to his Vāstava K A VII 10. In VII 30. Rudrata says the same thing again in the words 'तत्कथनम् अन्तन्यथा जातिः।'

It is this quality that is born of Arthavyakti. Arthavyakti, though it pertains to all descriptions of the poet in general. Is one commonly the life of Svabhāvokti. Svabhāvokti without Arthavyakti, without 'Vastu-svabhāva-sphutatva' in Vārmana's words, is insipid Varta, is Granya, is Apuşta. Thus there is little contradiction between the Guna of Arthavyakti and the Alamkāra of Svabhāvokti

To Vāmana, the recognition of Arthavvalati Guna removes the need for Svabhāvokti Alamkāra. So it is that while retuting Vamana's Artha Guna of Arthavyakti, Hemacandra says that it is nothing but Svabhavokti Alamkāra. अञ्चल च ज्ञानिर्मामायमञ्जाल रहीत (" p. 199). Bhaifa Gopala also says

वामनार्यात्रया त्यांच्यात्र्यात्र्या (स्था स्था स्थायात्र्यात्रस्यात्रयात्रयात्रस्यात

अर्थव्यक्तिरिय भेदमियता प्रतिपद्यने ।

## जायमानम् इय वांक हवं सा सार्वकालिकम् ॥

Svabhāvokti is বার্মান্ত্র্বর্গন্ while Arthavyakti is বার্মান্ত্র্যাণ্ডা. This is unnecessary narrowing down of the scope of both Svabhavokti and Arthavyakti. The former refers to description of the inherent permanent nature as well as the effects of particular states and the latter refers to the clear, vivid, and powerful portrayal of the same picture. Bhoja's position regarding these two resembles that of writers who dragged down the large concept of Bhāvika of Bhāmaha and Dandin, a Prabandha Guna, made it a mere vākyālamkāra and then felt that it collided with Svabhavokti and consequently distinguished with great ingenuity Bhāvika and Svabhāvokti. (See Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha)<sup>2</sup>

Bhoja's separation of the scope of Arthavyakti and Svabhāvokti is thus stated by his commentator, Ratneśvara

" वस्तुस्वरुपोक्षेत्रनार्थ ( थं ) व्यक्ति अर्थगुणेषु उक्ता । तत्र सार्वकालिक रूपं उपजना-पायान्तरालस्यापक इत्यर्थः । अत्र तु ( जात्यलक्ष्कारं ) जायसानं आगन्तुकानिमत्तं समयधानप्रसर्व व्यक्तिचारितं इत्यर्थः ।" р 266

See Mammaţa, K Pra T S, S II, Pp 186-187, where this Artha guna Arthavyakti of Vāmana is included by Mammaţa in Svabhāvokti

So also Hemacandra, see KA. com p 199

<sup>2</sup> I have gone into this subject in detail in my paper on Bhāvika published in the IHQ

The Agni Purāna also helps us to understand what Bhoja's differentiation between Svabhāvokti and Arthavyakti means, it being one of the works which boilow from Bhoja In chapter 344 it gives Svabhāvokti as Svarūpa Alamkāra.

स्वरूपमथ साह्ययमुत्येक्षातिश्यावपि etc.

It defines this Svaiūpa oi Svabhavokti or Jāti thus:

म्यशाय एव भावानाम् स्वरूपमभिधीयते ।

निजम् आगन्तुकं चेति द्विविधं तदुदाहतम् ॥ सांसिद्धिकं निजं नैमिन्तिकम् आगन्तुकं तथा । 344|3-4

Bhoja is clearly followed here and the nature of things is classified into eternal and temporary. Though the A Purāna borrows this classification of the nature of things into 'Jāyamāna' and 'Sārvakālika' Svarūpa, the Purāna does not say that the description of the former only is Svabhāvokti or Svarūpālamkāra. The Purāna evidently proposes to treat descriptions of both as Svarūpālamkāra. Only, the Purāna shows two kinds of Svarūpa, even as Dandin showed in Svabhāvākhyāna, varieties like Jāti, Kriyā, etc., and others, varieties like Dimbha, Tirvak, etc.

#### The Si Pra on Svabhāvokti

On Guna and Alamkāra, the Sr Pra reproduces the S K  $\bar{A}$ , and therefore all that has been said above stands as Bhoja's view in the Sr Pr. also Besides these ideas just now examined, Bhoja has something more to say in his Sr Pra, on the general nature of Svabhāvokti

It has already been pointed out in the sections on Ukti etc., how Bhoja following up Bhāmaha and Dandin, classified Kāvya-vacana or Ukti or Alamkāra into three deptatmats,—Svabhāvokti, Vakrokti and Rasokti. If Upamā, Rūpaka and such figures predominate, it is Vakrokti. Where Rasa is delineated through the description of the Vibhāvas etc., i.e., where expression is dominated by Rasa, there we have Rasokti. The third is Svabhāvokti, natural description of things. In the realm of ideas or Artha, there are only two classes, namely, the mere nature of things—Vastu svabhāva—and Emotions. In the description of these two, we have Vastu samvāda and Citta samvāda respectively, and the corresponding cases of expression are called Svabhāvokti and Rasa-delineation or Rasa-Ukti, according to Bhoja. These two are bare descriptions. Vastu svabhāva or Rasa svabhāva being the object of description. When both of these are figuratively described, we have the third kind of Ukti, Vakrokti

This is intelligible but Bhoja has sought to confuse us suddenly by a flash of originality here. Something struck him, as it often happens, and he caught a new equation. "Alamkāra, Upamā, etc., is Vakrokti, Rasa is Rasokti," he pondered over and said, "Guna remains, Guna is Svabhāvokti!" We cannot understand this equation if we take into consideration particular Gunas and the nature of the Svabhāvokti Alamkāra. Firstly,

Svabhāvokti or Jāti is an Alamkāra, the first among Arthālamkāras. By saying that Vakrokti is Alamkāra-pradhāna, does Bhoja mean to include Jāti or Svabhāvokti in that Vakrokti? It so, why does he say that Vakrokti is Ukti dominated by Alamkāras beginning with Upamā? Are we then to throw Svabhāvokti out of the fold of Alamkāra? Why should he say that Svabhāvokti is 'Guna pradhāna'? Bhoja's Gunas are not all of a homogeneous nature. Gāmbhīrya Guṇa is a case of Dhvani. Kānti which is 'Dīpta rasatva' is given as a Guṇa but a verse dominated by Kanti will be a case of Bhoja's Rasokti. This Guṇa-Svabhāvokti equation of Bhoja not found in his S. K.ā. in any plain manner and found plainly stated in his \$r. \$Pra\$, is not easy to be understood.

Bhoja can be understood in a way if we approach this classification of his from the point of view of his conception of the nature of Gunas and Alamkāras in general. Bhoja follows Vāmana in his conception of Guna and its difference from Alankāra. The former is eternally related to Poetry, Nitya, Samavāya sambaddha; and the latter is only optional, Anitya, Samyoga sambaddha. The former is absolutely necessary and there can be no Poetry without them; even in the absence of the latter, the presence of the former makes for Poetry. Gunas are also Sobhākara dharmas but they refer to Svābhāvika Sobhā whereas Alamkāras are only Kītuma Sobhā. Therefore, in a piece of Poetry where there is no Upamā etc., there is the beauty resulting from the Gunas. Svabhāvokti or Jāti is a case devoid of all figures coming under Vakrokti; then it must have the Gunas in abundance. Thus it seems that Bhoja thought that Svabhāvokti is Ukti dominated by Gunas. So it is that he said

"त्रिविधः खल्बल्ङ्कारवर्गः, वकोक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, स्योक्तिर्गतः तत्र उपमाद्यलङ्कार-प्राधान्ये वकोक्तिः, सोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्याभन्यास्ययेगाद्रसानिष्यतौ स्योक्तिः इति ।" Sr. Pra. Mad. Ms. Vol. II, chap. XI, p. 372

#### APPENDIX

Hamsamiţihu's Hamsavilāsa (GOS, LXXXI), ch. 13, p. 241, restricts the scope of Svabhāvokti to 'Nica-Vasti', i.e., lower class of beings, animals, trees etc.

नीचादिवस्तनां याथातथ्येन स्वरूपकथन जातिः।

#### CHAPTER XII

### BHOJA, DHVANI AND ĀNANDAVARDHANA

## "नात्पर्यमेव वर्चाम भ्यनिरेव काव्ये "

Bhoja: Śr. Pra. ch 1

The beginnings of Dhvani, 'the suggested' idea and the 'Gauna' idea in Bhāmaha, Dandin, Udbhata and Vāmana.

The anti-Dhyani viewpoints, the three main Dhyani pratipaksas mentioned by Ānanda and the twelve mentioned in two Kārikās quoted by Jayaratha Examination of the twelve anti-Dhyani standpoints with Ānanda's reply to some of them like the Bhāktayida and the Animānayīda

Elaborate exposition of the Tatparyavāda , Ānanda's discussion in  $\textit{Uddyota}\ \text{III}$  , the reply of Dhanika.

Bhoja's position, a compromise between Tatparya and Dhyani Bhoja and Anandavardhana , Bhoja's indebtedness to Ananda , texts borrowed by Bhoja from the Dhyanyaloka

Bhoja and Dhvani , criticism of Dr S K De's view of Bhoja's attitude towards Dhvani Traces of Dhvani in the S. K  $\ddot{A}$  among the Gunas and Alamkāras

Exposition of the text of the  $\hat{S}Pia$  on Tätparya and Dhvani , three kinds of Tätparya in Bhoja, Abhidhiyamāna, Pratiyamāna and Dhvani ūpa , critical examination of the division of the Suggested by Bhoja into the Pratiyamāna and Dhvani , Hemacandia's indebtedness to Bhoja's text on this subject. Critical examination of Bhoja's view of Dhvani as Tätparya and as part of Tätparya , Vidyānātha, Kumārasvāmin, Sāradātanaya and Ānanda on it.

Bhoja's classification of Dhyani into Sabdadhyani, Arthadhyani, Anunādadhyani and Pratišabdadhyani. Comparison with Ānanda's classification of Dhyani

Sāradātanaya's acceptance and succinct exposition of Bhoja's view of Dhvani. Bahui ūpamisra following Bhoja and Sāradātanaya

Two texts of Bhoja on Rasa as Vākvārtha and Bhāvas as Padārthas.

APPENDIX I Vākyaseşa, Srutārthāpattı and Dhvanı, Bhoja's text on Vākyasesa

- II Vivaksā and Dhvam
- III Sanskut Texts
- (1) St Pra on Dhyani Ch 7
- (11) Dhvanyāloka on Tātparya and Dhvani Ud 3
- (iii) The Daśarūpāvaloka on Dhyani and Tātparya

The origin of the idea of suggestion of Dhvani is to be found in those Alamkāras in Bhāmaha and other early writers in which there is an implied sense also imbedded. In II 34, Bhāmaha speaks of Gunasāmya pratīti, which is a case of implied or suggested similarity, Gamyamāna aupamya In II.

79, he defines Samūsokti as suggesting an idea by describing a similai one: वजांक गम्यतं इन्यो र्यः i Bhāmaha states plamly that an idea, totally different, though similai (Tatsamāna višesana) is suggested by saying something. Similarly, in the Paryāyokta defined and illustrated in 111-8-9, Bhāmaha speaks of instances of utterances which are specifically meant to give a different meaning. The 'Abhidhāna' has a meaning which is not the idea sought to be conveyed. बद्दारा अंतर्गा अंतर्गायां in his Apalmuti in 111-21, Bhāmaha says that the idea of similarity is implied, "Antargatopamā."

Similar traces of the 'suggested idea' can be found in Dandin's work. Dandin's Guna called Udăra, in its first variety, is the suggestion of a quality by a suggestive description.

उत्कर्पवान गुणः कथिन् यस्मिशुक्ते **प्रतीयतः ।**  $^{1-76}$ इति त्यागस्य वाक्येऽस्मिशुक्कर्पः गापु रुक्ष्यते ॥  $^{1-78}$ 

While defining the Udātta Alamkāra also, Dandin says in 11 303

प्वंत्राज्यमाहात्म्यमत्राभ्युद्यगोरवम् । स्ट्यक्लिनमिति व्यक्तसुदानद्वयमः यदः ॥ । 11 300

The implied idea, Pratīyamāna, is also met with in the Alainkāra chapter. It is seen in many varieties of Upamā, 11–14, 16, Sāmyapratīti in 46 (Pratīvastūpamā), Pratīyamāna sādišya in Vyatīreka in 11–189 & 195, also in 205 (Samāsokti) where Dandin says there is the suggestion of another idea, Sūcana (213), and Prakārāntara ākhyāna in Paryāyokta (295)

When we come to the Paryāyokta in Udbhata we find a clear mention of a significative capacity called *Aragama* which means Suggestion, a capacity different from and coming after the well-known Abhidha of the words and the Tātparya of the sentence as a whole

# पर्यायोक्त यद्द्येन प्रकारेणाभिष्ययेत । वाच्यवाचकवृत्तिभ्यां शुन्येनावगमात्मना ॥

Similar traces of Dhyani can be found in Rudrata's Bhāvālamkāra (vii 38 40) where Rudrata points out the presence of Avagamana of another idea, and in his Parikara, Samāsokti and Anyokti

Both Ānanda and Abhimava clearly state that Udbhata showed (in his *Bhāmahavīvarana*) cases of Alamkāra dhvain, one Alamkāra suggesting another. He might not have called those cases Dhvain or Alamkāradhvani Says Ānanda.

अन्यत्र वाच्यत्वेन प्रसिद्धो यो रूपकादिरङकार , मोऽन्यत्र प्रतीयमानतया बाहुल्येन प्रदर्शित तत्रमवद्धि **भट्टोद्धटादिभिः।** p 108

The Locana says

तदयमर्थे —पाट्यालकारविशेषविषयेऽपि अन्योऽलकारविशेषः मानीत्युद्धरादिमि उक्तम् इत्यर्थशक्त्या अलकारो व्यव्यत इति तेष्ठपातमेव । केवल ते अलकारलक्षणकारत्वाद् वाच्यालकार-विशेषविषयत्वेन आहरिति मावः । p 108 When the theory of Dhvani was formulated by the neo-critics headed by  $\bar{A}$ nanda, there was all-round opposition and one of the many counter-theories put forward against the necessity for Dhvani is the theory of 'Alamkāra antar-bhāva', the viewpoint of those who accepted the existence of a suggested element but held it, whether it be a case of Dhvani of Vastu, Alamkāra or Rasa, as included in Alamkāras, ordinary Alamkāras or Rasavadalamkāras This viewpoint is held by Pratīhārendurāja also, who expounds it at the end of his commentary on Udbhata's  $K\bar{a}vy\bar{a}lamk\bar{a}ra-sargraha$ 

स (प्रतीयमानः) कस्मादिह नोपदिष्टः । उच्यते । एष्वव अरुकारेषु अन्तर्भाषान् । p 79 Vastudhvani is shown to be Paiyāyoktālamkāra; in such cases as the Padadhvani in the verse रामोर्जान सर्व नहे Piathīhārendurāja posits Paryāyoktālamkāra, by accepting a class of Paryāyokta pertaining to a single word in addition to the generally accepted Paiyāyokta in a Vākya

न खलु पदे पर्यायोक्तेन न मवितव्यमितीय राज्ञामाज्ञा, सूत्रकारवचन वा । P 82.

Besides the realisation of a suggested element in the above given cases of Alamkāra, early writers vaguely touched certain other kinds of Dhvani also Ānandavardhana says in stating the Pürvapaksa that those predecessors who recognised certain cases in poetry where a secondary significance of words beyond the primary one added chaim, touched the fringes of Dhvani

"—तथापि गुणवृत्त्या काव्यपु व्यवहार दर्शयता विनिमागे मनाक स्प्रष्ट —" I p 10. Abhmaya comments upon this in the following manner.

" महोद्भटवामनादिना । भामहोक्त `शब्दस्क्टन्शेटिनिधानार्थः े (I. 9.) इत्यिनिधानस्य शब्दाद् मेद व्याव्यातु भहोद्भयो वमापे—'शब्दानाम् अनिधानम् अनिधान्यापारः, मुख्यो गुणवृत्तिश्च ।' वामनोऽपि 'सादस्याळक्षणा वकोक्तिः (IV. III. 8) इति । मनाक् स्ष्टलः इति । तैस्तावद् ध्वनिदि-ग्रम्मीलिता ।''  $10^{-10}$ 

While commenting upon Bhāmaha I 9, where some subjects accessory to poetics are mentioned two of which are Sabda and Abhidhāna, Udbhata pointed out that the first word Sabda referred to words themselves and the latter, Abhidhāna referred to the two-fold significative capacity of words, the primary and the secondary. The presence of the latter in Alamkāras, Udbhata must have shown in the course of his commentary on Bhāmaha but we are not fortunate enough to know it owing to the loss of Udbhata's Bhāmahavivarama. But in his Kāvyālamkāra-sāra-samgraha, a text pretty closely following Bhāmaha, Udbhata says there is Gunavrtti in Rūpaka. The chaim in Rūpaka is said to consist in the prominence of this secondary significance.

# श्रुत्या संबन्धांबरहाद् यत्पदेन पदान्तरम् । गुणवृत्तिप्रधानेन युज्यते हपक तु तत्॥

The Gunavrtti is very much earlier than Udbhata in philosophical literature. In poetics, we meet with it even in Dandin's Samādhiguna which is identical

with Vimina's Vakroke: Alamk'ira, both or which result from the secondary significance based on similarity, Sufisyallaksaa i

This Samādhi of Dandin and the Vakiokti of Vanian i are the Suksmālamkāra of the Aupamya class of Rudrata (VII 98). In the Alamkāra section also, Dandin speaks of Gaunavitti in conjection with varieties of Hetvalamkāra, 11 254.

# तेऽभा प्रयोगमागेषु गाँणवृत्तिन्यपाययाः। अत्यन्तमुन्द्रस् द्वप्रा तद्यहनको यथा ॥

This suggested idea was slowly gaining importance. We see Ananda informing us in the opening verse that, though it as Abhinava points out i none ever put it in the form of a work, the theory of Dhyani was old and was being held by scholars for sometime before him,  $q_{12}^2 = q_{416164}q_{41}^2$ . When Ananda was trying to give shape to the concept, and establish the theory in a systematic form, contemporaries like poet Manoratha  $(p_{13})$  indicated him. To them, there must be something definite in terms of Alamkata, Vyutpanna Sabda (e., Sausabdya, and Vakrokt). Ananda had to meet all objections and in his Dhyanyātoka be has given and refuted the following Anti-Dhyan theories.

In the opening Kanka itself Ananda says that Dhyani has three Piatipaksas (1) Certain scholars denied it altogether, (2) certain others considered it as Bhak'i or Laksana, the secondary significance, (3) a third set considered it incomprehensible and indescribable Of these three, the second and the third recognised the idea of Dhyani, the former included it in Bhakti while the latter, granting the maximum to the Dhyani theorists, admitted the impossibility of its inclusion in Bhakti, but said that it is something which a few Sahidayas only see and that it is beyond the capacity of words to define it and put it into a system of thought. These form the three primary anti-Dhvani standpoints Abhmaya puts them succinctly thus Conventionally sets of ideas are associated with words, whatever is thus associated and is got at by this conventional association is Abhidha, the denotation of the word, beyond this there is no special capacity of words called Vyañjana. If the ideas got are to be analysed into those that form the ideas primarily associated through convention and those coming in their train, then the second class of meaning can be classed as the 'secondary meaning', all coming under Laksanā or Bhakti. If it is held that the suggested idea is not included in Bhakti, then surely it is not to be called by a new name like Dhyani but has to be pronounced indescribable. The first is negation, Abhāvavāda, the second is inclusion in Bhakti, Laksanāntarbhāva vāda, and the third is Anirvacaniyata vada

"(१) तत्र समयापेक्षण अञ्दोऽवैग्रतिपाद् इ.ति. कृत्वा वाच्यव्यतिरम्भ नास्ति व्यंग्यम्। (२) सदिषि वा तद्भिधाक्षित अञ्दावगत-अर्थवेवलाकुप्रत्वाव भाक्तम् । (३) तद्नाक्षिप्तमिष वा न बक्त शक्य, कुमारीष्विव भर्तुमुख्यसर्तिद्वत्स्। '' Locana p 4 Ananda takes up the first view-point and analyses it into three arguments (pp. 4-9) Poetry is different from other utterance in that its Sabda and Artha are beautiful in some way. The causes of that beauty have been found out to be Anuprasa etc., and Upama etc., Alamkaras of Sabda and Artha, Gunas of Sabda and Artha on which are based the Vittis of both Sabda and Aitha as well as the Ritis Therefore there can be nothing new like Dhyani beyond Alainkaias, Gunas, Ritis and Vittis Secondly, these exhaust the elements of chaim in poetic expression and if there is said to be something which a clique like that of the Dhyani-theorists urge as a feature of poetic charm, the only reply is that this strange thing not coming under any known category, is plainly not a feature of poetic charm at all Thirdly, even granting that there is something like Dhyani and that it is an element of poetry, it can be shown that it is only a new name for one or the other of the numerous varieties of figures etc., accepted by the ancients or is included in one or the other of the varieties of the same which are infinitely possible. Thus even in this first viewpoint there is a gradual passing from the Abhāva to the Antarbhāva vāda Thus on the whole there are three Abhāya vādas, one Bhākta vada and one Antryacanīya vāda, giving a total number of five anti-Dhyani theories. Abbinava also explains these clearly on pp 4-5 (Locana)

All these are generally answered by Ānanda in the first chapter itself. Between Pp 35 and 45, Ānanda refutes the Alamkāra vāda. Taking the cases of Alamkāras like Samāsokti, Āksepa etc., he says that though there is a suggested element in these cases, it is only the expressed sense of the figures that is the principal idea and that the suggested in those cases is only accessory or subordinate. Divanu is a case of the sugge ted dominating over the rest. The general argument is also urged that Alamkāra means "means of decoration"; Dhvani is what is decorated and it cannot therefore be called Alamkāra. The last section of the first Uddyota is devoted by Ānanda to refute the second objection of Bhāktavāda. Dhvani is not identical with Bhakti; there are cases of Bhakti without Dhvani and cases of Dhvani without Bhakti. At best, Bhakti of a certain kind is productive of one kind of Dhvani. This discussion on Bhakti and Dhvani is again taken up in the third Uddyota between pp. 195 and 197 after disposing of the Tātparya Vāda.

Jayatatha, in his commentary on the Alamkāna-sarvasva quotes two Kārikās from some unknown writer which give the anti-Dhvani theories as twelve in number

नान्पर्यशक्तिरभिधा लक्षणानुमिनी द्विधा। अर्थापनिः बन्धिनन्त्र समासोवत्याद्यलकृतिः ॥ रसस्य कार्यना भोगः व्यापारान्तरयाधनम् । द्वादशेत्यः भ्वनंगस्य स्थिता विद्यतिपनयः ॥ N S Edn p. 9

The twelve theories are not easy to be identified. They may be stated thus (1) Tātparya—Mīmāmsakas (2) Abhidhā—very old Mīmāmsakas (3) and

(1) Two kinds of Laksani the two kirds of Laksani are Arabatsvartha and Jahatsvärtha, the latter is also called Laksita Jahsan i or Laksana Jaksana (5 and 6) Two kinds of Aram ina. The two kinds are not known (7) Arthapatti the Anumana paksa slightly bettered (8) expression containing double significance as in the case of Slesalamkara (9) Samāsokti and other Alamkāras, this is the old Alamkaras held as covering all cases of Dhyani, the viewpoint related by Ananda in Uddyota (10) Rasakārvatā is the view of the old Rasa writers like Dandin and Lollata (the Cuantanas) as shown by Abhmaya in his Mehraarabhāratī They are Utpattivadins regarding Raya. This is an anti-theory of Rasas dhyani only (11) Bhoga this also refers to Rasadhyani Nāvaka's theory of Rasa and it can be taken as rejeti no to Bhatta Nāvaka's Bh'ivana also (12) The last Paksa is given as appropriating a Tventured the guess that this may refer to Kuntaka's Vakrokti but Professor Mm S. Kuppuswamy Sasiri considers Vakiokti as included in the Alamkara Paksa. The Vakiokirjivita further accepts Dhyam, though not as the Atman of poetry So, according to Prof. SASIRI, the last refers to the Amuvacaniva vada, the third of the three main anti-theories mentioned by Vinanda. This view accepts that Dhvani is not included in any other Vyupara, that it is different from them, but leaves Dhyani there saying that it is not possible to define it

Of these, we shall consider the Tātparyavāda at length later, tor, it forms the main subject of this section. It is the view of some very old writers that words have nothing but one very powerful Abhidhā stretching over the whole length of the expressed, including all the subfict implications of the words. They cited the analogy of the arrow shot torth forcibly which went piercing many things. This is stated and tefuted by Abhinava en p. 18 (Locana). An analysis of all the ideas conveyed by an expression shows that there is more than one kind or class of idea conveyed. The whole set of ideas is not of one homogenous nature and necessitates the postulation of a power of signification, additional to the mere. Whidhi Further, the suggested ideas are not like the ideas got at through Abhidhā and conventionally associated and fixed to the words through Samaya.

" योऽपि अन्विताभियानवादी 'यस्पर' काल स काल्यापि ' होन एउपे ग्रहीला अस्वदीभधा-व्यापारमेव दीवंदीवं मिच्छिति, तस्य यदि दीवंदीचा व्यापारः, तद्यकोऽमाधिनि कृत / भिन्नविधयस्वाद। अथ अनेकोऽमा तद्विपयमहकारिभेदाद, असजातीय एव युक्तः । मजानायि च कारे विम्मयव्यापारः अव्यक्तमेवुद्यादीना पदार्थविद्धिः निषिद्ध । अमजातीय च अस्मनन्य एव । अथ योऽमो चतुर्थकक्षा-निविद्योऽयै स एव झटिति वाक्येन अभिजीयन इति एव दीवंदीवंद्य विवक्षितम् । तदि तत्र संकेत् ताकरणात् कथ साक्षात् प्रतिपत्ति । " Pp 18-19 Locana

This long-long Abhidhāvyāpāra as comprehending the entire meaning is the view of the Prābhākara mīmāmsakas Abhinava says on p. 188 of his Locana ''प्रामाकरदर्शनेट्रिय दीघदीशी व्यापार.—"This is the second anti-dhvani theory of Abhidhā

Under the two Laksanāpaksas comes the Bhākta vāda refuted by Ānanda in his work at the end of chapter I and in chapter III After refuting the possibility of holding Dhvani as Laksanā, Abhinava says that some writer escaped the difficulties by creating a new name for Dhvani, 'Laksita laksanā', a variety of Laksanā अत एव यन्केनिचित् लक्षितलक्षणीति नाम कृतं, तद व्यसनमात्रम् The Avaloka on the Daśarūpaka also refers to this view:

नापि लक्षितलक्षणया प्रतिपत्तिः । यथा 'गङ्गायां घोषः' इत्यादौ ।" p 118

The reply to this viewpoint is that in any kind of Laksanā, there is the incompatibility of unintelligibility of the primary meaning. In Dhyani, the primary sense is not cast off. The case of a Laksanā may be one kind of Dhyani, the Laksanā-mūla-dhyani but Dhyani is of other kinds also. Thus, the two kinds of Laksanā mentioned as two anti-theories of Dhyani in the Kāiikā quoted by Jayaratha may be Laksanā and laksita lakṣanā, Ajahatswārthā and Jahatswārthā.

Mukulabhatta, in his Abhidhāvritti-mātrkā, defines Lakṣanā in such a way as to avoid the element of incompatibility of the primary sense, Mukhyārtha bādha. He calls the Mukhyaśakti only as the Vyāpāra of Sabda par excellence. Compared to it, Lakṣanā is the Vyāpāra more of Artha than of Sadba, it is Abhidheya-sāmarthya-ākṣipta.

जन्दन्यापारतो यस्य प्रतीतिः तस्य मुख्यता । अर्थावसेयस्य पनः लक्ष्यमाणत्वमुच्यते ॥

यस्य त शब्दव्यापारावगम्यमानार्थपर्यालोचनया अवगतिः तस्य राक्षणिकत्वम् ।

p. 3, N. S Edn

He brings many instances of Dhyani under Laksanā; in the instance 'रामोऽस्मि सर्व सहें' he says (p 11) that the suggested ideas are all conveyed by Laksanā. ''लक्षिता:''। He cites the verse दुर्वारा मद्नेपव etc and says that Vipralambhaśrngāra is conveyed in this verse through Laksanā

तत् ( वाक्यार्थ ) पर्यालोचनगामर्थ्याच विप्रलंभध्यगरस्य **आक्षेपः** इत्युपादानात्मिका **लक्षणा** वाच्यनिवन्थना × × विप्रलमध्यगरस्य **चान्ध्रिप्यमाणस्य वाच्यापेक्षया प्राधान्यम् ।** etc." p. 14, and he concludes on p. 21

'' लक्षणामागांवगाहिन्वं तु त्वने' सहदर्यर्नुतनतया उपवर्णितस्य विद्यत इति दिशसुन्मीलयितुम् इदमत्रोक्तम् ॥ etc.''

This way of definition of Laksanā and illustration of that Vitti has been criticised by Mammata in his Sabdavyāpāra vicāra and the necessity to accept Dhvani for explaining the Prayojanāmsa in Laksanā has been explained by him Surely Laksanā-mūla-dhvani must have everything to do with Laksanā; but this cannot mean that Dhvani is Lakṣanā, for there is Dhvani elsewhere, based on Abhidhā also Above all, there is Dhvani based on no kind of Sabdavyāpāra, neither on Abhidhā nor on Laksanā. That is, there is Dhvani of Rasa from the sweet sounds of music; again,

there is Dhyani from non-Sabda element like Costa Says Ananda in Uddyota III pp 193-4

व्याजकस्यं हि कान्तिद् वाचकस्वाधयेण व्यवनिष्टते, नभा नियक्तिनान्यपरवार्णे वर्नो । क्रक्ति गुणवत्त्वाश्रयेण, यथा अविवक्षितवान्यं तन्। । तदमयाश्रवप्रातपादनांवयः च 'पने अश्रम है। प्रमेही उपन्यस्ता । तदभग्राधितत्वाचा नदेकरपत्वं तस्य न अवयंत प्रकास प्रसास न सम् वास्त्रहेकहणीव कचित्रक्षणाश्रयेण वृत्ते । न च लक्षणेकरणमेय, अस्पत्र याचारवाणयेण व्यवस्थानात । न च उम्रवर्धान रवेनेव तदेकेकस्य न भवति, यावर वानास्यरुक्षणाधिरापरितिशत्यार्थलोगाप, तथा हि गीतःवनीना-मपि व्ययस्वमस्ति स्मादिविषयः । स.च. तेषा वाचकत्वमः, एक्षणा वः । १५६। १८ हो । शब्दावन्यचापि च विषये व्याचनत्वस्यापि दर्शनाद वान्यस्यादिशस्यभंभ्रासस्यम् अपके तनतम् । "

See also Kārvabrakāsa V p. 269. T.S.S. Vol. I

Animiti is the view upheld by the Naiyayikas. Ananda refutes this Lingalingi-paksa as the last counterview in the third Uddvota, after pointing out that the Vyākarana adherent is no eremy to Disvani. In the post-Ananda period, and just after Abhinava, Mahima Bhatta wrote his Vyaktiviveka to show inclusion of all lends of Dhyara in Anumana or inference Jayanta Bhatta, in his Nyayamanjari, casts bitter remailer on Ananda and considers the poets and literary critics as uplit to discues such serious problems as Sabdayvāpāra and Pramāna. He refutes the Arthapatti of the Mīmāmsakas as included in Anumāna and along with it, he includes Dhyani also in Anumana Pp 48-49 Vizianagaram Edii. The chief reply to the Naivavika critics of Dhyani is that there cannot be established any logical invariable concommittance between the Vacya and the Vyangya which concomittance is the basis of all interence

"न तु व्यवस्थम अनुमेयमिति स्वयं व्यवम् । न हि वार्यस्य स्थाने, अनिवस्यग्रहे किवित प्रमाणमस्ति । " Mammata', Sabdar yaparavicara

Arthapatti. The writer who considered it possible to explain away Dhyani as Aithāpatti is not known

Now we shall proceed to consider the greatest anti Dhyam theory, viz, the Tatparya paksa which says that the Tatparya or meaning of a sentence comprehends the suggested also and therefore there is no need for a separate Sakti called Dhvani Mimānisakas must be considered as the upholders of this view Older Mīmāmsakas held Abhidhā as giving only Padaithas and the Väkyärtha was given acording to them by another Sakti called Tatparya The definite sentence-meaning got out of the indefinite word meanings is through a peculiar Sakti of the words formed into a sound sentence called Tatparya (p 13, Locana) In this Tatpaiya, Dhvani is sought to be included. It is argued against Ananda by his critics who advocate Tatparya that at best a meaning other than and different from the expressed, Vacyad atirikta, only can be established. It does not follow that this different meaning is only suggested, Vyangya Where this idea other than the one that is expressed is primary, Pradhāna, it is as good as expressed. So, it is to be called also the expressed sense, the expression being intended to mean that In that case, the first realised primary expressed sense is to be explained as a means to the realisation of the latterly realised Tatparya. Just as word-senses are the means of knowing the sentence-sense, so also the first expressed sense is the means to the further Tatparya.

Ananda replies to this argument thus — Where an expression gives its first and primary meaning and is said to have another meaning also, there are two meanings for the word or sentence — Are the two distinct and different or identifical? They cannot be identical for their nature and the means of their respective realisation clearly differ. When the first meaning is the meaning of the words themselves, the second cannot be described so. The former proceeds directly from the Sabda, the latter is got at by the suggestive power of the first expressed meaning. If the two were identical, there will be no talk of two meanings.

Further, the former is denotative power of the expressed words having definite sense-associations. The latter is Avagama or suggestion and it totally ciffers from the former; for, it pertains even to non-expressing sound (Aväcaka) like music, which suggests emotions. Similarly, an action or Cesta is suggestive and has this power of conveying meaning called suggestion. When these two differ in this manner, it is not proper to call Avagamanasakti, Vācaka saktı Surely it is a Sabdavyāpāra, a significative power of the words but it differs in this respect from Vacakatva or primary Abhidhā. Abhidhā pertains only to Sabdas , Vyañjanī and Vyañjakatva pertain not only to Sabda but to Artha also. When its process is known to be plainly different and it is also known that the sense derived therefrom also differs, it is not proper to call it by the same name Vācakatva. It cannot be contended that a sentence can have only one sense-unit and that according to Dhvani, this law of Ekavākyatva is contradicted. For, the two meanings are explained by the Dhvani theory as being related as chief and accessory. The suggested is the chief meaning and the expressed, its accessory. The two senses are not of equal importance and as such do not go against the principle of Vākya-aikārthya

It is only in that case where the suggested is the dominating idea that the Tätparyavīdin holds that it naturally comes under the intention of the speaker and as such is rothing but Tätparya. Where the suggested is not dominant, there he does not hold the Sabdas to be Tatpara, wholly intent on that, but holds that they are natent only on the Vācya or primary meaning Therefore, even where the Vyangya is Apradhāna, it is not included in Tätparya. The text of Ānanda's *Dhvanyāloka* bearing on this discussion is given at the end of the section.

We can take up the view of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika, advocates of Tātpaiya against Dhvani, as a typical teply to Ānanda. The text of the Daśarūpaka and the Avaloka on it perfaining to this subject is given at the end Dhanika summatises the case for Dhvani first. The suggested cannot be the Vākyārtha , i.e., Tātpaiya cannot be the Sakti. For the suggested belongs to the third stage. In such a case as "Bhrama Dhārmika etc." the first

stage is the Padārthas, the meanings of the words, the Abhidhā. The next is the meaning of the sentence, its Fātparya in the form of an injunction, Vidhi, as in "Bhrama dhārmika". The suggested appear in the third stage and is of a different nature being a prohibition, Nisedha. And this is due to the sakti called Vyananā.

But all cases of Tatparya are not cases of the second stage, there are instances of expressions like "Visam bhunksva" addressed by a father to his son, which mean the exact opposite. The expressed appears to be an immetion (Vidhi), "eat poison". But the father intends to say to his son who proposes to eat in a particular person's house, "do not cat in his house; better eat poison than eat in his house". In this utterance, "cat poison", there are three stages, the second and the third, Vidhi and Nisedha, appearing in the second and the third respectively. Even the third stage is here only Vakyartha and Tatparva. Therefore the Vyapti or the law that the third stage-sense is Vyangya does not hold good. The reply to this is that a father's injunction to his son to eat poison is on the face of it absurd, so the sentence obviously means something else. Hence the real meaning, the prohibition of eating, explained as the third stage, is also only the second stage. The rule that Vyangya comes after the second stage therefore stands. In cases of realisation of Rasa, in the second stage, only the Vibhayas etc. are known, it is in the third stage that Rasa is realised. In line, it is proper to hold Tatharya in those cases where there is no completeness of sense or exhaustion of the expressed sense and the words tend to mean something else and stop only with that. But in cases where the words stop with conveying what they mean by Abhidha and there is no incompleteness or unintelligibility in the expressed sense and yet from that first meaning arises another meaning, the case is one of Dhyani

It can be seen in the above discussion that the chief point is this. The Tātpaiyavādin presses that Tātpaiya is not exhausted with the first expressed sense. Avistānta. But the Dhyamiyadin contends that it is Vistānta with the expressed sense and that what appears afferwards it got at through suggestion. It can also be seen in the discussion in Uddyota III of the Dhyamiyāloka that both recognise that there are two meanings and the difference is that while the Tātpaiyavādin holds both as Tātpaiya, the first as the means of the second, Upāyamātra, the Dhyamiyādin separates the second as the Vyangya and instead of calling the first Upāya for the further meaning, he says it is Gauna and the Vyangya is Pradli ina or Mukhya. The

<sup>1</sup> In the *Locana*, taking cases of Laksanā also into account, Abhinava describes Dhyani, not as of the third stage, Trūya-kaksā visaya, but as appearing in the fourth stage, Caturtha-kaksā-visaya Abhidhā, Laksanā, Tātparya and Dhyani

भक्तिर्हं लक्षणाव्यापारः तृतीयकक्षानिवेशी । नतृथ्यी तु कद्याया वननव्यापारः । तस्मात् अभिधानात्पर्यलक्षण (णा) व्यतिरिक्तवतृथाऽमी व्यापारः वननव्याननव्यनानप्रत्यायन-अवगमनादि-सोदरव्यपदेशनिरूपितः अभ्युषगन्तव्य । p 18. Locana.

chief argument of the Tütparyavädin is that there is no such limitation of Tātparya to the expressed sense as held by the Dhvani-theorists. Tātparya extends over the whole range of the speaker's intention and covers all implications coming up in the train of the expressed sense.

एनावत्येव विश्रान्ति तात्पर्यस्येति किक्कतम् । यावस्कायप्रमारित्वात् तात्पर्यं न तुरुाधृतम् ॥

(Dhanika, *Avaloka* on the *Daśavūpaka*, p. 121) quoted from his own *Kāvya-mrnaya*)

In the given instance of "Bhiama Dhāimika", suiely the prohibition of the mendicant from going to the banks of the Godavari is part of, nay the chief, intention of the speaker and is therefore included in Tatparya. There is no need for creating a new faculty for words called DIIVANI तालुगान तिरेकान व्यवक्रमध्य न व्यक्ति । As against the powerful argument that the intention of the speaker is the indication of the extent of the Tatparya of his utterance, and therefore, the implied and suggested train of ideas are also Tatpaiya, the Dhyaniadvocates say that the Tatparya of a Vakya like Abhidha of a Pada, is very limited in scope and can give only the bare meanings of all the words put together in grammatical order, that the ideas suggested are not invariably associated through Samaya, that Dhyani or suggestion exists in Avacaka-sounds like music and in gesture which is not any Sabda, and that above all, Dhvani must be accepted for cases of the realisation of Rasas which can be found out in experience as incapable of realisation by mere Abhidha, mention of their name If Dhyani is not accepted, and Tātparya alone is held, it follows for the Tātparyayādin that Rasa is realised by Abhidhā and Tātparya also. That is, they will have to say that Syasadbopādāna of Rasa is not only not a flaw but is the fact in some cases. This Dhanika accepts. He says that we speak in two ways and our sentence sometimes contains expression of the verb and some-We say "drive the cow" and the act of driving is mentioned herein, we also say sometimes "door! door!", meaning "shut the door" The idea of shutting the door is in our minds and one who runs to shut the door realises that "shutting action" in our mind from context etc. The case of Rasa-realisation is similar to this. In most cases utterances in poetry would seem to belong to the latter class where the verb is not seen and is understood from context. In poetic utterances, Vibhavas etc. are described, and we at once get at the permanent mood of Rati etc., invariably associated with those particular Vibbavas etc described. The invariable association between some Vibhāvas etc and some permanent mood is a thing of the world and experience. Other cases there are where the Sthayin, like the expressed verb, is seen mentioned by the poet and we easily get at it

All sentences गाम न्याज् हार्ग हारम etc terminate in some action, the poetic ends in the Kriyā called the Svādodbhūti, the manifestation of relish which is the Sthāyin that has been nourished to that extent. Towards this end of relish is all poetiy addressed. Thus definite Vibhāvas etc described in a piece of poetic utterance form the word-units, the Padārthas which give what they

mean viz, the sentence-unit, the Vakyartha, the Sthayin. This Sthāyin known by the Bhāyaka, the tasteful spectator or reader, revolves in his heart and attains relishable state. This is 'obuidh'unki ray ide petiti, if this does not sutmerently clear the issue. Dhamka says that the arear tanding of the Sthāyins from the Vibhāyas etc. may be field to be of through Laksanā, Lāksanika ratyādipratīti. This may resemble knit anala? The or though holds Vākyātha as Laksya.

Dhamka further relates his postion to died et Bhatta Nayaka who advocated a new relation bit acen Kaya and Ra at Strictly speaking, against the Vyangya yyañjaka sambandha bet veen Rasa and Kaya of the Dhyam theorist, the Tatparyayadin must say that the relation of the two is Väcyaväcaka or as Dhamka adds in the end Eaksya lak aka , but the case being one of poetry and there being a need to give a new little of less mosaic process, the Väcya-väcaka sambandha itself is celled Bhayaya bhayaka (ambandha Poetre expression has a power called Bhayan) and this is sanctioned, says Dhamka, by the Bhāyanā vieling vieling viz. Bhatta Nivela, and is granted also by Bharata's description of Bhāyas.

#### ं सावयंत्रि रसान् यस्मात तस्मात शावा

The most serious flaw in this theory is its view that Ra a is realised also by express mention of its name. This was the internet belief and we find Udbhata saying in his definition of Rasavadahankara that Rasa has as its seat (Āspada) Svasahda, i.e., its own name, its Sthavin, its Sancārin, its Vibhāvas and their Abhimaya (fourth Varga, 3.). Amada has criticised it in the first Uddyota and Abhimaya also, both in the Locana and the Abhimava-bhāratī. In later triacs, as siated by Manimata in a regular term, the chief of the Rasadosas is mention of the name of the Rasa, Sva abda vacvatva of Rasa Even Vyabhicārins are allowed Svasabdabhidha ac ridy occasionally. It is plain that the Rasas cannot be realised in a view curriculting the nine Rasas one after another. The text of the Nativasastra cannot rouse the emotions which Nātva anorses.

Bhatta Nāyaka was a great adherent of Rasa and though an adversary of the Dhvani-theorist, we must gather from Abrinava's words that he did not hold Rasa as Svasabda vieva anywhere. Say: abhinaca

### "---(सम्य च अव्द्वारयत्व तेनापि नोपगत्निति न्या, प्रत्योग । 11-19

There is also this additional argument addited by Ananda t, show that there is something called Dhyani. If Rasa and the singlessed Vastu and Alainkāra are not accepted as 'Dhyaniyamāna' they must be vacya, if they are vācya, anybody knowing the meanings of words must realise them, but the fact is that only a few Sahidayas realise them. This is a sure proof of something existing beyond the niere Vācya vācaka.

It has been pointed out by Ananda that though the suggested is the pulmary thing, the expressed forms the means thereof. Between them, it is a question of the former being primary and the latter accessary. When the former is realised, the latter does not disappear. With the cognition of the latter, the former also arises immediately and during the continuance of the former, the latter does not cease to exist. The Tätparyavädin maintains that Väcya väcaka, the Vibhävas etc., is Padäitha and the Tätparya of these Padäithas is Rasa which is described as Väkyäitha. If this means generally that the Padäithas are the means, Upäya, of the Väkyärtha, Änanda accepts this analogy. He says in Uddyota 1.

## यथा पदार्थद्वारेण वाक्यार्थः सप्रतीयते । वाच्यार्थपर्विका तदन प्रतिपत्त तस्य वस्तनः ॥

This does not mean that Ananda subscribes to the view expounded later by Dhamka that Rasa is Vākyārtha, attained through Tātparya. Ananda hastens to explain himself in the Tātparya discussion in *Uddyota III* on the subject of this analogy.

न च पदार्थवाक्यार्थरमाथो वान्यव्यक्षयो.। यतः पदार्थव्रतीतिः अमस्येवेति केश्विद्विद्विद्वरास्थितम् । येरायमस्यस्यमम्या नाम्युपेयतं तः वाक्यार्थपदार्थयोः घटतदुषादनकारणन्यायोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः। यथा हि घटे निष्पन्ने तदुषादनकारणाना न प्रथापुष्टम्भः, तथेव वाक्यं तद्यें वाजतीते पदतद्यानाम्। तेपा तदा विभक्तनया उपलम्भे वाक्यार्थद्विदेव द्रीमवेत्। न त्वेष वाच्यव्यक्षययोग्यंयः। न हि व्यक्षये प्रतीयमाने वाच्यवुर्दिशेभवति । वाच्यवभागाविनाभावेन तस्य प्रकाशनात् । तस्मात् घटप्रदीपन्याय-स्त्योः। यथेव हि प्रश्चित्रार्थण घटप्रदीपन्यायः न प्रदीपप्रकाशो निवर्तते, तद्वद व्यक्षयितीते वाच्यावभागः। यस् प्रथमोत्योतं ' यथा पदार्थद्वरिण-- ' दृत्यायुक्त तदुपायत्वसाम्यभात्रविवक्षया।

III p 190.

This, Abhinava says, is said by Ananda to refute the Tatparyavada which holds the Padārtha-vākyartha nyāya between Kāvya and Rasa the relation between Padarthas and Vākyārtha, there are two main views: The grammarians hold that the Padartha-mana is unreal This certainly cannot answer for the relation between Vibhavas etc., and Rasa or between the expressed and the suggested, for, it cannot be said that the expressed is unreal The Bhātta mīm unsakas hold that the Padārthas are not unreal and they must then accept that Padarthas are 'Upādāna kārana', material cause, for Vākyārtha When a pot is made and seen, its component parts, the sherds which made it, are not separately cognisable. Similar is the case with the Padarthas When one msists on seeing the parts in the whole, the sense of the whole is lost. Therefore, even this relation of Upādāna-kārana does not hold good in the case of Vacya and Vyangya. When the Vyangya is seen, the Vācya does not disappear. Therefore, the analogy of a light manifesting to our eyes the hidden objects has to be chosen. This is Prakāśa-nyāya or Ghata-pradīpa-nyāya When the pot in the dark room is manifested to our eyes by the lamp, and when we are seeing the pot, the lamplight does not disappear but continues to shine. It manifests itself and manifests another See Locana DD 189-190

एव पदार्थवाक्यार्थन्याय तात्पर्यशक्तिसाधक प्रकृतविषये निराकृत्य अभिमता प्रकाशशक्ति साधयित तदन्तित प्रदीपचटन्याय प्रकृति योजयताह ॥ Locana p 190. In *Uddyota* 1 also, under the tenth kānkā mentioning the Padārtha-vākyārtha-nyāya as a general analogy for the idea of means and end, Abhinawa remarks.

न तु बाच्यस्य सर्वथा अनवभागः । अत् एव तृत्रीयीयीतं घटप्रशपन्यान्वकाद् व्यावप्रतिति-काळेऽपि बाच्यप्रतीतिनं विचटत इति बद्धश्यति, तेन सह अस्य घन्यस्य न विशेषः । Locana, p. 32.

Dhanika refutes this analogy of the pot and the light, Ghataniadinanyāya. He holds Rasas as incapable of being described as Vyangya. 'Vyangya Vyañjaka and Vyñjana' are concepts related to that mode of our knowing things in which one object, entirely different and come into existence through its own causes, manifests another independent thing which has come into being through its own causes. Thus the Vyanjaka vyangya nyaya is used regarding a lamp and its light manifesting a pot, the two things are independdent, in origin and nature. The former maintests the latter. But in the case of Vibhavas etc., which are described by the Dhyaniyadin as Vyanjaka, there is nothing similar to this state of affairs which can justify the use of the concept of Vyanjaka and Vyangya. The Vibhavas etc. themselves are the conditions that bring Rasa into being. They are so closely related to each other, they are not utterly unrelated and independent of each other like the lamp and the pot Surely, the pot is not brought into being by the light, the pot is made of or produced by the sherds made of mud. Therefore, the case of manifestation through Vyanjana regarding Rasas on the analogy of the lamp and the pot is absurd in so far as the so-called suggesting elements and the suggested in Käyva are so much interrelated and the former itself brings the latter into being. Says Dhanika

" एवं च सति स्मार्थाना ब्याज्यसम्मास्तम् । अन्यतो क्रायसनार वस्तु अस्यनापि( मि )-व्यञ्यते, प्रदीपेनेव षटादि । न त तदानीमेव अभिव्यजकत्वाभिमते आपत्तम्यभावम् । "

D R A, p 122

The above-given survey covers the whole ground of the discussion on Tātparya and Dhyani. After the time of \( \tilde{\text{N}} \) And \( \text{disc} \) tree-Abhinavagupta commentator and Abhinava's kinsman-predecessor, the author of the \( Candrik\vec{a} \) on the \( Dhyany\vec{a}loka \), melined towards the Tatparyavaddins and field, on the basis of all the suggested ideas being part of the poet's intention, that Dhyani was T\( T\vec{a}traparya \). There are two passages in Abhinava's \( Iovana \) giving clue to this

(1) p 20

यस्तुः विनिध्यान्यानीद्यतः तान्पर्यशक्तिमेव विवक्षामुक्तक्यनेव वा वननभवीक्तः, स नास्माक इदयमावज्यति ।

(2) p 26

यस्त्वत्रापि तात्पर्यशक्तिमेव ध्वनन मन्यते, स न वस्तुतत्ववेदी।

The latter instance is not very clear but the former plainly says that the author of that view is a commentator on Dhvani, i.e., the *Dhvanyāloka* What exactly Bhatta Nāyaka said regarding Tātparya as against Dhvani, we are not able to know. From what we see from the *Avaloka* on the *Daśarāpaka* which

follows the view of Bhūvya-bhūvaka sambandha, we must conclude that Bhāvakatva is only a poetic or a new name based on Bhaiata's own etymology of the name Bhūva for Tūtparya. It is the counterpart of Tūtparya of the ordinary utterance in the field of poetic expression. But in criticising Bhatta Nāyaka, Abhinava seems to say that Bhatta Nāyaka accepted Rasadhvani and did not hold Rasa to be Vūcya.

रसध्वनिस्तु तेनेवात्मतयाज्ञाञ्चत । D 15 रसस्य च शाउवाच्यत्व तेनापि नोपगतमिति व्यज्ञचलमेव । D 19.

This, however, is not clear. No doubt, as a staunch advocate of Rasa, Bhatta Nāyaka emphasised Rasa as Jīvita, the life of poetic expression, as Abhinava remarks on p. 12 of his *Locana*.

"त्र्यंशे काव्ये रसचर्वणा तावत् जीवितभूतेति भवतोऽपि अविवादोऽस्ति ।"

And for this Abhimava quotes the following text from Bhatta Nāyaka as authority:

काव्यं रसयिता गर्वे। न वोद्धा न नियोगभाक ।

This, Bhatta Nāyaka evidently said to distinguish poetry from epics from which one takes lessons (Bodha) and from Veda and Śāstra from which one takes injunctions regarding right and wrong conduct. But in Kāvya, one simply enjoys. This verse has to be related to the other oft-quoted lines of Bhatta Nāyaka ' कृत्वत्राहान्यमाधित्य ' etc. which distinguish in a similar manner poetry from Ithhāsa or Ākhyāna and Śāstra. On Dhvani, Bhatta Nāyaka has this definite statement quoted by Abhinava, but which is, it seems to me, rather misinterpreted to twit him

भ्वनिनामापरो योजना व्यापारो व्यवनात्मकः। तस्य सिद्धेऽपि भेदे, स्यात काव्याज्ञत्व, न स्विता ॥

This is granted by Bhatta Nāyaka in the end, according to the well-known "Tusyatu durjana nyāya". Let there be a separate and distinct Vyāpāra called Dhvani, it is at best an accessary element in poetry, Kāvya-amśa or Kāvya-aūpī or Kāvya-tūpī or Kāvya-tūpī or Kāvya-tūpā or Kāvya-tīpā or kāvya-tī

महनायकेत तु व्यज्ञच्यापरस्य प्रौढोक्त्याभ्युपगतस्य काव्यांशत्वं बुबता etc. p. 9. In the text 'भावनामाच्य एपोऽपि श्रुज्ञारादिगणो मतः' Bhaṭta Nāyaka clearly states that Rasa is got at not by Dhvani but by Bhāyanā.

#### BHOIA

The position of Bhoia is one of complomese. He follows both Ananda and the Tatparvavadins. Bhoja is less of a critical and consistent analytical writer and is always for broad synthesis and ignoring of differences, a pecuharly fortunate position which enables him to follow everybody, to follow both parties at the same time. Bhoja is very well acquainted with the Dhvanvaloka of Ananda and there is no trace in his works of his acquaintance with either work of Abhinaya - Evidences of Bhoja's acquaintance with Anandavardhana's work are available even in the S.A. 1. On p. 628, Chapter V of the S K A. Bhom quotes four Karikas from Uddyola II of the Dhyanyaloka He says that in certain cases of Gunas which are inherently fused with Rasas. there is no place for Sainkara or mixture of Guna and Rasa Here Ananda's Dhvanvāloka II. Kānkās vin vi on the three Gures, Midhurya, Ojas and Prasada (no 79-82) are quoted and effectively utilised by Bhoja. This point is further explained in the Guna section. Similarly on the subject of Rasa and Alamkara, Bhoja utilises three verses of Ananda from Uddyota II. the first Parikara Sloka on p. 87, Kanka xvii on p. 85 and the Parikara Sloka on p. 221 in the third Uddyota with change of the list foot

"र्मवित्त हि बस्तृति", "रमाक्षिमत्या" and "रमनायारि "
How Bhoja utilises these verses of Ānanda is explained in the Alamkāra section. These two sets of citations or rather 'uncid-nowledged appropriations' from Ānanda occur also in the same places in the St. Pra. Chapter XI Vol. II pp. 398 & 404.5. In the St. Pra., in the latter case pertaining to Alamkāra, Bhoja quotes another Paukara sloka from the third Uddoyla of Ānanda's Dhivanyāloka namely, राजुण चित्र किसे विकेश etc. (p. 222, Dhivanyāloka). In the S. K. T. this verse is cited and made part of his Kārikās by Bhoja at the very outset in Chapter V. (S. K. A. p. 171, St. 3.) Of course, Bhoja pushes into this verse his own interpretation of Singāra as Ahamkāra

If we leave these two or three instances of critition of a few verses of Ananda, the only other topic on which Bhoja draw, upon Maanda, and that to a very large extent, is Dhyam. We shall now co into the question of Bhoja's attitude towards Dhyam. Dr. S. K. Dr. says in Vol. 11 of his Sanskrit Poetics (p. 229). "It will be convenient in this connection take up the school of opinion represented by the writer on Poetics in the Aginpuñana and by Bhoja, which stands in many respects apair from the Kasmirian school of Anandavardhana and which appears to have been entirely untouched by the implications of the Dhyam theory." On p. 261 of the same volume, he says. "The prominence given to Rasa and the absence of the Dhyam theory in Bhoja, therefore, need not surprise us." We again find on the same page. "He (Bhoja) even appropriates Kärlkäs from the Dhyanyāloka, although he does not accept its theory." On the next page (262) Dr. De says. "His (Bhoja's) juige compilation." represents apparently one of the several forms of arranging the teachings (with

the exception of renoring the Dhrom theory) "These remarks are of course based upon what one can know from Bhoja's S. K. A. One cannot write like this after seeing Bhoja's Si. Pra. But even in the S. K. A. the concept of Dhrom is not entirely absent. Bhoja accepts Dhrom in the S. K. A. as well as in the Si. Pra. But he follows Bhāmaha. Dandin and Vāmana in bringing down every tem under Alamkāra or Guna , under Alamkāra through down every tem under Alamkāra of Guna , under Alamkāra through the Artha Cher. Kānti (as described by Vāmana) and as Rasavad alamkāra or Alamkāra of the category named Rasokti. In a similar manner, Dhrom is called by Bhoja the Sabda-guna Gāmbhīrya

### तानगना न गाम्भीनम

S K A. I 73, p 55

Just as Rasa is held as Rasavad alamkara because Rasa also is a beautifying factor of expression, so also Dhvain is held by Bhoja as the Guna embellishing expression. A Vaccopaskiralar may be a Guna or an Alamkāra, if Rasa was an Mandvīra oo Bhoraha and Dandin, it was a Guna for Vāmena. In a similar manner, Dhvain was a Guna to Bhoja. Stopping with this only, we can say that Bhoja's aosition towards Dhvain is a kind of Antarbhāvavada, an Antarbhāva in Guna and through it in Alamkāra.

यदः गुणाककारक्यांनिर्मक त्याकव प्रार्थः न सवति ।  $\times$   $\times$  चाकवहेतुश्च श्वनिः । तत्र तद्वयनिर्मकः := - । " Locana p 5

This apart, we can see traces of Dhyani in other places in the  $S(K, \Lambda)$  of Bhopa. In the Guna section itself we find Dhyani in other Gunas besides Gimbhiaya. Bhopas Attha guna Gatt is a case of Dhyani.

गविस्मा स्यादव्यामः गाँउर्थाट्यान्तरस्य तु ।

Rathesvara says on this — तेन नास्वयहद्यादमाह् अर्थात् **कांस्यतालानुस्यानन्यायेन** नाहजात्पीत्तरमयग्रम्यते या गतिर्गित लक्षणार्थ । Rathesvara says on 1–191

वनन आपारीक्षेपान गुणत्वलाम ।

We meet with Divam in Bhoja's Sabdālamkāras also. Dhvam or the getting of some meaning for which there is no word in the expression, presupposes suppression. The idea of suppression or hiding of the idea is used as a concept called Samviti which goes to produce many Alamkāras. Thus, Bhoja use Samviti in ins Sabdālamkāras, Mudiā, Ukti and Bhanti (pp. 146-150-1, & 151). All these cases involve Dhvani. Commenting on Bhoja's Sabdalamkara called Kalpanā bhanti, Ratneśvara says.

मेग मांगांत ।वां पंतप्यायो, निषयप्यक्रहाम विध्यस्य भवतीत्यास्तां विस्तरः। Bhoja himself says (his in his comments on the illustrative verse

" -कटपनामार्णात विधिनिपेष निपेषविधिसमा।"

We meet with the suggested idea in Bhoja's Arthālamkāra section also Bhoja's Arthidamkāra called Suksma is a case of pure Rasadhvani from Anubli'va. This Süksma Bhānaha ieluses to accept as any Alamkāra (H 86), whereas Daudin calls it, with a vengeance, Uttamabhūṣaṇa, a great

Alamkāra—Bhoja takes it with some change from Dandin Sūkṣma is the conveying of a subtle meaning of idea through the expression of attendant signs. इहिंगताकारलस्थोऽर्थः मेंक्स्यान मृक्षम इति स्मृत- 11—260 Å i —In the second instance given by Dandin, it is a case of Rasadhvani from Anubhāva—The first illustration giving the secret symbol of closing the lotus as suggesting the evening as the appointed hour, is east off by Bhoja—Bhoja—also gives two varieties of Sūkṣma—One, suggestion of Rasa from an Ingita of Ynubhāva and the other from Akāra, Sāttvika bhāvas like Romāñca—

तत्र इदित्वव्हयमभिधीयमानमृतुम यथा——"ता प्रत्योभणक्तमनीरणानाम् " इति । अत्र स्वयवर-मिलिनानां राज्ञां राजपुत्री प्रति प्राप्तिव्हणस्य मनीरणस्य **२८द्वारक्तेप्रात्मकेन** उदितन् व्यङ्कयस्यात् अर्थामिदितव्हन्यः अभिधीयमानः सुद्दमनेदः । p. 285 S. K. A.

Bhoja recognises another kind of two classes of Suksma, the expressed and the suggested, Abindhiyamāna and Pratīyamana

वाच्य प्रतीयमानथ सध्मोऽत्र द्विनिधो मत । 111-2%

The description of an Anubhāva and a Sattvikabhava and the suggestion of Rasa through them is called Abhidhāyam ma Suksma, the Pratīyamāna Sūksma is case of Rasadhvani through a Vyabhicarin being described

व्याहता प्रतिवचन न ददाति, रूपत्येर्ककांग्मन । आर्यो कार्येण विना, प्रदीप्यमाने नदीकच्छे ॥

Commenting on this illustration (p. 286 S. K. Å.) Bhoja explains the latter case. In the third instance of Pratīyamāna-sūksma, we have 11-3yāvipialambha dhvani (p. 287). Bhoja does not seem to hold seriourly that Rasa is anything but Pratīyamāna, he seems to hold it as. Abhidhīyamāna also. If he recognises an Abhidhīyamāna variety of Sūkṣina also, it is because he finds the Svasabda of the emotion in the two illustrative verses.

"ता प्रत्यभिद्यक्तमनोरथानां " and सा यूनि तरिमञ्जभिलापवन्य "

Therefore it is that Bhoja says

"मनोर्थस्य अभिवीयमानस्य × × × इतिनेन व्यत्यत्वात ।

- 2 Anyonyālamkāra (H1 Pp 294.5) is described by Bhoja as having three varieties, Vāeya, Pratīyamāna and Ubhava. In the illustration for the Pratīyamāna anyonya, the well known Gātha of a traveller drinking water with fingers widely opened and the gal pouring him water slower and slower, and thinner and thinner, Bhoja says that their mutual (Anyonya) love (Anurāga) is suggested (Pratīyamāna).
- 3 A case of Alamkūra-dhvani is found in the Arthalamkūra section P 305 S K  $\bar{A}$  Bhoja speaks under Vyatneka, of Pratīyam na Sīdršya
- 4 Finally, in his comments on Sambhavalamkāra, Bhoja refutes the older conception of Sambhava which clearly shows Bhoja's disapproval of the Anumāna theory of Rasa-realisation. This is not exactly a point showing Bhoja's acceptance of Rasadhyani but is given here as a point that is

bound to be of interest in connection with the question of Dhvani and Rasadhvani Bhoja says on p. 294 III. S. K. A.

अत्र यथा खार्या द्रोणः, शते पद्माशत् इति **नियमः**, नैव विप्रलम्मे अलकानामकल्पनम्, अनजनम् अर्णोः, मधुनो वा प्रत्यादेशः, मुहुदुदन्तलाभारम्भे वा नयनस्पन्तनानिः, **संभाव्यन्ते** व प्रभूतकारण (णा) लोकादित्येष विधिक्षप एव सम्भवः।"

He says that the Sambhava of Dioṇa in Khāri, of 50 m 100 is nothing but Anumāna, सोडनुमानान् न भिद्यते। S. K. A. III 26 He does not accept that between Rasa, here Vipialambha, and its Vyabhicārins and Anubhāvas there is any Niyama or Vyāpti. There is only probability. This is the chief argument of the Dhvani-theorists against the Anumāna or the Lingalingi-bhāva vāda. Says Vidyānātha (p. 41, Bālamamoramā Edn. Pratāparudrīya):

- ''न च अर्थशक्तिमूले व्यङ्गने अनुमानगङ्का । व्यङ्गचव्यङ्गकयोः अविनाभावाभावात । नम्राननत्वादिकार्यस्य अनेककारणकत्वात ।''
  - 5 Upamā is given as Abhidhīyamāna and Pratīyamāna.

The above points related to Dhvani in the Alamkāra section in the S K  $\bar{A}$  are found repeated, though without the comments, in the  $S_T$  Pra.  $\sigma$ Iso Besides, in the 22nd chapter of the  $\bar{S}_T$  Pra (Vol III. pp 368-9) Bhoja classifies Anuraga into 24 varieties, two of which form a distinction into Abhidhīvamāna and Pratīvamāna

These odd contacts with Dhvani apart, Bhoja completely accepts Dhvani as the greatest Vyāpāra ruling in the realm of poetry and embodies much of  $\bar{\Lambda}$ nanda's text in his own treatment of Dhvani in the  $\bar{S}r$  Pra, as we shall see presently

We meet with Dhvani for the first time at the end of chapter VI in the Sr Pia Bhoja has explained 'Artha' as 'superimposition' (Adhyāsa) or 'transliguration' (Vivarta) of the Sabda Brahman due to Avidyopādhi This, it is pointed out, may apply to the meaning which is primarily associated with Sabda, viz, the Abhidhīyamāna Artha, and Bhoja adds, there is another kind of Artha also called the Pratīyamāna How is it related to the Sabda Brahman? Is it also explainable by Adhyāsa and Vivarta?

Bhoja accepts the existence of the 'implied', the Pratīyamāna Artha IIe quotes Ānandavardhana's verse on it प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव etc (*Dhvanyāloka* 1 4.) It is also accepted here by Bhoja that the Pratīyamāna appears after the appearance of the Vākyārtha,—वाक्यार्थमावनोत्तरकालमवनते. This Pratīyamāna is another 'state', Avasthāntara, of Sabda, a Viparnāma of the Sabda Brahman This theory of Viparnāma or transformation is adopted by Bhoja, and Adhyāsa and Vivarta are cast off Viparmāma, he says, explains both the Abhidhīyamāna and the Pratīyamāna The Pratīyamāna is, as much as the Abhidhīyamāna, a Vyāpāra of the Sabda and this, Bhoja says, is a subject which he will speak of at length in a further section.

Further, Bhoja briefly indicates here the nature of this variety of Artha called Pratīyamāna He gives an illustrative verse प्राप्तश्रीरेष कस्मात् etc

(quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka* on p. 109) and explains the full purport of this culogy on a king. The actual meanings of the words form the expressed sense, the Abhadhīyamāna, the concerving of the king as an Avatāna of Visnu is *implied* in the veise and this is Pratīyamāna, there is a further meaning also *suggested*, that this king Avatāna of Visnu is superior to the other Avatānas, this forms the linal Tātparya and it is called Dhvani in the realin of poetry

As promised at the end of Chapter VI, Bhora takes up Dhyam in Chapter VII. It has been explained in the section on Sahitya that Bhora has schemed out a system of poetics under the concept Sahitya which consists of three departments of relations between Sabida and Artha. The first two departments cover grammatical relations, Vitti, Vivaks i, Lütpuiya and Pravibhāga, Vyapeksī, Samerthya, Anvaya and Fkurthibhaya. Vitti covers Abhidhā, Laksanā and Gaunī, and other significative capacities known to us as Tātparya and Vyañjana, we find constituted into a separate category, the third in the first set called Tātparya. Strictly speaking Vitti and Tātparya should not have been given as two separate classes. all Saktis, Abhidhā, Laksanā, Gaunī, Tātparya and Dhyam, must have been considered together Bhora, however, treats of Tatparya and Dhyam separately, because Abhidhā, Laksanā and Gaunī are taken as Padasaktis and under Tatparya, Bhora investigates the Vākya-artha

Bhoja's acquaintance with the *Dhvanyaloka* is amply proved in this section of his work. Earlier, we saw, Bhoja quoted Mainda I. 4. प्रतीयमां प्राचित्र विद्या etc., and accepted the suggested idea also and explained it as appearing after the Vakyārtha. In this section on Tatparva and Dhvani proper, Bhoja, as can be seen by a perusal of the text appended herewith, borrows freely from Mainda. Ananda I. 13, the definition of Dhvani, the varieties of Pratīyam in itha which Mainda shows as camples in the beginning to prove the existence of a sense separate and different from the expressed one (pp. 16-23. *Dhva*. Å.), some of the verass given by Mainda here as illustrations and a few other ideas found in the *Dhva*. A rare found here in Bhoja's text on Dhvani. Though Dhvani is accepted by Bhoja, Ananda is not completely followed by him, Bhoja horrows, adjusts and adapts Ananda's Dhvani. He reconciles Mainda to the Tatparyavadin, makes the equation that Tatparya's identical with Dhvani.

Whatever sense is intended to be conveyed by words form their purport, Tatparya. This purport of Tatparya is of wide extent and of more than one kind. It may be expressed, 'implied' or 'suggested', Abhidhiyamāna, Pratīyamāna and Dhyanirūpa. The expressed of Abhidhiyamāna sense is the Vākyārtha, the meaning of a sentence got at by īkānksā, Sannidhi etc', after the separate words have delivered their individual meanings through one or the other or one of more of the three Sabda saktis or signicative capacities of words called Abhidhī, Laksanā and Gaini. In the sentence—ii, nezīda—, "the cow goes" is the Abhidhīyamīna vīkyārtha.

There are cases of other kinds of sentences which, when the expressed sense alone is taken into consideration, mean nothing or tend to mean more. The expressed sense is in one case displaced by an implied sense and in the other, supplemented by a further and implied sense. The conditions which manifest or aid the manifestation of this additional sense, both in cases of incompatibility of the expressed and compatibility of the expressed, are such as the meaning, the context, propriety etc 
If a father says to his son who is about to go to an enemy's house for dinner, "Well, eat poison", the mere expression itself or its expressed sense which is an injunction (Vidhi) to eat poison obviously means little and naturally drives us to explore the context and set our mind at rest by finding out the meaning that the father's real intention is not that his son should die by eating poison but that he should realise that it is better to eat poison and die than dine at such a person's house, that, in short, the son should not go to dine there. This is a case of the primary sense being incompatible and hence calling forth some other implied meaning Similarly, a primary compatible meaning may be attended by the use of another wave of meaning. Both the cases are called Pratīyamāna

If, after the appearance of the expressed sense, either Sabda or Artha, completely subordinating itself gives rise to another sense, it is said that, in those cases, Sadba and Artha suggest another sense. If an Artha or one sense itself suggests another, the suggesting Artha is subordinate and the suggested Artha shines forth as the chief idea This is not universal, for this rise of a suggested sense can be likened to two phenomena,—resonance, Anunada and echo, Pratidhvani; it is only such metals as bronze which, when struck, give rise to ripples of resonance and it is only a few spots like caves where one's voice is echoed. This Dhyani or the suggested idea appears after the rise of not only the expressed sense but also of the implied or Pratīyamāna sense. As for instance, when it is said, "She winks"-जिम्बिक्याला -one gets the primary meaning first that she winks, the twinkling of the eye is the Abhidhīyamāna sense. We also come to know from the winking of eyes that the woman is not a celestial damsel who has no closing of the eye, but only a mortal being This first extra-meaning is Pratiyama-There is yet further significance possible in the small expression. The winking raises the vision of a pair of exquisitely sparkling eyes whose beauty excites emotion This last sense, namely, the beauty of her eyes is said to be the suggested sense, Dhvani.

The expressed sense, on analysis, shows itself to be one of the four kinds, an injunction, a prohibition, a case of both or a case of neither

The Pratiyamāna is entirely different from the expressed. It is of various kinds—If the expressed is an injunction, it may be that the Pratiyamāna is a prohibition. That is, though to all appearance an expression may contain in its words only an injunction, its real purport may be its opposite, prohibition. Bhoja points out, illustrates and explains some varieties.

They are

- 1, 2 Prohibition from Injunction and vice versa
- 3 A further Injunction from an Injunction (Pi) of F-1841
- 1 .. Prolibition .. a Prombite (न्येर विदेशकार)
- 5 Another Injunction from both Injunction and Prelibition is infinitely and assets.
- o. "Prohibition """
- An Injunction from a case of neither Injunction nor Prohibition -अविद्यालयोग विदेश
- 8 A Prohibition from a case of neither Lagunction nor Prohibition अल्यानिकेट निकार
- 9 Neither Injunction nor Prohibition from an Injunction : बिश्वसुमयम् 10 " " Prohibition विकेशनयम्
- Neither Injunction nor Prohibition from a case of both Injunction and Prohibition. विभिन्निये अनुस्थम
- 12 Neither Injunction not Prohibition from a case of neither Injunction not Prohibition รถ์ส์หนึ่งที่ สุริสุทุน

This forms an amplification of what is found in the Dhranivilloka 1 pp. 16-23. Ananda has only indicated the nature of the suagested once as being totally different from the expressed by a text example of the principal principal totally different from the expressed by a text example of the principal prin

Dhyani, Bhoja has said, is what appears after the Abhidhiyamana and the Pratiyamāna—It is not clearly understandeble why Bhoja separated the Pratiyamāna and the Dhyanyamana—In Ananda, there is no such difference Pratiti, Avagama, Dhyani, all mean the same throw in the Dhyanyaloka When everyone was denying the very existence of Dhyani, Ananda tried to prove its existence step by step. He first started by scating that Artha in Kāvya which Sahidayas relish is of two kinds, the expressed and the implied or suggested, Vācya and Pratiyamāna (1/2)—Just as the various limbs of the beautiful woman of the body of that woman itself is one thing and besides that there is something hanging over her called Lavanya, so also there is moetry something which is totally different from the expressed and the obvious,

the Vacya This is borne out by experience. This something in poetry is also experienced as being separate and altogether different from the Vacya, the expressed If in a set of instances it can be shown to exist in this manner. separately and different from the expressed, the first stage is crossed and the opponents must accept that a separate non-expressed sense is a fact. For this Dulpose, Ananda avoids the name of Dhvani which he wants to give to that suggested sense and the process of its realisation, and generally introduces his critics and readers to the other unexpressed sense. He accordingly gives five instances of such unexpressed sense, regarding Vastu (Vastudhyani). This Bhoja seems to take by itself and as separate from Dhyani, which according to him is the third kind of Tatparya, appearing after and through the second. named the Pratīyamāna The Pratīyamāna is defined by him as the extrameaning immediate to the Abhidhīyamāna Proper emphasis on the condition "उपसर्जनीकतस्वार्थ" in a case of Dhvani from Sabda or Artha or both is not laid by Bhoja and there is, as a matter of fact, no critical and deep or intense study and exposition of Dhyani in Bhoja's work. After the release of the mere expressed Vākyārtha from a Vākya, the sense, in many cases, goes on revealing more and more. The first revealed ideas which are not directly expressed by so many words in the sentence is the Pratīyamāna; the next or subsequent or final revelations constitute Dhvani If we examine Bhoja's explanations of his own illustrations of the several varieties of Dhyani. we shall see that, in each and every case, Dhyani passes through Pratīti or the Pratīvamāna Artha, and the suggested, Dhvanyamāna, always arīses at the back of or through the Pratiyamana " एतन प्रत्याययन इंद भ्वनति " is the phraseology in all cases. We can say that the two do not differ except in the fact that the Pratīvamāna is the first risen Dhyani and Dhyani itself is subsequent Dhyani Almost all the Gathas given as illustrations for the varieties of the Pratīvamāna are taken up in the Dhyani section and the suggested idea or Dhyani is pointed out in all of them. As regards these, Bhoja says that the Dhyani is the suggestion of how clever the lover or the lady or her friend is, how much one loves the lady and so on. In the verse दिस्विरिणि का नाम etc. all non-expressed implied ideas are called Pratiyamana and as for the suggestion or Dhyani, Bhoja says it is the love of the man for the lady described in that verse. In the Gathas are affiner etc., Bhoia assigns all implied ideas, Arthas or Vastus to the class of Pratīyamāna and gives the Vaidagdhya of the Nāyikā or her Cetī as the suggested, Dhyani.

नयवत्या वेद्रभ्य ध्वनति। प्रार्थनावेद्रभ्य ध्वनति। स्वलितगोपनेषु सखीगोपनेषु सखीवेद्रभ्य ध्वनति। वर्णनीयायाः स्वानुराग प्रकाशयति। and so on. Thus, the first risen suggestion is Pratiyamana, it is of the nature of Vastudhaum only, to adopt here Ānanda's phraseology and classification The subsequent or final suggested idea is described as Dhvani proper. It is mostly of the nature of Bhāva, that is, Sthāyin like Anurāga or Rati as in the case of जिग्वनिणिकः नुनाम etc which forms the Rasādi dhvani of Ānanda or Anubhāvas etc, like Vaidagdhya, Rūpotkarşa (Uddīpana vibhāva) and the like, which are Guṇas of the Nāyaka and Nāyikā, and similar things which

boseses corre more and more under the effects of Viriell came. If however Bhoja had really persued such eistindam or to use on a men clear classibeaution that Valtu Manikura Dhyani, females of all game and that Rasibhaya dhyani is the Paramat itparya and Discarn, it yearlift nove been interestme. On it he had emphasised "Uparanjand describedca" in the definition of Dhyam, he could have separated the Phany many Contabhutayyangva m cases of Alamkaras where Dhyani is not presentation. A concrent from this he could have given Dhyam as care, where it dominites once the subordinated Vacya. He must then have defined and pla trated but angenerally is, we must say that Bhop chas not unal orn at your too distinguish the Prativamana and Dhyan: A distinction into Visita Monthly addivants and Rasadidhyani. Bhoja did not bit upon at all a bea in the Paramat ipaiva to be of the form of Vastu abo and so be sought to the case tion, leaving it to us to define his position systematically. The one main who remoduces the text of the Sr. Pra on the varieties of the Protreaments considers the whole text as referring to what Ananda distinctor to be Vertically See Hema candra, Kār yānusasana pp. 26/34

At best, we can say from Bhoja's text only the conen that the Pratiyamana is "Avantara camyanana artha" or "Abhidhiyan, ina avyayahita dhyani" and Dhyani is "Paramatataparya"

For all practical purposes, we must nerote the vacue distriction into Pratigmana and Dhyani. Tatparya must be decribed as having only two kinds, the expressed and the non expressed of the extrastina that is implied or suggested. It would have been enough it Bhoja had given Tatparya as being two-fold, Abhidhiyamāna and Pratīyamana otherwise called Dhyaniyamāna. While explaining the relation of the non-core sed, Anabhidhiyamāna or Abhidhiyamīna atritika, with the Sabda Brahman ir one of Viparimuna, Bhoja mentrons only the Pratīyamana, though immediately he cites a verse and points out in it is at of implied idea, the former part of which he calls Pratīyamana and the latter part. Tatparya or Dhyani.

#### WHALE BROLL'S TARRASAS

The Tatparya sakti refuted by vianida is the Miniameaka's Upholding it, Dhanika says that it is not necessary to recognise a new function called Diviani. Bhoja follows in the gap between the two and erects both with both his hands. He accepts \( \tilde{\text{Ananda's Divani and his adversaries'} \) Latparya. Tatparya is used by Bhoja in two meanines, enc breact and another a more restricted one. While he speaks of Tatparya as one of the form Kevala sabda sambandha-Saktis (Vitti, Vivaksā, Tātparya and Previbireja). He uses Tātparya in the larger sense. Under it comes the Abhidhiyamāna Vākyārtha which Ānanda urges must be the proper meaning of Tatparya. But Bhoja brings under it Ānanda's Dhivani, as Dhirika and other carler enties of Ānanda urged. The Abhidhiyamāna is not called exactly Tātparya. A special Sakti like that is not called forth by Bhoja for the primary import of a sentence, as by the Miniamsakas. The primary sense of a

sentence he says, is got at by Ākānksā, Sannidhi, Yogyatā etc, when the words themselves deliver the meaning of each through Abhidhā, Laksanā or Gaunī śakti Oi, as Kumāiasvāmin puts it, the very sentence in proper grammatical build gives its Vākyāitha by its own inherent nature ''तहीच समर्गसर्पे। वावयार्थः कथ प्रतीयत इति चेत् तार्किकाणामिव वाक्यमहिन्ना, न पुनः तात्पर्येण सीमांसकानिम्येति त्रम । अत एव ते वर्णयन्ति आकाङ्क्षादिमत्वे सति पदानां पदार्थानां वा समन्वयशक्तिः वाक्यम तदलायानो वान्यार्थ, 1" Pp 32-33. Prataparudriya Vyākhyā Bālamanoramā Edn Therefore, regarding Abhidhiyamana, Bhoja must be said to follow the Tarkikas Tatparya is the general name for his Abhidhivamana as well as other kinds of non-expressed meanings. It is the name of the Abhidhīvamāna as well as of the Pratiyamāna and the Dhyanyamāna Arthas The two, the Pratīyamāna and Dhvannūpa, can however be clubbed together and Bhoja can, after ascribing the primary Vākyārtha to the power of the Vākya itself (Vākvamahimā), reserve the name Tātparva to the suggested As a matter of fact, in certain passages he has made such a reservation that Tatparya is Dhyani In the oft-referred-to discussion of Dhyani at the end of chapter VI of the St Pta. Bhoja gives the Abhidhiyamana-meanings of the verse and reserves the name Tätparya for the third sense, which he says is called Tätparya in the world of ordinary expression but goes by the name of Dhyani in the world of poetry.

- (1) --- तात्पर्यम् , यस्य काव्येषु भ्वनिरिति प्रसिद्धिः । "
- (2) On p 44 (Vol II) Bhoja says "अभिधीयमानम् प्रतीयमानम्, तात्पर्य ( श्वनि. ) च— । "

Dhanika's view and the view refuted by Ananda is the extension of the Mīmāmsaka Tātpaiya to cover Dhvani also Bhoja cannot be said to reject this also. It is really a great task to find out whether Bhoja rejects any view. Ananda would agree with Bhoja if He goes on piecing together all views the latter could confine Tatparva to the Abhidhiyamana and leave the Pratiyamana and Dhvani as being above the Tatparya and as being Dhvani Dhanika would agree with Bhoja if the latter calls Abhidhīyamāna Vākyārtha the Tātparya and also the Pratīyamāna and the Dhanyamāna as Vāky-Bhoia does so; all the amount of thought directly āitha and Tātpaiva and indirectly expressed by a sentence is held as Tatparya by Bhoja, according to the Tatparyavadins, but here Bhoja votes for an analysis of the mass of ideas expressed directly and indirectly and labelling each variety. At this stage, he says that beyond the Vākyārtha got at by the power of the Vākya itself through Akanksa etc., there is a class of ideas got at by suggestion, and Dhyani is here accepted He even goes so far as to restrict the name Tatparya to the suggested, that is, to Dhvani, within which we can include his Pratīyamāna also Therefore, Bhoja's position is a compromise and at a latter stage, it deserts Dhanika and others to follow Ananda and makes Tatparya a name for Dhyani A clearer position is held by Vidyanatha who says that there are only three capacities, Abhidhā, Laksanā and Dhvani , and Dhvani itself is Tātparya.

े तत्वर्थयंशेटिंग ब्यह्मार्थ एकः चापुत प्रकार । तंत्र (०००० कालाव्याः निम्नः झट्ट-कत्त्व । भ

Kumārasvamin explains

"नमु नतुर्थे तायर्थापं जायांत हानांधाल में त्या, में मान स्वात महानांधाल स्थाह— तायपांधि इति । अत्र यक्तुपुंख्यांवितांपित स्वात्यांविक स्वात्यां रामांत्र मान तर्व्यांचाल्यांवि तांग्यां प्रमान करमा नदासन्छा , तदिया। इति । तेषा नाल १ पान । तन् मिल्लाना प्राणीनी अर्थामिथांपिना या पदाना विश्विमध्ययापन्यांकिः ताल मिल्लान संविद्ये नानात्मा वर्णाय्वित । स्वात्यांवित्र स्वाय्यांव्यायव्याविकात नाप्यांकि स्युप्तां मान स्वात्यांविका प्रमान स्वात्यांविका स्वात्यांविका स्वात्यांविका स्वात्यांविका स्वात्यांविका नाप्यांकि स्वात्यांविका स्वात्यायंविका स्वात्यांविका स्वा

Balamanorama Edn

तस्माद् व्यक्षनापरपयायमेय तात्पर्य कविभिन्दीक्रतम्, नास्कर्नतः तः क्र

अत एनोक भावप्रकाशे--

अली 'शस्यास्यलाव्यवमस्यानस्यतः र हो । काव्यं रसाठोक्तयहिर वापयाभी सर्यात् रपुट्या ॥ (1) (150) (Ged. (Edn.)

उक्तः च ध्वत्याचार्येःः "पत्र्वाग्रप्राविशेष्यम् ।, । य मानिस्याप्रकार्यत् लहुवति विविद्यतित तात्र्येण प्रकार्यमानम् " अति । (Dhvanyaloka III P 1994 Ind P 33 Ballmanoranu Edn

Vidyānātha and Kumānasvāmin clearly identrity Latbarya and Dhyam. This Tātparya does not mean that of Mimanisal as but is only another name for Dhyam. A general sense of 'Tatparatya' is Recaliparatya is put on Tātparya by Kumarasvanim and such a general usave of Latparatya is met with in the *Dhyangaloka*.

नत्यसर्वेत्र जञ्जाधो । त्र व्यक्तच प्रति स्थिती ।

At the end of Uddyota I, Ananda says

"--- तात्पर्येण प्रकाशन यत्र व्यत्वप्रायाचे सं वर्गन । "

and Abhinava explains this Tatparya as the final and chief purport

तात्पर्थेण विश्रान्तिधामतया । प्रयाजनत्वेनेति यावत ।

and more similar instances are available in the test of the *Dhranyāloka*. Ānanda will not have any objection to such an interpretation of Tătpatya, enabling it to become a synonym of Dhram. Kumi rasvanim quotes from the third Uddyota of Ānanda the concluding part of Ananda's arguments showing how the Mīmāinsakas also, if they want to explain the difference between Pauruseya and Apauruseya Sabda, must accept Dhram of Vyañjanī (P. 199.)

Both the sections on Dhvani in the 6th and 7th chapters of the Sr Pra close with the following verses

तात्पर्यमेव वन्नसि ध्वनिरेख काथ्ये साभाग्यमेव गुणसंपदि वह्नमस्य । ठावण्यमेव वपुषि स्वदतेऽङ्गनाथाः ४८६१र एव हृदि मानवतो जनस्य ॥ यदिभप्रायरार्वस्व वक्तुवंत्रयान् प्रतीयते । तात्पर्य अर्थधमेस्तत् शब्दधमे. पुनर्श्वनिः ॥ संभाग्यमिव तात्पर्यम् आन्तरो गुण इध्यते । वाग्देवताया ठावण्यमिव बाह्यस्तयो ग्वीनः ॥ अदूर्शवप्रकर्षामु द्वयेन द्वयमुच्यते । यथा गुरक्षिवेशाखी मधुमाधवसंज्ञ्या ॥

Bhoja: Śr. Pra Chapters VI and VII.

In ordinary speech and writing, the purport is called Tātparya, but the purport in poetic expression is called Dhvani. And what is the difference in the nature of the ordinary utterance and the poetic utterance, that purports of the two must be called by two different names, Tātparya and Dhvani? Ordinary talk and writing is "Avakra", not beautiful, poetic expression "Vakra," beautiful.

# यदवक वचः शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत्। वकं यदर्थवादादौं तस्य कान्यमिति स्मृतिः॥

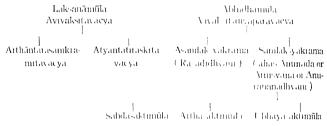
Therefore, a more graceful name for Tatparya is Dhvanı; this is the idea we get from the two verses of Bhoja ताल्पर्यमेव बचित etc and यहवाई, etc But suddenly he turns the statement the other way and says that the Abhipraya, the entire intended idea, is a quality of Artha That is, Tatparya is Artha dharma: Dhyani on the other hand is Sabda dharma. What does Bhoja mean by this? Does he mean that Dhyani is the name of the Vyañjakaśabda and that Tatparya is the name of the Vyangyatha? That Dhvani is the Vyanjana śabdayyāpāra and Tātparya is its result? Or, does he mean that Śabdadhvanı ıs Dhvanı and Arthadhvanı ıs Tātparya? The last ıs clearly ımpossible, for, he speaks of Dhyani as pertaining to both Sadba and Artha Again there is more poetry than any scientific analysis, when Bhoja says that Tätparya is internal, is the Saubhagya of Vak or speech, and Dhvani is external, the Lavanya of Vak Another attempt, Bhoja makes to clarify the issue, he says in conclusion that you can call either by either name, they are identical; just as the months of Caitra and Vaiśākha, so called from an astronomical point of view, are called Madhu and Mādhava from another point of view, by two other names, so also the purport of an expression can be called Tātparva or Dhyani To sum up:

## 1. Bhoja accepts Ānanda's Dhyanı.

and

- 2 He first calls it a department of 1 uparve, but maily says that the two are identical. In the latter stage, I uparve or the reclade Abhidhiyamana välgärtha but is a mane of the Prativangana coordine Dhyanyamana Arthas.
- 3 Bhoja makes an artificial division of the unit ted element into Prativamana and the Dhyanninja, which is unnecessity.
- ${\bf 1}$  . The distinction into Dhyuni of Maiokara Varti, and Rasidi found in Ananda is absent in Bhoja
- 5. "Upasarjanikitasvarthatya" is mentioned by Bhoja as part of the definition of Dhyam but its implications are not realized and worked out "Dhyamkāvya where Dhyam is predominant, Gurubratasyanieva and Citra kāvya or Avyangya" is the other classification of Ananda, and sed in Bhoja

Analysis of the concept of Dhyani itself and the classification of Dhyani is not made by Bhoja to such an extent as is, even in Ananda Laterwriters have worked out the possible varieties of Dhyani to 1,2% of Sec Vidyānātha, p. 55. Balamanoramā Edn.). But the clift varieties indicated by Ananda are



Dhyani is first of all classifiable according as it is a care of succession from Sabda or Artha, for, one of the reasons a Animele according to why Dhyani is not Vacakatvavyapara is that Vacakatva is a pure Sabdavyapara while both Sabda and Artha display power of suggestion.

It is from this point of view that Ānanda chesifics Sandaksvakrama vyangya which resembles resonance, Anusyana or Anurana or Anurada, into Sabdasaktimūla and Arthasaktimūla.

## क्रमण प्रतिभाव्यात्मा थेष्ट गानुस्थानम्बित्सः । **इत्युक्तिसम्बद्धान् गो**र्डाप् देखा व्यवस्थितः ॥ Dhva A 11-21

Similarly, Avivaksitavācya or the Laksanāmūladhvani and the Vivaksitānyaparavācya or the Abhidhāmūladhvani are explained by Abhinava from the point of Sabda and Artha He says that in the former, there is more of Sabdadhvani, and the latter, more of Arthadhvani ''अत एव अर्थोऽत्र प्राधान्येन व्यवकः, पूर्वत्र शब्दः । शब्दोऽत्र ('सुवर्णपुष्णाम्' इत्यादो अविविक्षितवाच्ये ) प्रधानतया व्यवकः, अर्थस्तु तत्सद्दक्षितिया—।" P. 49 Locana
In the Asamlaksyakiamavyangya variety of Vivaksitänyaparavācya, there is the least scope for Sabdadhvani

Bhoja gives a simple classification of Dhyani He has two kinds of classification. One is from the above-noted point of view of the suggesting element, the Vyañjaka śabda or the Vyañjaka artha. See Ratneśvara also on व्विनिमत्ता तु गाम्भीर्थम् in S K  $\bar{A}$  I p 55

"'ध्वनन ध्वनिर्व्यक्रनात्मा व्यापारः । स द्विविधः—शब्दध्वनिः, अर्थःवनिश्व । × × × तस्मान् शब्दाधित ध्वनन शब्दाविः, अर्थाधितं च अर्थध्वनिः इति वक्तव्यम् ।"

The second classification is into Anunāda, a phrase occuring in Ānanda as Anusvāna (II 21) as a name of the Samlaksyakrama-vivaksitānyaparavācya, and Piatišabdadhvani or echo. This second is a name created by Bhoja himself. Anunādadhvani is explained as Abhidhiyamāna-pratīyamāna-anusyūta, closely fused with the expressed and the implied senses or that case which looks like a continuation of the expressed sense, where the suggested does not stand separate. Piatidhvani is the suggestion of a different idea standing separate, like echo which is a duplicate of our voice. This variety of Prati-śadbadhvani where the suggested idea stands apart—Prthagbhūta—is Ānanda's Avivaksitavācyadhvani



For illustrations and explanations of these varieties, see extract from the Sr Pra at the end of this section

Sāradātanaya summarizes Bhoja's treatment of Sāhitya in his Bhāvapra-kāša and tries to piesent Bhoja's ideas on Dhvani in the light in which he understood them Chapter VI pp 147 (line 17) to 150 (line 14) Tātparya is defined by Sāradātanaya as —वाक्यार्थ प्रति होपल्समुचाएगस्य—and it is divided, as is done by Bhoja into three classes ''स् च असिचेय', प्रत्याय्यः, ध्वनिरूपः इति:त्रिया।'' It is at this stage of defining the Pratyāyya that Śāradātanaya makes change He finds it, as we also found, impossible to distinguish Bhoja's Pratīti and Dhvani, Pratīyamāna and Dhvanyamāna. So he made the distinction that such meaning as is called forth to explain a statement whose obvious

expressor ense is clearly incompatible. Annopolitical called Pratiyamäna. The example is "Visain bhurdayae". This is partiy barteril but not wholly, to Bhopa's text.

वर्धानियासमागर्धात **अन्यथानुपपत्तितः।** अभीयमानो सक्षपर्धः सस्य प्रत्यस्य शैरन्तः॥ ोतपः मञ्जारेति सारसायानेष तारक अन्तरने॥।

Bhoja does not restrict Prativamanatatparva to cases of Auvatha-annapapatti of the Abhidhiyamana - For, Bhoja expressly says

"— नामपूर्य अपयुगान अनुष्य कार्य वृद्ध र (P. 37; Vol. II) though he illustrates only the latter with example 'Visem blumksva'. In other respects, Subalatanaya faithfully summarises the whole text of Bhoja on Dhyam. At the end of the section, Subalatanaya teles no the question of the difference between Dhyam and Tatparva. He quote the Karikas on Dhyam '' पूर्णनिर्माह्मान्य'' etc quoted in the Violoka on the Disempaka and says that this view is wrong. Dhyam and Tatparva are not separate but are identical. Dhyam or the sneasted idea i, not at only through the Tatparva Sakti of a sentence. The sneasted idea i, not at only through the Tatparva Sakti of a sentence. The sneasted idea i, not at only through the Tatparva Sakti of a sentence. The sneasted idea i, not at only through the Tatparva Sakti of a sentence. The sneasted idea i, not at only through the Tatparva Sakti of a sentence. The sneasted idea i, not at only through the Tatparva Sakti of a sentence. The sneasted idea is not not the unit of a speaker's intention, in Tupinya. There is no rule which lays down that the speaker's intention, beyond a cutain stage, cease, to be Tutparya and needs a new name. Here subadaanaya quotes Dhamka's Katika from his lost Karyaminaya which he avaloka quotes:

एतावतैन विश्वास्ति नात्पर्यस्येति (४ कत्म । यावकार्यश्रमारितान नात्पर्य न नुन्य सम्म ॥

Saradatanaya does not quote Bioja's verses on the difference between latter parya and Dhyani which bring in the (minles 'Lavanya and 'Saubhagya' Instead, Saradatanaya gives a single analogy | He aye that Dhyani is a class of Tatparya, an Ayantarabheda, even a Bratanacuru is a kind of Bratamana, the first Asiami Bratamana

्विभित्ययंथोमेटी प्राप्तणप्रधानारिक्त । तदवास्तरमेटो हि प्रारेण पृथमुच्यते ॥ तात्त्पर्यमेव वस्ति व्यक्तिय कार्ल्य । etc. from Bhoja's so Pra अतो श्वस्यास्यतात्व्यग्यममानत्वतः स्वत । काल्ये स्मालंकियादिवांवयार्थो मवति स्पृत्यम् ॥ एव विस्प तात्वर्थ तस्तात्व्ययेर्थोदिम् । वयनुद्वास वावय्यमं एवति परिकात्येते ॥ Bha Pra P 150

Bahutūpamista, in his commentary on the Dasanūpaka (Mad M. R. 4188 pp. 76-79), follows Sāradātanaya closely and puts in prose Saradatanaya's summary of Bhoja on Dhyani. He ends thus

अतः तृतीयकक्षारूपेण भ्वनिनाम्ना तात्पर्येण गम्यमानस्वात स्याटकार्गाट वाभयार्थः। × × × एवं त्रिप्रकारमपि तात्पर्य वक्तृद्वारा वाक्यधर्म एवेति। Bahurūpamisia follows also šāiadātanaya's own modification of Bhoja's Pratīyamāna Šāiadādātanaya and, following him, Bahurūpa also, say that Tātpaiya pertains to the speech through the speaker, Vaktidvārā vākya-dharmah, but Kumāras-vāmin asserts that it pertains purely to the speaker and not to the speech.

## उदेशो नाम वक्तधर्मः, न मीमांराकानामिव वाक्यधर्म इति । P. 33

It is not clear what Bhoja's ideas are on the description of Rasa as Vākyārtha; we do not find him discussing the subject in the section on Tātparya and Dhvani. But, while describing the varieties of composition, Dršya and Šravya Prabandhas, he says that the Nātaka and the other nine Rūpakas as well as the Nātīkā and the Satīaka (on the whole twelve) form Vākyārthābhinaya, and the rest, twelve Uparūpakas, Šrīgadīta etc., form Padārthābhinaya

## वाक्यार्थाभिनयोऽयं प्रकीर्तितो नाटकादिभेदेन ।

द्वादशिक्ष**्दार्थाभिनय**मथ यथास्थितं वश्ये ॥ P 422 Vol II *Šr Pra*This by itself cannot lead us far In this same chapter (XI) we find Bhofa saying regarding Rasa

— न हि विभावादयोऽलकाराः, अपि तु भावरसतदाभासानामलकाराणामभिनिष्पत्तिहेतव अर्थोवज्ञेषाः।

नन्वेवमपि अर्थगुणलात् अमीपामप्यलंकारत्वं प्राप्तोति ! सत्यमेतत् ; किन्तु अन्यपरतया त उपादीयमानाः तत्रेव न्यम्भवन्तिः न वाक्यार्थप्रतीतौ पदार्थाः प्रथकः स्फरन्तीति ।

P 370 Vol II

Bhoja states here clearly that Vibhāvas etc, are similar to Padārthas in a Vākyārtha Rasa, Bhāva and their Ābhāsa form Vākyārtha While the Padārthas are described, they have no more purpose to serve than the manifestation of the Vākyārtha, the Vibhāvas etc, do not separately exist by themselves and are not ends in themselves, their ultimate aim is the manifestation of Rasa This Padārtha-vākyārtha-nyāya between Vibhāvādi vācya-vācaka and Dhvanyamāna-rasādi emphasises only the fact that Vibhāva etc, are Rasapara The former are Upāyamātra, the means, for the latter This will not go against Ānanda, for, though Padārthas are real, they are not separately realised when we realise the sentence-meaning, similarly, so quick is our perception of the Rasa from the Vibhāvas etc, that there seem to be no Vibhāvas etc nor even a process of transition, Krama, from them to Rasa Says Ānanda:

स्त्रसामध्यंबद्दोनेव वाक्यार्थ प्रथयन्नपि । यथा व्यापारनिष्पत्ती पदार्थो न विमान्यते ॥ तद्वत्सचेतसां सोऽर्थः वाच्यार्थविमुखात्मनाम् । वृद्धां तत्त्वार्थद्शिन्या अठित्येवावभासते ॥ Dhva A I 11-12

Rasa is therefore Vākyārtha , and Vibhāva, Anubhāva and Vyabhicārin constitute Padārtha. The Vākyārtha, viz—Rasa, must naturally be got at through Tātparya, otherwise called Dhvani and, as such, Bhoja contradicts

conflor version for Ownskin. In Dhatte, "A constraint which therefore a Reachest Carlo and the Market that the constraint of Valence of the Polyachia and the Valeya being the Kirve."

 $^{\circ}$ त्व । स्वातास्य प्राप्तकानी च , तस्ताति र कार्यकार ।  $^{\circ}$ र्व । त्यासान्ध्रीय तांका प्रश्निस्तात्वासः ।  $^{\circ}$  D R A  $\phi$   $A^{\circ}$ 0

The dramatic and serial dramatic composition of  $\frac{1}{2}$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )  $\frac{1}{2}$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) as N dry first tablianaya, and Parlanth obtains a resolution of the series of the series of the dramatic such a connected attention of the series of the Direction of the series of the Direction of the series of the Direction of the Di

The major Rüpaka's depath Rasa whele in the the fact V(t) of that, so they are called Vake athebitarity at the Upana place of the path Banka, and are therefore collect that athorhoms as

#### Apprixing 1

It was noticed above while surviving the peritorn of Dhomogiva and Dhamka that the Analoka compare the majority  $\alpha_i$  of  $\alpha_i$  of Kovayakaka where the Sthayan is not expressed to since ellipse to  $\alpha_i$  or  $\beta_i$  by the and dynam? where the verb mentioning the action. Publish is a about but sunderstood from context etc. The understood of  $\alpha_i$  is  $\beta_i$  butting? in the one case and the understood Sthayan in the other mediator for  $\alpha_i$  is  $\beta_i$  to the they come within the cope of Taiparya  $\alpha_i$  (Sc.  $\beta_i$ ,  $\beta_i$ ,  $\beta_i$ ).

Bhoja discusses the two concepts of Velly devia and Velly reachelated to the case of elliptic or incomplete sentence and chapter. Us of the sir Pia (Vol. II) pp. 17.8 for a Asian instance of Velly near research for conteness in which the environmental entropy is  $e^{ij}e^{-ij}e^{-ij}$ . In incomplete sind sentences in which yerby alone are earlier, which is a object of objects are not found.

" 'शिर जार' ज्याने सीवपता जापाविकता किंद्र पतालको । तथा कार्यका । एकतः विक् सर्थ े लेक्"

Though this surficistoral element is also part of the V to with a Bleja says that the understoral element is not stoly the United to Surfaithapath. For, without that element, the entence is observed or a untelligible.

A similar case is Valyaeva Blog, ceplain it a distinct from Adnyābāra. Both of them are executed from a ceptor of early something left to be understood. But in the former executed up a word, sabda, in the latter, an idea, Artha. The encourse cocomplete in the case of Adhyāhāra in respect of words or Sabdas there execute up the value is earlier value. Sabdas there execute up a property of the control of the complete, and a sabdas and value of the control of the contro

<sup>1.</sup> More of this distinction is to be had in the economic n  $19n_{\rm ph}$  and Natya Sastra.

कः पुनरभ्याहारवाक्यशेपयोविशेषः ! शब्दाकांक्षानिवर्तकोऽभ्याहारः अर्थाकांक्षानिवर्तकः वाक्यशेष इति । p. 180 Vol. II

What is Vākyaścṣa¹? It is Arthakalpanā, the putting forth of idea to explain an expression, in which that idea is understood but not exactly expressed. The sentence means it certainly but does not actually express it. As for instance, all sentences finally mean either an injunction (Vidhi) or a prohibition (Nisedha). Even in cases where we do not find express mention of either, we have to imagine and understand them. Thus, when one says on seeing a traveller "आयिनबासोडये देश" he means to induce him to make a halt in his place, by praising that place as a fit abode, it being the habitation of noble men. Similarly, to request one to stay and dine, one says "मध्याहो बर्चन". If one says "संबोर प्रथा he means to say "don't go that way."

सर्ववाक्याना विधिनिषेधपर्यवसायित्वात, साक्षात तदश्रुताविष तदुपकरपनं वाक्यशेषः। तद्यथा-'आर्थनिवासोऽय देशः ' इत्युक्ते द्देव स्थातव्यम् : 'मःयाद्यो वर्तते ' इत्युक्ते इद्देव भोक्तव्यम् ; 'सर्चोरः पन्थाः ' इत्युक्ते न गन्तव्यम् ; 'ब्राह्मस्सरित्यस्यां ' इत्युक्ते न स्नातव्यमिति वाक्यशेषो भवति । 19 179. Vol II

And this idea filled in to complete the sense is said to be had not by Pratyaksa, Anumāna, Upamāna or Śabda but by Śrutārthāpatti

अर्थप प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशन्दैः अनुपलभ्यमानः किप्रमाणविषयस्स्यात्, अभ्याहारवत् धृतार्थापनिप्रमेय इति । P 180. Vol II

The Prābhūkara mīmāmsakas do not accept this Śrutārthāpatti and they do not have Sabda-adhyāhāra at all. They accept that there are cases of Arthakalpanā but that Arthakalpanā is not through Adhyāhāra or Vākya-śesa, operating through Śrutārthāpatti. The whole idea undeistood in the case of an elliptic expression is expressed by the Abhidhāvyāpāra of the available expression itself. How can these words express also senses which they do not have and for which other words are needed? The Prābhākaras say that the scope of the Abhidhā is extended far enough to embrace the undeistood sense also. The Abhidhā shoots like an arrow over a wide field Bhoja replies that this view will not hold good. For the Abhidhāvyāpāra can mean no more than what the words put together mean exactly. Nor can this long long Abhidhā be the Tātparya-śakti. Says Bhoja:

य घोक्त—कल्प्यमानस्य अर्थस्य अवैदिक्तवं मा भूदिति क्ष्यमाणस्य शब्दस्येवायमिषोरिव दीर्धदीद्यों व्यापार इति, तदिप न सम्यक्ः, तस्य तथाविधार्थप्रत्यायनासामर्थ्यात्। स हि तमर्थे प्रत्याययन अभिधाशक्त्या वा प्रत्याययेत्, तात्पर्यशक्त्या वा १ (न अभिधाशक्त्या), तस्याः पदार्थप्रतिपादनमात्र एव उपक्षीणत्वात्।

<sup>1</sup> The Arthaśāstra of Kautilya gives Vākyašesa as one of the Tantrayuktis in the last chapter. It is illustrated by a case of Upamā in which the Upamāna is mussing, but the Upameya and the Samānadharma—as in "Chinnapaksa iva"—are present. The Upamāna of 'bird' is understood and this is Vākyašesa

Vāmana gives the same idea of Vākyašesa as the Arthašāstra

रीतिर्नामेश्रमात्मा काव्यस्य। शरीरस्येविति वाक्यशेष:। I ii. 6 There is no Vakyapurnata, incompleteness of the sentence, in these cases.

नापि तारपर्यजनस्या । तारपर्यजाकाटि **प्रतीयमानार्थ**तपत्ता तत्रव प्रधानते, यत्र वास्य-वास्त्रपर्यक्षेत्री परिपर्णत्व मत्ति । पत्रा भिवत मुत्ता, सा तार्यक्षेत्रे म् क्या । अति । तत्र तु परिपूर्णे वास्त्रे नार्थ परिपर्ण अति तारपर्यज्ञक्तिस्यकाराः । तत्र त्या । तत्रा तत्र तत्राः । अन्ति तत्राः । अन्ति । विना वास्त्रपर्थस्य परिपर्णत्व सन्ति ।

X X / / / X

तम्माद् अर्थापन्याः पूर्व शत्र एवं भनेत् १९ सिन् १ ५०६२ । ए । स्वयमोऽभ् भाष्यति इति न तार्थ्यत् अस्माण ए । शत्र परिस्थानस्य ॥

Vol. 11. Po. 1/2 183 8) Pra авыказуйа этуплиан бласт базарине (19. у 19.1 п. р. 180

Now, we shall examine the definition of Vakya calleted its illustrations. Bhoja says that a Vakya as such mean. Vadda and Ni other, and even where there is no express Vidhi or Nisedha, we must have if a funder-food. This holds good also for the Kavyavikya. For, beyond Racia, and in respect of Vyutpatti, the purport of a Kavya is to induce in to a veod action and to dissipate us from a bad action. A Ramayana kavya mean.

समनद् वितिच्याः न सत्यवादि ।

Says Bhoja on p. 143, Vol. II, on Vakya chartlabhaya

'' यस्तु तद्वपरामायणाविश्ववन्यार्थानामवरारणोपकितासकार । राज ११ वर्षाकार । राजावित्वद् इत्यादिविश्विनिवेश्वप्रतिमाविशेषः उपत्रापते, सः समस्तवियन्यापा कर्त्वसकार्युः पर्गे महाबास्यार्थः

Earlier also, Bhoja says, while dealing with Vakvartha in Chapter VI, that Bhāvanā, Vidhi and Pratibha are Vakyartha and that Vidhi in Kavyas is the implied injunction to act like Rama and not to act like Ravana. Here Bhoja plainly says that this implied Vidhims dhe regot at by Vakyasesa.

प्रमुक्तिन्द्रसीविष्यायकः अर्थवाद्यद्विम्मपिक्रयमाणः । ४ एके एत् याविष्यान्यः अब्द्र् व्यापारो विष्यः। ८ ४ ८ तर्व (३ तास्य कितानपेक्षोते)ये पर्ववस्थाते। यत्रापि च व्हिडाइयो न श्रूयस्ते, त्रमाणि विष्यानेपे एपरवयः वर्वभावतान्य व्यास्यदेशपमूताः ते अवसम्यस्ते। तद्यया ८८ देशे मुभिद्यासियुक्ते अत्रेव स्थानव्यम् । स्या व वर्वते दृश्युक्त हे व भोक्तव्यम् । सर्वोरः पस्थाः इस्युक्त च सन्वव्यम् । स्राह्म वास्यव्यासियुक्ते न स्वानव्यम्पिति क्षता तरे।

किय महाबाक्येगपि रामायणार्थिन उद्योज ब्युत्पात्रके समाज फिल्हामा पाठवन वनवाणिनोऽपि तथावित्र अन्युद्धस्यवन, रावणस्य परवागत्त अभिक्यान अलेक्यानं त्रायनोऽपि नथावित्र उत्रेवेद । तस्मात् पित्रावा पाठ्येत , परवागन् नामिक्यात् समायव वेता, न सवणवद इति । "

Pp. 408.9 Vol I It is clear from this passage that what Bhoja gives i instances of Vikyasea, sentences in which 'Vidhi-nisedha' is not expressed, are of exactly the same nature as Kāvya Vidhi or Nisedha is helped by Arthavada, Stuti or Ninda Poetry is Arthavada, and its Vidhi misedha is implied, it is Vakyašesa. This Vidhi-nišedha, Bhoja says is the second aspect of Vākvārtha, called Vidhi. Thus 'रामवट वित्तव्य, च रावणवट्ट' which is Kavyavyutpatti is Vākyārtha and Vākyašesa for Bhoja Dhvanivādins hold it to be Dhvaniyamāna, suggested. When in the discussion on Adhyāhōta and Vākyašesa, Bhoja says that

this Vākyārtha or Vākyasesa of Vidhi-nişedha is realised through Srutārthāpatti, he lets down Dhvani which he has elsewhere accepted. He joins the camp of those who, recognising Arthāpatti, have no need for Dhvani, those who hold the Aithāpattipakṣa in the two Kārikās on the anti-dhvani view-points quoted by Jayaiatha

The illustrations given by Bhoja for Vākyašesa form Arthavāda and clearly correspond to Kāvya vākyas. Their implied injunctions and prohibitions correspond to Kāvyavyutpatti and have to be explained by Dhvani only

Bhoja gives two illustrations for Vākyaśesa from Kāvyas and gives us what ideas are left to be understood in those two cases. These remarks themselves prove Vākyaśesa to be Dhvani

" ---वाक्यशेपो भवति । यथा च-

त्व जीवित त्वमित में हृद्य द्वितीय त्व कांमुदी नयनथोरमृत त्वमङ्गे। द्रन्यादिभि प्रियगतैरनुरुत्य मुग्यां तामेव---ग्रान्तमथवा क्रिमतः परेण॥

यथा वा-- पत्यु. पितेव स भवान् नलकूबरस्य रम्भा स्तुषा धनपतेरिव सा तवापि। यस्वन्यदम् हृदयान तदेति कण्ट दोपस्तथापि यदि तत् स्मृत एप स्द्रः॥

 $\times$   $\times$   $\times$   $\times$ 

तथा हि-तामेव त्वं तथाग्नै विद्युद्धमाहितगर्भामनागसं विस्वव्धां च धर्मपत्नीमत्याक्षीरिति प्रथम छोके.

कामयमानायामि स्तुषाया कामतोऽपि यदप्रधर्षण तन्महापातकेषु प्रकृष्यते, किमङ्ग पुनः अकामयमानायाः शपन्त्याः कीशन्त्याश्च हुठेनेति द्वितीयश्चोके — — |" Pp 179-180. These are clearly cases of Dhvani, not of Dhvani dominant, but dominated by Alamkūra, Vācya-anatisāyi That is, the former verse especially is Āksepa alamkūra of the first variety in Bhāmaha and Ruyyaka The illustration in Bhāmaha is .

अह त्वा यदि नेक्षेय क्षणमायुत्सुका ततः। इयदेवास्त्वतोऽन्येन किमुक्तेनाप्रियेण ते। K A. II 69

Ruyyaka illustrates with a verse of exactly the same nature as the first given by Bhoja:

"-- सा नून-आ: किमथवा इतजल्पितेन | p 116 N S Edn

Bhoja gives a similar verse in his Sabdālamkāra section as illustration for the Alamkāra called Samvitti mudrā

संबृत्तिमुद्रा यथा— मणिरत्नं प्रसेनस्य तचानार्येण विष्णुना । कट्य येनाय योगेन तेन कि कीर्तितेन वः॥ अप्र 'काशापि स्पष्ट पाणानामञ्ज्ञाक्षेत्रमें क्ष्ते । एक तन क्ष्याक्षेत्रमें इति साक्षित्रप्राथमें अति स्थापन क्ष्य संभानसङ्का ।  $10^{-146}~S/K$  ।

Ratnesvara " श्राम्माम ज्याच्यानसम्बद्धान सम्बद्धाः

This is a case of purposeful suppression of a part of an edgic ion and this " तर्न कि क्षेत्रित च " is of the amentative at the expressions " at affel barget questions" and " a data table in the two verses even by Bhequest illustrations for Vakyasesa. But these are not cases of domination. Div in bar only cases having an element of Divain. Bhoque becover, does not want to call such cases of elliptic expressions where part of the expression as reported and the sentence is not complete as cases of Tito inventor Divain. They apply only to cases of full Vakyas, where a further measure to replied. It is for ease of incomplete sentences that he postulates Vakyase a and suit in the path.

नात्पर्यशास्त्रति प्रतीनमानाशेतप्रया तत्रव प्रकाशने, चत्र नाम नामनाश्रते परिपणेत्र म्वति। × × × अञ्च तु परिपणे वास्य नाच परिपण और नास्यन्यसम्बद्धात्र । ×

तस्माद वीपस्था पर्व अञ्च एव प्रत्येतन्य । विभाग पिएके तक एव वाम्यमादिष भविष्यतीति व ताल्पंत, श्रूयमाण एव अञ्च परिके अकृष | 182 Pra Vol II pp 182 o Abhmaya also says that cases of Stutarth participate where the Abhidhā itself has not yet rested, and wants some more ideas to explain it clt, are different from cases of Dhyam which operates on full Valva, after the primary Abhidhā is at rest having delivered its meaning

अत एव समाप्ताथामेव ऑनघाया सहद्यस्य स हितागोऽदेः अपुत्रस्यानेन अवसम्यते × × एत्व सर्वेदाहरणस्वनुसतेव्यम् । "पीनविद्यो दिया नानि " १८४४ **अनिदेव अपर्य-चिस्तिति** सेव स्वार्थीनवंहाय अर्थास्तरे गट्दास्तरे नार्ध्यतस्यन्तनस्य अ्वार्थापनेवं तार्विकामासक्योः न ध्वतिप्रताः इत्युक्त बहता । Locuru p 110

#### APPENDING II

Bhoja notices some cases of what are netanee of Dhyani while dealing with various kinds of Vivaksa in Chapter VII  $\circ$  Vol. II p. 27). Of these, the following deserve to be noticed here

स्तुत्या निन्दाविवक्षा, निन्द्या म्युनिधिवक्षा, धामना । त्येन्तिम्या वार्च लोगेन । विभिन्निक्षा ।
These are cases of Dhyam, where the exact opposite of what is intended to
be conveyed is given as the expressed sense. The come under Bhoja's
Pratiyamāna class. Bhoja ends the section with these general observations
which would attribute Dhyam finally to the poet's power, as Bhattanāyaka
said when he made it a part of the Kavivy ipara. See Javaratha, Alunkāravimas'mī, p. 9. Bhoja says.

एवमिथमनेकथा विवक्षा विप्रयत्ते । तदेष रोकिकताद अस्मिन्नपारे मसारे कविरेक प्रजापतिः । यथास्म रोचने विश्व तथेद परिवर्तने ॥

अपि च-- তিসমতিও বাঁশহ ওতিপ্ৰাপি লভ তিস ব প্তিমার। সহ মতিস স বাঁশত সূচলৈ সমানা প্রস্থান ম (The Gaudavaho, 66) Sr. Pra. Vol. II. p. 21. THE TEXT OF THE SRNGĀRA PRAKĀSA
BEARING ON DHVANI
(Vol II Madras MS Pp 31-42)
(from Chapter VII)

'' यत्परः शब्दः स अब्दार्थः इति तात्पर्यम् । तच्च वाक्य एवोपपचते । पदमात्रेण अभिप्रायस्य प्रकाशयितुमशक्यत्वात् । तच्च वाक्यप्रतिपाद्य वस्तु त्रिरूप भवति अभिधीयमानम् , प्रतीयमानम् , ध्वनिरूपं च ।

यत्र यत् उपात्तराव्देषु मुख्यागाणीलक्षणाभिः शब्दशक्तिभिः स्वमर्थमिभिधाय उपरतव्यापारेषु आकाङ्क्षासन्त्रित्रियोग्यतादिभिः वाक्यार्थमार्थमभिधीयते तत् अभिधीयमानं यथा गौर्गच्छतीति।

वाक्यार्थावगतेरुत्तरकाल वाक्यार्थः उपपद्यमानः अनुपपद्यमानो वा अर्थप्रकरणौनित्यादिसहक्वतौ (तः) यत् प्रत्याययित तत् प्रतीयमानम्, यथा 'वित्र भुड्श्त्र मा चास्य गृहे भुड्श्त्र ' इत्युक्ते ' वरं विष भक्षितं न पुनरस्य गृहे भुक्तम् ' इति प्रतीयते ।

अर्थशन्दोपायाद उपसर्जनीस्नतस्वार्थः वाक्यार्थावगतेरनन्तरम् अनुनाद्रस्पं प्रतिदाहदः सपं वा (यत्) अभिज्यञ्जयित तत् ध्वनिरूपम्। तच न सार्वत्रिकम्। तथा हि निवृत्तेऽभिवातं कम्यन्विदेव कांस्पादेः द्रव्यस्य अनुनादः जायते, कस्यन्विदेव कन्दरादेः प्रतिशब्दः य-(त)था कस्यन्विदेव वाक्यस्य प्रतीयमानाभिषीयमानवाक्यार्थप्रतीतेरनन्तरं ध्वनिरुपरुभ्यत इति। निमिपन्यपेन्युक्ते अक्ष्णोनिमेपोऽश्चिधीयते, देवी न भवतीति प्रतीयते स्पातिशयं चध्वनन्ति (ति)।

अथेपा प्रयोगः । तत्र अभिवीयमानं चतुर्वा विधिरूप, निषेधरूपम्, विधिनिषेधरूपम्, अविधि-

प्रतीयमानं पुनरनेकथा । क्वचिद्धिधौ निषेधः—सम धास्मिश्र इत्यादि (गाथा । 11 75)।

अत्र विस्तरधो अमेति विधिवाक्ये तत्र निकुन्ने सिहस्तिष्ठति, त्व च शुनोऽपि विभेषि, तस्मात् त्वया तस्मित् गन्तर्थ्यसिति निषेधः प्रतीयते ।

कचिन्निपेधे विधिर्यथा—अत्ता एत्थ णिमञ्जइ इत्यादि (गाथा॰ VII 67.)

अत्र राय्यायां मा निपत्स्यसीति निषेधवाक्ये इय श्रयूश्यया इय मच्छय्या इति दिवाभ्युपलक्ष्य रात्रा त्वया इह आगन्तव्यं इति विधिः प्रतीयते ।

## कचिद्विधौ विध्यन्तरं यथा--

वहलतमा हअराई अज पउत्थो पई घरं मुण्णम्। तह जेगजस असअण जहा णं में मुसिजामो ( गाथा • IV 35 )

[ बहरुतमा हतरात्रिः अद्य प्रोषितः पतिः ग्रह ग्रूस्यम् ।

तथा जागृहि प्रतिवेशिन् न यथा वयं मुध्यामहे ॥ ]

यत्र ( अत्र ) यथा वय न मुख्यामहे तथा जागृहीति विश्यमिधाने रात्रिः अत्यन्धकारा, पतिः प्रोपितः, गृह शून्यम् ; अतस्त्वमभयो मत्पार्श्वमागच्छेति विश्यन्तरं प्रतीयते ।

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this text giving the varieties of the Pratiyamāna is an elaboration of what Ananda has given on pp 16-20 in ud I The whole text of Bhoja, with the illustrations and comments, is reproduced in his Kāvyānuśāsana by Hemacandra. See Kāvyānuśāsana. Pp 26-34

## कचित्रिपेश्वं निपेधान्तरं सम

नामाद्रत्य भण्णाच्या जानिस तात च्या वस्य स । महा । । । एया व्यू सा हि ।

जनसम् वसह पुष्टि समस्य वर्षे केटपंजनम् ॥ ।

ाज गृहपतिक्षेत्रं दश्यक्षारणपरे ।नपेधवार्यः उपपति ग्रमणः नपे तनगरः पत्रायते ।

### क्रांचांत्र( दवि )धिनियमे विधि।।।

महर्णाट कि व पास्थ्य जर दर्शन लि. ग्लिबन के क्लाबन का लाका के क

ऑवॉर्डांस करन रेण गारों देरे अंट ए ए ॥

मिल्कः किसिव पास्य अंद रशीन विवसन लिल्माव ।

आहरासि कस्य अस्पे यामी वरे चड एका ॥ 📑

ापत्र विकासिकेम्पोरमान राने । उत्तरेकारुमा वामी उर र्यात व्यासकायोग्याकनम्ब्रयामी**ापि मे** इर र्यात विकासमान

### क्कचिद्विधिनियंधे नियंधी 🖽

जीवनामा बलक्ता पनामा दोत्या गम ।

गन्छ वा निए वा कान्त स्थायस्था तु । तुंशीक्या ॥ तत्याद्य - १०१ ।

अने गर्नछ या तिष्ठ तेत्यायांचारायेचात्र जांकताचा करतता (कारावा) व्यवहा प्रमेति वचनात् त्यया विनाद जावितु न अक्रोंसि इति उपक्षेपेण गमनावरेच (कार्यव)।

### कचिडिधिनिपंधयोः विध्यन्तरं यस

णिअद्दशादसण्यियत पहित्र अण्णेन वनस् पहेण्।

गहपद्भवहञ्जा कुङ्चिभवाउरा उह उभगाग ॥

So S A 1 p 593. G S Telen Receivion, Weber

[ निजद्यितादर्शनोत्मिक्तप्रिक अन्येन प्रज प्रात्ता ।

यहपतिवध् दुवंटुवागुरा २८ उत्तयामे ॥

अत्र अस्येन पथा यत्र ( ति ) वि (विवासिय मेगना होने हि र महान्यानिर पशाव हथन पास्य अपि( मि )स्पत्रि हिट त्रामें भवतो गुहपतिसुता उपन्यस्तरित कान्तनर पता हो।

## कचित् विधिनिपेधयोः निपेधान्तर ययाः -

उनिणम् परिक्ष कुसुम मा तुन रोठाल । ठाउ वस १।

एस अवसानविस्सी सस्रेण सुनी बढ वस्ती ॥

[ उभिनु पतितं कुस्मं मा धुना जेफालिक टाल्फिरनुपे। एप अवसानविरस क्षेत्रुरेण धतो बलयज्ञाद् ॥ |

1. Found in the Telgu Recension in Weibers Edu. See S. K=V(p) 169, where also it is quoted. Its Châyâ is thus found there

आस्वादितमञ्जातेन यावत तावदेव बार्राणाम् ।

उपरम वृपभेदानी रक्ष्यते गृहप्रतिक्षेत्रम् ॥

- 2 -Wiber's Edn G S. Telugu Recension , available at  $\alpha$  in Vegjaluggan -Bib. Ind. Edn. II. Gåthå 491
- 3 Vide p 120. Dhvanyaloka We find there ह्यामालगामा in the place अवसानविरमो of the Si Pia in the third foot. The Gatha is found in the Telugu Recension in Webber's Edn of the Gāthā Saptašati.

अत्र पतितं कुम्म उभिन् मा धुनीहि शेफालिकामिति विधिनिषेधयोः अभिधाने, सखि, चौर्यरस ( रते ) प्रराक्ते बलयशन्दो न कर्तव्यः इति निषेधान्तरं प्रतीयते ।

## कचिद्विधावन्मयं यथा-

सणिअं वच किसोरि वहि वयत्तेन ववसमहि पट्टेदि। र्मामिहिस वित्यअत्यनि विहिना दुक्खेण णिम्मापिता ॥

ि अनेर्वज किशोरि वह प्रयत्नेन व्यवस्थामः प्रष्टतः ।

भक्ष्यम् विस्तृतस्त्रनि विविना दु.खेन निर्मापिता ॥ ]

अत्र अनेत्रेजेति विष्यभिधाने हि न विधिनीपि निषेधः । अपि त वर्णनामात्रं प्रतीयते ।

## कचित्रिपेधेऽनुभयं यथा--

देआ प्रसिक्ष णिवत्तम् इत्यादि ( ध्वन्यालोक उदाहृता गाथा, पृष्ठ २२ ) । अत्र निवर्तस्वेति निषेवाभिधानेऽपि न निषेत्रो नापि विधि , अपि तु मुखेन्द्रकान्ति( वर्णनामात्र ) प्रतीयते । 1

# क्रचिट विधिनिपधयोः अनुसयं यथा--

वच महिच्( विव ) अ एक्षेड्--इत्यादि ( वि-आ-पृष्ठ २२ )

( अत्र मंगव निश्वासरोदनानि भवन्त् ) मा नवापि ता विना तानि जायन्तामिति विधिनिषेधयो-र्रामधाने न विधिनीपि निषेधः अपि त कृतव्यलीकप्रियतमोपालम्भमात्र प्रतीयते ।

# कचिद्विधिनिपेधे अनुभयं यथा—

गोलाणहए कच्छं चक्खन्तो राइआइ पत्ताइ।

उप्पडइ मकडो खोक्खएइ पोट्टं च पिट्टंड ॥ (गाथा० II. 71. )

िगोदावरीनदीकच्छे चर्वयन् राजिकायाः पत्राणि ।

उत्पत्ति संकटः खोक्खशब्दं करोति उदर च ताडयति। ] 2

अत्र न विधिनीपि निषेधोऽभिधीयते; नापि अनयो ( प्रतीतिः अपि तु ) अन्यः ( सं )केतु-(ন )कुट्( ঃ)में अभ्यागतः, भवान् न गतः इति त ज्ञापयतीति प्रतीयते ।

### ध्वतिः

प्रतीयमानाभित्रीयमानवाक्यार्थानाम् आनन्त्याद् ध्वनिरूपमप्यनेकप्रकारमेव । ध्वनिश्व द्विधा अर्थास्वनिः राज्यस्वनिश्च । तयोर्यंत्वनिः अनुनादस्वनिरूपः प्रतिराज्यस्वनिरूपश्च ।

तत्र योऽभिधीयमानवाक्यार्थातस्यतमेव कांस्यातुनादरूपम् अर्थान्तरं (ध्वनति, स अतुनाद-विनेहपः ) ( स यथा )— 'शिखरिणि क तु नाम कियचिरम् इत्यादि

(Vide Dhvanyāloka, p 49)3

अत्र यथाश्रृतवाक्यार्थोऽभिधीयमानः विम्बफलारुणाधर इत्युपलक्षणेन रागातिशयं प्रत्याययन् नाल्पपुण्यस्त्वद्धरप्रतिनिधिमिष चुम्बतीति चाटुना वर्णनीयाया स्वातुरागप्रकाशनं ध्वनति। एतच

<sup>1</sup> Abhinava has some difference of opinion with other interpreters regarding the inner purport of this Gatha Bhoja's interpretation seems to be straight, correct, intelligible and pertinent to the point in illustration.

<sup>2</sup> Hemacandra omits this Gatha and gives here some other illustrative Gatha and naturally his comments differ (K A p 33) After this, he also adds Ananda's last instance "क्रचिद् वाच्याद् विभिन्नविषयत्वेन व्यवस्थापित;" with the illustration "कस्य वा न भवति रोषः etc"

<sup>3.</sup> This is Ānanda's Vivaksitānyaparavācyadhvani,

या गणाः अपाठ्यत्विम् अपनिदादार्थं प्रकायकतात्ति। १८० वर्षः वर्षः १८० वर्षः । 
भ्रण्या नग अथन सम्बन्धिक प्रतिप्ति एउ। र (रे) जासामाध्याण (अ) सुत्रीपण ११ (क. क. १४०) (७) ॥

[ अस्थत अज्ञानक मजन्ती कि प्रशास्त्रवेवम् ) भाजायामारुहाणा युव्याह तीर्वमेव न भवति ॥]

### र्पातशब्द ध्वीनः

य पुनर्यभयोगमानवारपायीत प्रवस्ता स्व ध्रातिकात् सान्तात् सामित्व प्राणायमा प्रति बनात र प्रतिश्वाब्द्दश्वितः । यथा " लावव्यासन्त्रपरित दिताना ' स्थाति ( वनात र प्रप्रस्त १०५) ( यथा गृहा ) या पौरवादिकादानां प्रतिकृत्वा जापन्ते, ते च वान कनात् । प्रवस्थन एव लावव्यासन्श्वास्थितरमन् पदार्थे उत्पत्नाविकात्वाना यथा स्वीपभाविकाताः प्रातिक सा जायने ते च अर्थानतस्थानि जनस्यतः उपलस्यन्ते । तमेह च स्वाद्यवसाणानासस्यत्वासनार्थे अभिधीन

<sup>1</sup> . For the correct word महाबोपसंद्राप्त see Bhoja's Suva Treetre, Lattra  $Prak\bar{a}(a=V/7)$  and 8

<sup>2</sup> See Dhvanyāloka P 150

<sup>3.</sup> This is Ānanda's Avivakşitavācyadhvani

गमान<sup>-</sup> तस्य लोचनाय्येः सह सादस्यं **प्रत्याययन्** वर्णनीयायाः चारुत्वोत्कर्षप्रतीति भ्वनति । सा ततः पृथनिव उपलम्यमाना प्रतिगद्धभ्वनिः। तथा–

एष्ट्रव्या बहवः पुत्राः यद्येकोऽपि गयां त्रजेत् । यजेत वाऽश्रमेधेन नील वा वृषमुत्सृजेन् ॥ ( मनु० )

अत्र बहवः पुत्रा एष्ट्रच्या इति वाक्याथाँऽभिधीयमानः पुत्रैः पितृप्रीतये प्रयागगमनादयः 
कर्तव्या इति प्रत्याययम् पितृणां कामपूरणं परमपुरुषार्थं इति ध्वनति । स च पितृब्यपदेशपरतया
प्रवृतः पुत्रोहेशस्त्रेण तत्प्रवृत्तिपु प्रतिशब्दायमानः प्रथणिव उपक्षम् ।

" कस्म न होइ रोसो-" (See Dhvanyāloka, p 23)

अत्र सम्युपालम्मार्थोऽभिषीयमानः पत्यु ईप्नेंपिद्यान्तये व्रमरेण अस्या अवरः खण्डितः नोप-पतिना इति प्रत्याययम् स्खलितगोपनेषु साखीवेदग्ध्यं ध्वनित । स च अन्योपदेद्रापरत्वेन प्रवृत्त अन्यस्य चेतिस प्रतिफल्ति इति प्रतिदाद्यध्वनि :। एव " भम धम्मिश्र बीसत्थो "

(Vide above)

इन्यादिवाक्ये विश्वे। निषेशः प्रतीयमानः तस्या नदीकुज्जके [ न ] केनचित् सह संकेतार्थ ध्वनित । ग वाक्यार्थात् पृथिनिव उपलम्यमानः प्रतिशब्द-वित । "आसाइअ अण्णाऐण जातिअ" इत्यादि-वाक्ये पृपिनवारणपरः निषेशः उपयितिनवारणं प्रत्याययम् प्रयोक्तः वैद्ग्य्यं ध्वनित । स चान्या-भियानेन अन्यमभिद्यत् ततः पृथिगिव उपलम्यमानः प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः। एवं "गोलाणहकच्छे चक्खन्त-राङ्आइ पत्ताइ" (गा. स. II. 71) इत्यपि प्रतिशब्दध्वनिरित ।

# शब्दध्वनि:

एत्रं शब्द्ध्विनिरिपि द्विधेव । तत्र अनुनादरूपो यथा—
भक्तिप्रह्वाय दातुं मुकुलपुटकुटीकोटरकोडलीनां लक्ष्मीमाकपुकामा इव कमलबनोद्घाटनं कुवैते ये । कालाकारान्थकाराननपतितजगस्माध्यसख्यसकल्याः

कत्याणं वः क्रियामु किसलयरचयस्ते करा भास्करस्य ॥ ( मयूर. सू श. २ )

अत्र भास्करकराः कल्याण व कियामुः इति वाक्यार्थः । कर**शब्दशक्ति**स्वागान्यान् किसलय-रुवय दरयादिसमरततुल्यविशेषणयोगाच हस्तेषु अनुनादं जनयन् भगवतः तेजोरुपतां पुरुषरूपना च भ्वनति । तदुभयमपि तदनुस्युतसेवेह निरूप्यत इति अनुनादभवनि. । एवम्——

गर्भेष्वम्भोरहाणां शिखरिषु च शितात्रेषु तुल्यं पतन्तः

प्रारम्भे वासरस्य व्युपरतिसमये चैकरूपास्तथैव ।

निष्पर्याय प्रवृत्ताः त्रिभुवनभवनप्राङ्गणे पान्तु युष्मान्

ऊष्माणं सन्तताध्वश्रमजमिव भृश विश्वतो ब्रध्नपादाः॥ (मयूर मू श. ३)

अत्र पादशब्दस्वाभाव्यात् सर्वमपि योजनीयम् । इयांस्तु विशेषः । प्रवेत्र साथम्यद्वारेण, इह तु वैधम्यद्वारेणति । अत्र च प्रतिशब्दश्वनिर्यथा----

दत्तानन्दाः प्रजाना समुचितसमयाकृष्टसष्टैः पयोभिः

पूर्वाहे विप्रकीर्णा दिशिदिशि विरमत्यहि संहारभाजः ।

दीमांशो. दीर्घदु खप्रभवभवमयोदन्बदुत्तारनावो

गावो वः पावनानां परमपरिमितां त्रीतिमुत्पादयन्तु ॥ ( मयूर. सू. श. ९ )

अत्र दीप्तांशोगांवी रक्ष्मयः स्त्यमानाः (गो)दाटर्ट्यान्तिस्यामानगरः तुर्वावरोगान्न धेतुषु प्रतिशब्दं जनसन्त्यः तास्वपि विशिष्ट माहास्प्यशेषं प्रतिश्वनति (निर्ना)। एयम----

मीलबक्षुविजिद्यश्रुतिजङ्गमन विभिन्नतप्राणर्शन स्वव्यापाराक्षमत्वक् परिमुपिनमनः श्वासमात्रावरीयम् । विस्तताः पतित्वा स्वपदपदग्नाद्धिय वोऽकंजन्मा कालव्यालावलीटं जगदगद् खोत्यापयन प्रावधनापः ॥ ( मसुग सु अ ३३ )

अत्र अर्कजनमा प्राक्त्यताप काल्ब्यालावलीड जगन उत्पापयन आंत्रय व अपटरनादिति वावयार्थः । अर्कदाटद्शक्तिस्वामाव्यात् नृत्यकर्मेकियापदावियोगाम अर्कवनतजनमा अगद् काल्ब्याल-दष्टमपि उत्थापयतीति प्रत्याययन् अर्को विपद्माना अप्र उति अतिशब्दरूप भ्वति उत्थापमति इति । एव अन्ये-पि महाकविश्योगेषु भ्वतिविद्यापायाः । यद्काम- "ताययेमेव वर्चापः भ्वतिरेव काव्ये" इत्यादि । क. पुनः काव्यवचगोः भ्वतितात्ययेथोः विशेषः / नन्कः पुरम्नातः (प्रयोग्यायान्ते ) —

यदवक वच आक्षे लोके च वच एय तत् । वक यदर्थवादादाँ तस्य कार्ध्यामित स्मृति. ॥ यद्भिप्रायमर्थस्य वक्तुवाक्यात प्रतीयने । यद्भिप्रायमर्थस्य वक्तुवाक्यात प्रतीयने । तात्पर्यमर्थधर्मस्तत् शब्दधर्म. पुनर्वातः ॥ गाम्यप्रमायम् तात्पर्यमान्तरे गुण द्रप्यने । वाग्देवताया लावण्यमित्र वाद्यस्तरोत्यां ॥ अद्ग्रायम्यप्रान् द्रयेन द्रयमुच्यते । यथा सुर्मिवंशारी मधुमाधवसंज्या ॥

#### 11

### Chap VI Si Pra Pp 425-7

(This is found carlier, in chap VI and considers the nature of Dhyani from the point of view of Sphota Philo ophy).

" ननु च अभिधीयमानतेव प्रतीयमानतापि वाक्यार्थघमा (त्यते । यथोर्गतः – प्रतीयमान पुनरस्यदेव बस्वस्ति वाणीपु महास्वीसाम् । यत्तत् प्रतिद्वावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति स्ववस्यमियार्गसम् ॥ ( 'व आ १ ४ )

ास्य च वाक्यार्थमावनोत्तरकालमवर्गत अध्यागपक्षे । वर्त्तपक्षे वा कर्गामव उपर्पात्नभ्वति? उच्यते—विपरिणामाद् भविष्यति । वस्तुतोऽपि अवस्थान्तरगमन विपरिणामाद् भविष्यति । वस्तुतोऽपि अवस्थान्तरगमन विपरिणामा । तत्र यथा मृहादयो घटादिरूपेण, अशिरादयो द्व्यादिरूपेण, विश्वादयो युवादिरूपेण विपरिणमन्ते तथे । तत्र प्रदानवापि अविधो पांचेः तेन तेन अर्थरूपेण तथा तथा विपरिणमन्ते । तद्यभा—" सन्ति मे पत्र पुत्रा , मातर पितर शुक्षु- वितवानास्मि, योऽह युवा द्रमिडदेशे द्रमिडकत्यासिस्मह अवसम् , गांडहमिदाना पांचे। वर्षान गतानीरे तप्थरामि " इति । अत्र च अव्याद्यथेशेः पृथगवभामाद् वाक्यार्थस्य अभिवीयमानताया प्रतीयमान

<sup>1</sup> Ratnesvara quotes this verse in his commentary on Bhoja's S. K. A. I. 43. p. 30. He reads the 2nd line differently, with Amirāga for Arthavāda and Srutt for smit. वक यदनरागादी तत्र काल्यमिति श्रातिः ।

उच्यते---

ताया वा न अनुपर्पातः । न च एतावता शब्दन्यापारो विरंस्यति । यतः तात्पर्यमस्य हि अधतो विशेषेण वक्ष्यमाणमास्ते तस्योदाहरणमात्रमः—

> <sup>1</sup>प्राप्तथीरेष कस्मात् पुनरिष मिथि तं मन्थखेद विद्ध्यात् निद्राम् यस्य पूर्वामनलसमनसो नेव संभावयामि । मेतुं बध्नाति कस्मादयमिह सकलद्वीपनाथानुयातः न्वय्यायाते वितर्कानिति दथत इवामाति कपः पयोषेः ॥

अत्र वर्णनीयराजविशेषस्य विजयिनः यथाधुतवाक्यार्थः अभिर्थायमानः त्वयीति पढे विष्ण्व-भ्यामावतारः मप (त्वम) मीति प्रतीयमानः तदवतारान्तराणां निद्रालसन्विदिषयोगाद् अस्य च तद्वयुदासात् ततो विशिष्टयप्रतिपादन तान्पर्यम्, यस्य कान्येषु ध्वनिरिति प्रसिद्धिः। तदुक्तम्<sup>2</sup>—

> तात्पर्यमेव वचित श्वितरेव काव्ये माभाग्यमेव गुणसंपदि वळमस्य । लावण्यमेव वपुषि स्वदतेऽङ्गनायाः श्टार एव हृदि मानवतो जनस्य ॥ उ

कः पुनः काव्यवचसोः ध्वनितारपर्ययोः विशेषः ! यद्वक वचः शास्त्रं लोके च वच एव तत् । वक यद्रथीवाद्दां तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥ यद्भिप्रायमवस्व चक्तवांक्यात् प्रतीयते । तात्पर्यमर्थक्षमस्तत् शब्दधमः पुनर्ध्वति ॥ मौभाग्यमिव तात्पर्यमान्तरो गुण दृष्यते । वादंवताया लावण्यमिव वाद्यस्तयोश्विनिः ॥ अद्रविप्रकर्षात् द्वयेन द्वयमुच्यते ।

यथा मर्गभवेशाखी मधुमाधवसंज्ञया ॥

The Discussion on Tatpanya and Dhvam in the III uddyota of the Dhvanyāloka!

(Pp 187-191).

"प्रागृक्तयुक्तिम. वान्यव्यतिरिक्तस्य वस्तुनः सिद्धि कृता, स त्वथां व्यवस्यतेये कस्माद् व्यप्तिद्यते । पत्र च प्राधान्येन 'अवस्थान तत्र वान्यवता'; तथेवामा व्यपंदिष्ठ युक्तः । तत्परत्वात् वाचकः वस्य । अत्य तत्प्रकात्तिना वान्यस्य वाचकत्वमेव व्यापारः । कि तस्य व्यापारान्तरकृष्पनया । तस्मात् तान्यर्यवपया योऽपं स तावन्मुत्वयत्या वाच्यः । या त्वन्तरा तथाविषे विषये वाच्यान्तरप्रतितिः, सा तत्प्रतीतेक्षायमात्रम्, पदार्थप्रतीतिरिव वाक्यार्थप्रतीते ।

<sup>1</sup> Quoted on P 109 by Ananda in his Dhvanyāloka

<sup>2</sup> भोजेनेव

<sup>3</sup> Introductory verses in Chap. I. Sr Pra

<sup>1</sup> The text given above is as corrected by Professor Mrn S Kuppuswami Sastri. The incorrect readings in the N S Edn are given in the footnotes

अनवस्थान 6 बाच्यतथैवासी.

अश्रीचर्यत— यत्र जब्द स्वार्थमियद्यानः अर्थान्तरमव्यम्यति तत्र वनस्य त्यार्थामियद्यित् य्या तद्यांन्तरावयमहेतुत्वम् , तयोरविद्याये विजेषो वा ८ न तावद्यंश्रीयः । यस्मात ती द्री व्यापारं भिन्न-विवये। भिन्नस्य। च प्रतीयेतं एव । तथा हि—वाचक वञ्जण व्यापार आरद्दर्य स्वार्थीवययः सम्वत्वव्यव्यान्तर्यवयः । ततः स्वयस्थाद्यां वाच्यमस्यपेरपः तेतुस्यस्य । एकस्य सम्वन्धिययः सम्वत्वव्यव्यान्तर्यस्य सम्वन्धिययः । वाच्यो त्यार्थः नावान्त्रः तेतुस्यस्य । एकस्य सम्वन्धिययः सम्वन्धियः वाच्यास्यपेरपः तेतुस्यस्य सम्वन्धियः । वाच्यो त्यार्थः नावान्त्रः त्यार्थः त्यार्थः त्यार्थः त्यार्थः त्यार्थः सम्वन्धियस्य स्वान्यस्य । यदि च स्वयस्यित्यत्य मावान्त्यस्य रावाः त्यार्थः त्यार्थः त्यार्थः वाच्याः व्याप्यस्य स्वान्यस्य वाच्याः त्यार्थः । स्वयस्य । वाच्याः त्यार्थः । स्वयस्य । वाच्याः त्यार्थः । स्वयस्य । अञ्चन्धः । वाच्याः ति भवान्तियः । स्वयस्य । वाच्याः वाच्याः । वाच्याः वाच्याः त्यार्थः । स्वयस्य । वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः त्यार्थः । वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः । वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः । वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः वाच्याः । वाच्याः वा

त च पदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायां वाल्यक्यरच्ययां । यतः पदार्थकतानिस्मर्थविनी क्षेत्राद्वाद्वस्तिन । राग्यस्यस्वस्त्वस्ता नास्युवेयते तैवंक्यार्थक्यार्थको वस्त त्यादानकरण्यप्तांद्वाद्वयाः । स्था क्षेत्र तिल्यं तद्वादानकरण्यानां न पृथ्यपुपलस्म, तर्थव वा त्ये तद्ये वा प्रतिने पद्वत्यप्ताम । तेषा तदा विभक्तत्योपलस्मे वाक्यार्थद्विद्वये दृशीस्वेत् । नत्येष वाल्यक्यन्यप्रोपत्यंगः । न दि व्य प्रये प्रतीत्यमाने वाल्यवुद्धिदंगीस्वति । वाल्यावभाषाविनासावेन तस्य प्रकाशनात् । तस्मात् पद्यप्रापत्यायस्त्याः । यर्थव हि प्रदीपद्वारेण वय्प्रवितावुत्पत्वाया न प्रदीपप्रकाशो निवर्तते, तस्मात् व्यवप्रप्राप्तातीत्वाच्यावभागः । यन् प्रथमोवोते ताल्यावभागः । यत्र प्रथमोवोते वाल्यवभागः । यत्र प्रथमोवोते वाल्यवभागः । यत्र प्रथमोवोते वाल्यवभागः । व्यवप्रविद्यापत्रप्तात्व वाल्यस्य प्राप्तान वाल्यस्य ्य वाल्यस

इतश्च वानकत्वाद व्यक्तकत्वस्य अन्यत्व, यद्वाचकत्व अर्व्यक्षश्चनामात्रम् अरदाश्चमार्गाश्चय च । अरदार्थभोः द्वरोपपि व्यक्तकत्वस्य प्रतिपादितत्वात् ॥

The Daśarūpaka and the Daśarupakavatoka on Dhvam and Tātparya (Ch. IV Pp. 119-121)

[The text as printed in the Nimayasagar Edn has numerous inistakes A punified text, with the corrections made by Professor Mm S. Kuppuswami Sasiri, is given here. The readings found in the printed text are given in the footnotes.]

<sup>1</sup> अर्थाविशेष, 2 Full stop 3 चेत्र, 1 स्वगमनस्व > Full stop.

अस्त्येवति

नापि वाक्यार्थंत व्यङ्ग्यस्य तृतीयकक्षाविषयत्वात् । तथा हि— 'श्रम धार्मिक ' इत्यादाँ पदार्थ-विपयािमधालक्षणप्रथमकक्षातिकान्तक्षिकारत्वसंग्रमात्मकविधिविपयवाक्यार्थकक्षातिकान्ततृतीयकक्षाकान्तो निषेधात्मा व्यङ्ग्यलक्षणोऽर्थः व्यज्ञकक्षक्तयधीनः स्फुटमेवावभासते । अतो नासौ वाक्यार्थः । नजु च तृतीयकक्षाविपयत्वमधूयमाणपदार्थतात्पयेषु 'विष भुक्व ' इत्यादिवाक्येषु निषेधार्थविपयेषु धर्तीयत एव वाक्यार्थे ं, न चात्र व्यज्ञकत्ववादिनापि वाक्यार्थंत्व नेत्यते , तात्पर्यादनन्यत्वाद् ' वते । तत्र उत्तर्यादस्य द्वितीयकक्षायामविधान्तस्य तृतीयकक्षाभावात् <sup>1</sup> सेव निषेधकक्षा तत्र द्वितीयकक्षाः । तत्र विधा क्षयाक्षत्वपत्तिस्यत्वाद् । स्मवद्वाक्ष्येषु च विधायक्षत्वपत्तिस्यत्वात् । स्मवद्वाक्ष्येषु च विधायक्षत्वपत्तित्वरक्षायाभविधानतस्य तृतीयकक्षामावात् । स्मवद्वाक्ष्येषु च विधायत्वतिपत्तिलक्ष्यणद्वितीयकक्षायां स्मागवगमात् ।

### तदुक्तम्---

' अप्रतिष्ठमविधान्त स्वार्थे यत्परतामिदम् । वाक्य विगाहते तत्र न्याय्या तत्परतास्य सा ॥ यत्र तु स्वार्थीवधान्तं प्रतिष्ठा तावदागतम् । सन्धर्मप्रति तत्र स्थात गर्वत्र न्वनिना स्थितिः ॥ '

 $\times$   $\times$   $\times$   $\times$ 

अभाग्यते---

वाच्या प्रकरणादिभ्यो तुद्धिस्था वा यथा किया । वाक्यार्थः कारकेर्युक्तः स्थायीभावस्तथेतरैः ॥ (D. R.)

यथा लाँकिकवाक्येषु थूयमाणिकयेषु 'गामभ्याज' इत्यादिषु अथूयमाणिकयेषु च 'द्वारं द्वारम्' इत्यादिषु स्वशन्दोपादानात् प्रकरणादिवशाद् बुद्धिसिन्नवेशिनी क्रियेष कारकोपचिता वाक्यार्थः, तथा कान्यार्थाप स्वशन्दोपादानात् क्रिचत् 'प्रीत्थे नवोढा प्रिया' इत्येषमादो, क्रिच्च प्रकरणादिवशात् नियत्विहतं विभावाद्यविमानावाद्वा साक्षाद्भावकचेतित विपरिवर्तमानः रत्यादिः स्थायी स्वस्वविभानुभावन्यभानार्राभः तत्तन्व्छन्दोपनीतः सस्कारपरम्परया परां प्रीत्विमानीयमानः रत्यादिः स्थायी स्वस्वविभानुभावन्यभावार्राभः तत्तन्व्छन्दोपनीतः सस्कारपरम्परया परां प्रीतिकान्यमानः रत्यादिवाक्यार्थः। न चापदा-थ्यस्य वाक्यार्थत्व नास्तीति वाच्यम् । कार्यपर्यवसायित्वात् तात्पर्यशक्तेः । तथा हि पौरुषेयमपौरुषेय वाक्य गर्व कार्यपरम्, अतत्परत्वे ज्वपादेयत्वाद् , उन्मत्तादिवाक्यवत् । काव्यशन्दानां च अन्वयव्यतिरेक्षान्या निर्मत्वायस्यात्वाद्वयत्वर्थाः प्रयोजनान्तरानुपरुष्ठिकः स्वादोङ्कृतिरेव कार्यव्यव अवधायत् । तदुङ्कृतिनिमित्तव च विभावादिसंस्वष्टस्य स्थायिन एव अवगम्यते । अतो वात्यस्याभिधानगत्तिः तेन तेन रमनाकृप्यमाणा तत्तत्त्वादाण्येक्षितावान्तरिवमावादिप्रतिपादनद्वार्थः पदार्थस्थानीयाः, तत्संस्रष्टे रत्यादिर्वक्षयार्थः तत्तत्त् वभावाद्वः पदार्थस्थानीयाः, तत्संस्रष्टे रत्यादिर्वक्षयार्थः तत्तत्तत्त् काल्यवाक्यम्, यदीर्याः ताविमा पदार्थवाक्यार्थः । न चैव सति गीतादिवद् वाच्यवाचकभावान्त्रपर्याः । तिविग्राप्तिमावाविद्यामप्रीविद्वषामेव तथाविश्वरत्यादिमावनावतामेव स्वादोङ्कृतः । तदनेन

<sup>1</sup> बाक्यार्थ: 2 अन्यत्वान् 3 तत्र. 4 The full stop here is wrong and the sentence ends only with the word द्वितीयकशा। 5 अविहित. 6. पर.

<sup>7</sup> Full stop 8 No Full stop 9 स्वानन्द, 10 स्वार्थ, 11. यदीर्थ. 12 Full stop 13 No full stop

अतिप्रसद्भोटपि निरम्तः । देशसि च बाक्यामीनस्यणे परिर्धायनामियाविर्माक्तयोनेय समस्तवाक्या-पोद्याने शत्तपुरतर्परिकापन प्रयागः । यदयोजाम काट्यनिर्णयः—

'तालगांतितरेकाम व्ययक्रव्यस्य, न 'वर्गि ।

किमुक्त स्थावधुतार्थंताव्यं ऽत्यांक्तिव्यं ॥

विग्र मद्धय 'वाक्यं यमेव पितृमृतांत्यु ।

'युयुमान प्रधानत्याद् 'वर्गित्व केन वार्यते ॥

ध्वित्यं क्वांव्यात्वां, त्वां, विश्वांत्यस्य मम्पान ॥

एताव्यंय् विश्वांत्वात्ताः, त्वां, विश्वांत्यसम्मम्पान ॥

एताव्यंय् विश्वांत्वात्तात्यं न नुरुष्ठतम ॥

सम भाभक विश्वत्यम इति श्रमिकृतास्यदम ।

विश्वांत्रित्तं कथ वाक्यं नियंत्रमुप्पपित ॥

प्रतिपानस्य विश्वांत्वत्रेद्धाप्रणावादि ।

वक्तंविश्वक्षितावादेः अविश्वांत्वन्तं वा कथम् ॥

पौक्षंयस्य वाक्यस्य विश्वांत्यत्वात् ।

वक्तंविश्वक्षितावाद्यं विश्वांत्यत्वात्यता ॥ ' उति

अतो च रसादीना कार्य्यन सह व्यङ्गयव्यक्षक्षावः। कि तर्ति ( गाल्यगावक्षमभ्यन्यः। कार्य्य हि भावकम्, भाव्या रसाद्यः। ते हि स्वतीर्द्रभवन्त एव भावकेषु विभिन्नविभावाहिमता कार्य्यन भाव्यन्ते । न चान्यत्र बाद्यान्तरेषु भाव्यभावकरक्षणसम्बन्धानानान् कार्य्यन् भाव्यन्ति तथा भाव्य-भिति बान्यम्। भावनाक्षियावार्षिभ तथातिकृतन्यात्। कः। मा चान्यत्र तथास्तु', अन्वयव्यतिरेका-स्वामित तथाव्यम्।

त्रङ्कम्—(NS VII 4)

`भावाभिनयसम्बद्धानं भावयन्ति स्यानिमान् । यस्मानस्मादर्भाः भावाः विज्ञायाः नाट्ययोजुर्धमः ॥ `

उति । कथ पुनस्पूर्हानसम्बन्धिन्यः पदेभ्यः स्थारयादिप्रनिष्पानिर्मितं चेत् लोकं न ग्रावियच्यप्रयुक्तस्यीपुसादिषु स्थाद्यावनाभावदर्शनाद उद्यापं तथीपनिवस्य यति स्थाद्यावनाभावदेशादिकायद्वयस्थान् ॥१ अभिष्याधिनाभावेन । लादांगको स्थादिप्रतीति । यता च काव्यावस्य स्थानावक्त्यः नथाः अभ्रे वश्यामः ॥ ।

<sup>1</sup> पूर्वे येथेव परमृतादिषु । 2 प्रमह्मते. 3 कि कृतम । व आस्पदे ।

<sup>5</sup> विवक्षितप्राप्ते 6 विवक्षा परतन्त्रता 7 भवन्त 8 No full stop

<sup>9</sup> No stop 10 अभिषया विनामावन

#### CHAPTER XIII

### BHOJA AND AUCITYA

This important concept of Aucitya, Bhoja does not deal with anywhere separately. As a chief topic in Poetics, it is not mentioned at all by Bhoja. But Bhoja is not absolutely silent on this concept. Aucitya occurs here and there, underlying many other ideas in Bhoja.

It has been pointed out in my article on Aucitya in the Journal of the Madnas University, that, long before Poetics began to talk of Aucitya, its related Tantia of Vyākarana was mentioning Aucitya as one of the conditions determining the definite import of a word of many meanings in a given context. Bhartihari mentions Aucitya as one of the Sabda-artha-pravibhājakas in II 316, in his  $V\bar{a}kyapad\bar{a}ya$ . In this same connection, Bhoja also mentions Aucitya while treating of Vivaksā in the seventh chapter of the Sr. Pra. (Vol. II. p. 30); and this same Aucitya as a determinant of the sense of a word occurs again in chapter xxv of the Sr. Pra. (Vol. IV. p. 463).

In chapter  $x_i$  of the  $\delta_i$  Pra, Bhoja calls his magnum opus, this  $\delta_I$ . Pra, by the name Sāhitya-Prakāša and says that among other things, Aucitya is herein inculcated.

" एतस्मिन् १८ड्गागप्रकाशे सुप्रकाशमेव अशेषशास्त्रार्थसंपदुपनिषदाम् अखिलकळाकाव्य-औचित्रय-कल्पनारहस्याना च सन्त्रिवेशो इस्यते।" Vol. II. Mad. Ms p. 430.

This, however, has to be taken in a general sense that one of the fruits a reader of the Sr Pra. will reap is acquisition of a sense of Aucitya That, any work, especially Literature, Poetry and Literary Criticism, must inculcate

In Poetics proper, Bhoja does speak of Aucitya more than once. He realises that it is a vast and elastic principle and that it pertains to every part of a work of ait. There are the main and major Aucityas of Rasa and Itivitta as also the subsidiary and minor ones of Gunas, Alarikāras, Rīti, metre etc.

(1) We first sight Aucitya in Bhoja in his Doşa prakarana, in his Vākyadosa called 'Apada' 'Apada' is the use of inappropriate vocabulary. The appropriateness of otherwise is tested by a reference to the nature of the characters who speak. A Grāmya speaker must be made to talk as he does in life, using rustic or vulgar expressions, whereas a refined urban character must be made to use a refined language. This is an emphasis on one kind of Aucitya. See Dosa-section for detailed treatment of 'Apada'. See S. K.  $\bar{A}$  I pp 19-20.

<sup>1</sup> Vide my paper on the History of Aucitya in the Journal of the Madras University, Vol VI No. 1 and Vol. VII No. 1.

Anstotle speaks of this Aucitya of Pada, the use of appropriate vocabulary, in his Rhetoric. He says, "If then one expresses himself in the language appropriate to the habit, he will produce the effect of being characteristic; for, a rustic and a man of education will express themselves neither in the same wards, not in the same manner." (Vide my paper on Loka Pharmī, JOR., Madras, Vol. VIII. p. 71. Compare also Rigisekhara, K. M. pp. 30-31)

- (2) In the Vākyārthadosa called Virasa, bortowed from Rudinta, Bhoja speaks of Aprastutarasa, which is a variety of Resa-mainertya  $S.K.\,\,$ T. I. 50, p. 35. Ratnešvara quotes here viranda's verse on Auertya and and Anauertya. "Anauertyād ite nānyad etc." Ratnešvara also points out that the following three Dosas, Hīna, Adhika and Asadesa Pranicas are all varieties of Anauertya.
- (3) The Doşa called Viruddha, Loka viruddha, Isālaviruddha etc,  $(SK, \bar{\Lambda}, 1, 54-57, \, \mathrm{pp}, 38-42)$  is also based on Aucitya. It is only a more definite and particularised name for Anaucitya of various kinds in Vastu or Artha. While explaining in 1–56 'Anumāna virodha', Buoja mentions Aucitya and its breach Aucitya-viruddha

युक्ति-औचित्य -प्रतिज्ञादिकृती थास्त्वर कथन । अनुमानविरोधस्स कविमुख्यैनिगद्यते ॥ - I - 50

and he illustrates Aucitya-viruddha thus

## आंचित्यचिक्रद्धं यथा---

(ह्याया)

पदाञ्चक्षेत्तरीयेण पामरः पामयोः श्रोञ्छति । अतिगुरुककुरकुम्मोभरेण स्वेदादित वदनम् ॥

अप पामस्य प्रांकुकोत्तरीयासरण-अनौत्तित्याद् औत्त्रित्यविरुद्धाभिवम् ।  $^{\prime\prime}$  S(K) ते (1) p=40

" किन्तु । पासरै।चित्यप्रतिसन्धाने । पद्मशुकाबगुष्टतमगुन्दितम् । । विद्ययनेपालपिपदादिनागर-इत्तापरिचय एय पासरत्वम् । " - RatneSvara on the above

This case of Artha-aucitya-anaucitya is plain, how can a Pāmara be described as dressed in a Nāgaraka's dress of silk?

(4) A similar instance of Artha-aucitya-anaucitya is met with in Bhoja's Sabda-guna, Bhāvika, where an elder, out of the overpowering feeling in him, goes to the extent of bowing at the feet of an youngster  $S/K/\bar{A}/1$  p. 58

"अत्र हर्षवशात अ**नोचित्येनापि** 'बन्देऽशवा चरणपुःकरकृत्वसम् ' उत्यादीनाम् उक्तत्वात भाविकत्वम् ।'' Here a case of Anaucitya becomes a Guna or Aucitya, according to the larger implications of the principle of Aucitya. The larger Aucitya herein involved, which makes Aucitya out of Anaucitya, is an instance of Rasāveśa and Rasa-aucitya.

(5) And the above-mentioned Aucitya which converts Dosas into Gunas is the very basis of the last section of the Guna-prakarana of Bhoja, the Vaiseṣika-gunas of Doṣa-gunas, Dosas which turn into Gunas under certain circumstances. (Vide my paper on Aucitya above referred to) S. K. Ā. pp. 74-120, See especially p. 118 Bhoja explicitly states the principle of Aucitya converting certain cases of Anaucitya into Aucitya

# "अत्र स्नीत्वाद् औ।चित्यविरोधेऽपि तत्समयोचितत्वात् गुणत्वम् ।"

#### Aucitya in Bhoja's Alamkara Section

(6) (a) Above was noticed under the Pada-dosa called Apada, a kind of Aucitya of language, the Aucitya of appropriate vocabulary Bhoja opens his śabdālamkīras with an Alamkāra called Jāti What is Jāti? And how is it Alamkāra, and a śabda-alamkāra? Jāti is the various kinds of language, Sanskrit, the various Prākits and Apabhramśa. Though Language, by itself, is not an Alamkāra, the proper choice of the language suited to the theme etc., is an Alamkāra, for, this is a feature of beauty in Kāvya This is Bhāṣā-Aucitya Ceitain things are well said when expiessed in Sanskrit, ceitain others in Piākit Says Bhoja.

This intelligent choice and employment of language is an Aucitya and is called by Bhoja as the Sabdālamkāra named Jāti – The principle of Aucitya involved herein is pointed out by Bhoja

> तत्र संस्कृतसित्यादिः भारती जातिरिप्यते । या तु **ओचित्यादिभिः** वाचाम् अलङकाराय कल्पते ॥ II 6 p 121

and Ratnesvara explains it thus

"ननु अवस्य गरंदन सम्भूताद्यन्यतमेन भवितव्यम् । तस्त्रोऽत्र कवं. शक्तिव्युत्पस्योरशः, येन अळङ्कारता स्यान , उन्यत आह्-तेति । **ओस्त्रित्याकृष्ट** एव अळङ्कारः । अस्ति च संस्कृतादेरिप तथाभावः इति माव ॥ " p 121

Then, according to Ratneśvara's Avatārīkās to the succeeding Kārīkās on Jūtī, Bhoja indicates Aucitī in general, Visaya-aucitī, Vaktr-aucitī, Vācya-aucitī. Deša-aucitī etc

When, in a drama, the poet adopts the Präkrt for women and low characters, Bhoja would say, that in his scheme, it is a case of Jāti Śabdālamkūra. It is Vaktr-aucitya. Bharata's Nātya Šāstra treats of this Bhāṣā-Aucitya in the chapter called Bhāṣā-vidhāna, XVIII. Bharata says iegard-

ing Desa-aucitya that a diama can be in many languages, for, in a diama, characters from various provinces and countries may be introduced

(b) In chapter xi of his Sr Pru Bhoja again emphasises this Bhāsā-Aucitya There, he calls this an Ubhaya guna of a Prabandha as a whole, the Guna called 'Pātra-anurūpa-bhāsatya' re, composed in language appropriate to the character.

"पात्रानुरूपभाषात्रम् इत्यनेन उत्तमपात्राणि संस्कृतेन, उत्तमापार्याणि प्रकृतेन  $\times$   $\times$   $\times$  etc |" p. 432. Vol. II. *St. Pra.* Mad. MS (Vide Alarikāra and Guna sections).

(7) (a) Bhoja's second Sabdālankāra called Gati is nothing but the Aucitya of the medium of verse, prose or the nined Campu style, and the Aucitya of the varieties of metres. To decide that a cartain idea will be best expressed only in a verse-form and another only in a prose form is itself an Alankāra. This appropriateness of form is called Gatyancitya. The chief controlling factor here, Bhoja lumself says, is Artha aucitya.

पद्य गद्य च मिश्र च काव्यं यत , सा गांत, रम्ता । अर्थोचित्यादिभिः सापि वागलटकार इत्यते ॥ - 11-18

Again.

यथामति यथार्ञाक्त **यथोचित्यं** यथारुचि । कवै: पात्रस्य चेतस्याः प्रयोग उपपदाते ॥ । । । ११

- (b) Having chosen the verse form, a poet picks out the proper metres to suit his ideas. This choice of metre is Vitta aucitya. Bhoja says in chapter xi of the Sr. Pra. that 'metre according to ideas' r. an Ubhaya guiri of a Prabandha as a whole.
- " 'अर्थानुरूपच्छन्दस्त्यम् ' उत्यनेन १४६१रे हुर्गावर्धस्ताह्यः, गीरे वसकातिरकादयः, करणे बैनाळीयादयः, रीद्रे कम्पराद्यः, सर्वत्र आर्वळीवकी आदयः निवन्तनायाः उत्युपारजीतः। ''

Vol. II p. 432.

All these Bhoja does not fail to relate to Rasa and he realises that the final test of the appropriateness or Aucitya of a thing is Rasa, whether it be through Sabda or Artha. For, all Gimas, Alamkaras and the avoidance of flaws (Doşa-hāna) are for securing the eternal presence of Rasa, Rasa aviyoga.

Further, Bhoja also, like Mahima Bhatta (see section on Bhoja and Mahima Bhatta), holds all kinds of Dosas as forms of Anaucitya. In chapter at of the \$r Pra\$ Bhoja says that Rasa aviyoga in a work as a whole is secured by avoiding flaws, and securing Gunas and Alamkāras, and there are Dosas, Gunas and Alamkāras pertaining to Prabandha, even as to Vākya Taking a drama, Bhoja illustrates the avoidance of flaw of Prabandha. Prabandha-dosa-hāna. The story, in the source, may not, in every incident, be

consistent and exhibit an unity. The poet takes it up, eschews certain bits, and renovates the theme for his purpose. This eschewing and renovation in theme are, Bhoja says, Prabandha-doṣa-hāna or *Anaucitya-parihāna*. Anaucitya in the story is eliminated and Aucitya is secured.

''तत्र ( प्रवन्धे ) दोपहानम् **अनौचित्यादिपरिहारेण ।** यथा मायाक्षैकेयीदशस्थाभ्यां रामः प्रवासितः, न भातापितृभ्या र्डात निद्रीपदशस्थे ( बाल्सामायणे ) etc , etc " p 410. Vol II Mad Sr *Pra* 

(See the above-mentioned paper on Auctiya, sections on Bhoja and Mahima Bhatta. See also the section on Bhoja and Kuntaka and Vakrokti in this thesis.) And in this connection Bhoja quotes Yaśovarman's verse in the prelude to his now lost  $R\bar{u}m\bar{u}bhyudaya$ .

" औचित्य वचमां प्रकृत्यनुगतं, मर्वत्र **पात्रोचिता** पुष्टिः स्वावमरे रमस्य—।" Sr Pra Mad MS. Vol II p 411

#### CHAPTER XIV

### RITI, VRTTI, AND PRAVRITI

#### Riti

Riti is dealt with by Bhoja three times, first in the Do5a section under the Aritimad-do5a, then in the Alamkara section as a Sabdalamkara, and lastly in the Anubhava section as one of the three Buddhyarambha anubhavas. As in the case of Vitti, so also in the case of Rati, as a Sabdalamkara, it is of six kinds, but as Anubhava, it is only of four kinds. In the former case, the number six is purely a result of Bhoja's serve of symmetry

Bhoja uses all the three names, Rīti, Panthā and Marea, the latter two of which are synonymous. Bhoja derives the word Rīti from the root  $\sqrt{Ri}$  to go " $i \uparrow z = \pi e \tilde{t}_i$ ," thus connecting it with the other names. Panthā and Mārga. To the three Rītis in Vāmana, Bhoja adds three more. Vainna gives only the Vaidarbhī, the Pāficālī and the Gaudiya. Bhoja adds the Lātiyā which Rudrata was responsible for introducing, and then two more himself, namely, the Āvantī and the Māgadhī. The Āvantī and Magadhī form Bhoja's additions.

The three verses defining the Vaidarbhi, Gaudi and Pañcali (S. K. A. II 29-31 p. 134) are reproduced by Bhoja from Vamana. Bhoja borrows the Lātīyā Rīti from Rudiata but abandons Rudiata's definition of the Lātīyā. Rudiata defines the Lātīyā, as also the other Rītis, on the basis of the number of words compounded in a single instance. K. A. 11.5. But Bhoja arbitratily says that a mixture of all Rītis is Lātīyā.

समस्तर्गतिक्यं। (ब्या.) सिक्षा लाहीया गतिकस्यति । S. A. a. p. 154 सिक्षरातिलीहीया | Sr Pra Vol. 11. p. 270

The S/K/A defines Āvantīkā Rīti as one standing between Pancah and Vadarbhi , with two to three or three to four words in a compound. But the same writer says in his Sr/Pra that Āvantīka is not any one kind of Rīti exactly, but something approaching all Rītis!  $\frac{1}{2744} \frac{1}{124} \frac{1}{12$ 

Such treatment of the subject of Rīti has little reality and Bhoja here shows little grasp of either the historical aspect or the literary and artistic aspect of the subject and is of very little help to a student of the history and development of such an important concept as Style or Rīti in Sanskrit Alamkāra Literature

<sup>1</sup> See also my paper on Riti in Mm S Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume, pp 89-118.

While Bhoja is in a mood to follow Vāmana in his definitions of the Rītis, Vaidatbhī, Pāñcālī and Gaudīyā, in the S K A, he prefers to accept Rudiata's definitions in the same context of Rīti-śabdālamkāras in the S P P r A R Rudrata defines the Rītis on the basis of a single feature called Samāsa; he holds the Vaidarbhī as the name of an un-compounded collocation, and classifies the compounded collocation into the three other Rītis according to the number of words compounded No doubt Vāmana does include Samāsa as a determining factor in the description of all the three Rītis, but none but Rudrata defines the Rīti concept on the basis of Samāsa only. Vāmana defines the Vaidarbhī as having all the Gunas fully, (Guna-sāmagrya); the preponderance of Mādhurya and Saukumārya and absence of Ojas and Kānti is Pañcālī; the emphasis on Ojas and Kānti produces the Gaudīyā See Vāmana, K A S $\bar{u}$  and V1. I. II pp 17-21 Vānī Vilās Edn and compare S K  $\bar{A}$  p 134 In the Sr Pra however, Bhoja casts off Vāmana's definitions and gives those of Rudiata as follows:

"असमस्तपदा वैदर्शं — ।" "समस्तपञ्चषपदा पात्राली ।" "यथाशक्ति समस्तपदा गाँडीया ।" "वैदर्शादीनामन्तरालरीतिरावन्तिका ।" p 269~Sr.~Pra~ Vol. II. Rudrata " वृत्तेरसमासाया वैदर्शी रीतिरेकैव ।" K~A~ II 6.~ "द्विचिपदा पाञ्चाली ।" "लाटीया पश्च सप्त वा यावत " "यथाशक्ति गोंडीया," K.~A~ II. 5

Here also it is only on Vaidarbhī, Pārcālī and Gaudiyā that Bhoja agrees with Rudrata The Lātīyā, he chooses to define according to his own sweet will and not as Rudrata defined it

Rītı, as expounded by Daṇdın, Bhoja follows in the Doṣa-section while dealing with a Doṣa called Arītimad S K  $\bar{A}$  pp 24-30 More of this I have said in the sections on Doṣa and Guṇa. This is no strange phenomenon in Bhoja's writings that, on the same subject, he follows different and differing writers at different places. On Rītı, he follows Dandın in the Doṣa-section , Vāmana to some extent in the Śabdālamkāra section of the S K  $\bar{A}$ ; and Rudrata in the same context in the Sr. Pra, and lastly, he follows Rājašekhara on the Rītıs in the 17th chapter of the Sr. Pra. where again Bhoja speaks of the Rītıs as Buddhyārambha-anubhāvas along with Vrttı and Pravṛttı  $^1$ 

In the 17th chapter the Rītis appear along with Vrttis and Pravrttis, as in Rājašekhara Rājašekhara says at the very beginning of his work that he devotes a separate chapter to Rītis in the statement रीविनिणंत्र सुवर्णनामः and in the remarks वृत्तिरीतिस्त्रक्ष यथावसरं वश्यामः" p. 8. "रीतयस्त्र तिस्रः, तास्तु पुरस्तात्।" p. 10. K.M. But this chapter on Rītis is lost. Still we are given an idea of Rājašekhara's conception and definition of the Rītis even in the available part, namely, the Kavi-rahasya section, sub-section 3 on Kāvya-puruṣa-utpatti Rājašekhara admits only the three Rītis of Vāmana and so has some difficulty in adjusting the three Rītis to the four Vrttis and the four Pravrttis. Bhoja

<sup>1</sup> See my paper on Riti and Guna in the Agni Purāṇa in the IHQ, X, pp. 767-779.

removes the difficulty by accepting the fourth Riti of Lauvá. Bhoja gives the following equations:

V7ttt	Pravrlti	Rĭti
Bhāratī	Paurastyā	Pańcali
Ārabhaţī	Udhra māgadhī	Caudi
Kaiśikī	Dākşmātyā	<b>V</b> aidarbhí
Sättvatī	Āvantyā	Latīya

(See p. 52 JOR Madras, Vol. VII, p. 52, My paper on Vittis). The Kāvva-mīmāmsā gives the following scheme:

Bhāratī Sāttvatī	Udhra mägadhī CPāñcālī or	Gaudiya
and	Pancan or	Pincath
Ārabhatī j Sāttvatī )	Pāňcāla madhyama	1
and	Āvantī	No Riti !
Kaiśikī Kaiśikī	Dākşmātyā	Vaidarbhi

(KM Pp 8-9)

The Kävya-puruşa and the Sähitya-vidyā-vadhū were perhaps struck dumb when they passed through Avanti and adjacent provinces! For, Rija-ekhara gives no Riti for that place

It is not possible to go here deeply into the very origins of the concept of Riti and trace its history. That I have done in the separate paper on Riti already referred to, wherein I have also spoken of the place occupied by Rājašekhara and Bhoja, with whom alone we are concerned here at present. The definitions of Ritis in Dandin and Vāmana are on the basis of ideas called Gunas. Rudiata restricts himself to Samāsa. And Bhūmaha himes into his discussion of the two Ritis other general ideas, finally, Bhūmaha throws away the Ritis. As distinguished from Bhūmaha and Rudiata on the one hand, and from Dandin-Vāmana and the Guna tradition on the other, Rājašekhara adopts for defining the Ritis characteristics and phraseology which Bhoja borrows for the 17th chapter of his \$r Pra and from Bhoja, the Agin piaāna borrows. The following are Rājašekhara's definitions along with which I have also given those of Bhoja.

(१) "—समामवद्, अनुप्रासवद्, योगवृत्तिपरंपरागर्भ जगाद, सा गोडीया रीति ।', KM p 8

**"गोडादिषु भवा गोडीया**-यदतिदीर्घसमासम्, परिम्फुटवन्थनम्, नात्युपचारय्रत्तिमत्' पादानुप्रासयोगि, योगरूढिपरम्परागर्भ वचः, सा गोडी ॥ " 51 Pra Vol III p 213 ( २ ) " — ईषदसमासम्, ईषदनुप्रासम्, उपचारगर्भ च जगाद, सा पाञ्चाली रीतिः । "  $KM \neq 9$ 

"पाञ्चालादिषु भवा पाञ्चाली-यवनतिदीर्घसमासम्, (अनति ) स्फुटवन्यम्, उप-(चार ) वृत्तिमत्, पादानुत्रासप्रायम्, योगरूढिमत् सा पाञ्चाली । "<sup>5</sup>7 P1a Vol III p 212

( ३ ) " — स्थानानुप्रासवद्, असमासम्, योगद्यत्तिगर्भ च जगाद, सा वैदर्मी रीतिः। "  $KM \ \ \mathrm{p} \ 9$  .

"विदर्भादिषु (भवा) वैदर्भी। यदि (द) समस्तम् अतिसुकुमारबद्ध (न्धम्) अनु-(पचार वृत्तिमत्), स्थानानुप्रासयोगी, (योग) वृत्तिमद् वचः, सा वैदर्भी।" Sr Pra Vol III p. 214

We shall consider the Lātīyā of Bhoja which is not found in Rājeśekhara separately afterwards. The following table shows the relation between the definitions of the two writers more clearly

Gaudīyā:

Rājaśckhara समास अनुप्रास योगवृत्तिपर्म्परा Bhoja अतिदीर्धसमास पादानुप्रास योगरूहिपरम्परा.

And in addition to these three, we find Bhoja giving 'Parisphuta-bandha' and a few Upacāra-vrtti usages as characterising the Gaudīyā. The source of Bhoja for these two additional features is not known. Regarding the three features taken from Rājašekhara, Bhoja puts them moie definitely; Samāsa is made Atidīrgha-samāsa, Anuprāsa, Pādānuprāsa, and the Yoga-vṛtti of Rājašekhara, Bhoja makes Yoga-Rūdhi

Pāncālı:

Rājašekhara ईपदसमास ईपदराप्रास उपचार Bhoja अनतिदीर्षसमास पादान्तप्रास Same

The additional features in Bhoja are 'Anati-sphuta-bandha' and 'Yoga-Rūdhi'

#### $Vaidarbh\bar{\imath}$

Rājašekhaia असमास स्थानानुप्रास योगवृत्ति Bhoia Same Same Same

The additional features in Bhoja are 'Atı-sukumāra-bandha' and 'Anupacāra-vitti'.

This kind of treatment of the Rītis is not after the manner generally found in the writings of the Ālamkārikas but it is not altogether unrelated to the features of the Rītis as they are defined by Dandin, Vāmana and Rudrata Samāsa and Anuprāsa which play a great part in Rājašekhara's and Bhoja's definitions form vital points in Dandin, Vāmana and Rudrata Upacāra also is mentioned by Dandin as the Guna called Samādhi But what is a bit striking as new is the terminology of Upacāra, Yoga, Rūdhi and Bandhasphutatva

In similar terminology, Bhoja defines the Lafva also him elf

लाशांदपु मवा लाहीया ; वर्षाप्यामस्तम् , अनीत्र स्मार्थस्यम् , नात्पुपपार्थः , लाहीयानु प्रायवर् भोगर्काटमस् वस्, मा लाहीया । " P/215, Vol. (111) Sr/Pra

Saradātanaya records this kind of definition of the Ritis in his Bha Pra, borrowing it from the 17th chapter of the Sr. Pra., and from both saradāta naya and Bhoja, Bahurūpamišia borrows it in his Dasarupakavyakhya. The Agni-pirama also borrows it from Bhoja. Of Riti and Guna in the Agni-pirama, I have spoken in the article in the Indian Historical Quarterly already referred to.

1 Süradātanaya, in chapter one of his Bha Pra fellows Bhoja's treatment of Anubhāvas as found in the 17th chapter of the 8i Pra On pp. 11-12, Süradātanaya follows Bhoja's grouping together of Rith, Vitti and Pravitti as Buddhyārambha-anubbāva.

बुद्धवारम्भानुमावेषु रीतिः प्रथममुत्रपति । रीतिर्वचनविज्यासकमः, सापि चतुर्विधा ॥

The features given by Bhoja are thus classified and stated by Suraditanaya. The Ritis are distinguished by the difference in (1) Samisa, (2) Sauku mārya etc., (3) Upacita etc., and (1) Prieg and Anupra a

रामारा साकुमार्थादि-तारतम्यात् कवित होतत्। उपचारविद्यापाम प्रासानुप्रासनेदतः॥

Following Săradătanaya Bahurūpamišia says in his Dušarūpakarvākhyā एतामां चतप्रणा च रीतीना समागतास्तस्याद्, (1) उपनास्तास्तर-॥८, (2) वन्यतेष्क्रमार्थाः

्राचा चराव्या च रागाचारासारासारस्यादः, (1) वरायासारमधानः (८) वरायासारमधानः (८) वरायासारमधानः (८) वरायासारमधानः (४) अनुप्रामभेदावः (४) अगाविभेदावः (४) प्रमानस्थानः वर्षान्। स्थानः प्रामितः (४) स्थानस्थानः वर्षान्। स्थानस्थानः प्रामितः ।

P 5 Vol 11 Mad MS P 1188.

Sāradātanaya beats Bhoja hollow by first adding two more Ritis, Samastri and Drāvidī, and by saying finally that Ritis are as many as 105 or even as many as the men who speak

प्रातवचन प्रतिपुरुष तद्यान्तरं भावतः प्रतिपा आनन्त्यात सक्षित्य प्रोक्ता कविमः चतुर्विपेत्रतेषा ॥

नामु प्रवोत्तरज्ञन विवा श्रीका मनीपिम ।

2 — Smgabhūpāla follows Bhoja in treating of Rīti. Vitti and Pravitti as Buddhyārambha-anubhāvas —  $R\ AS$  — Ch. I. pp. 64-88

युद्यारम्भास्तथा श्रोक्ता रातिजनिववनथ ।

But Singabhūpāla recognises only three Rītis, Komala, Kathina, and Miśrā, 1c., Vaidarbhī, Gaudī and Pāñcālī. On Vaidarbhī, Dandin is followed, Gaudī is distinguished by long compounds and aspirated words. Pāñcālī is midway between the two. Following Sāradātanaya, Singabhūpāla also says at the end of the Rīti-section that there are innumerable Rītis and that each

province has its own Rīti There are Āndhrī, Lātī, Saurāstrī and such other Miśra Rītis For a description of these, Śingabhūpāla refers us to the works of *Bhoia* and others.

Sāradātanaya mentions such additional Rītis and remarks that Rītis are as many as the provinces But Bhoja never does so, either in the Sr Pra or the S K  $\bar{A}$  Perhaps Singabhūpāla iefers to the twelve Vrttyanuprāsa varieties of Bhoja given in the Sabdālamkāra section, Āndhrī, Kaunkī, Kaunkaṇī, etc

The Agm-purāna also gives the three concepts of Rīti, Vṛtti and Pravrti together as Buddhyārambha-anubhāvas, in the section on Anubhāvas

आलम्बनविभावस्य भावेस्दुद्धसंस्कृतैः । मनोवाग्बुद्धिवपुषां स्मृतीच्छाद्वेषयत्नतः ॥ आरम्भ एव विद्याम् अनुभाव इति स्मृतः । 339/44-5.

Then Mana-ārambha-anubhāvas of males and females and Vāgārambhas are given And in the last two lines of the chapter, the three Buddhyārambhas are introduced

## स बुद्धचारम्भ इष्यते । तस्य भेदाः त्रयस्ते च रीतिवृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः ॥ 339/54

The next chapter, the 340th, called Rītı-nırūpana, speaks partly of Vrtti also The text as printed in the Ānandāśrama Edn is corrupt and incomplete here The chapter must be called 'Rītı-Vrtti-Pravrtti-Nirūpana' and must have dealt with all these three Buddhyārambhas For, with the next chapter we have Āngika-abhinaya or Śarīrārambha-anubhāva beginning. As it is, the chapter (340) ends abruptly with the mention of the Angas of the Ārabhatī Vitti, only the Rītis and two Vittis are available Vide my paper on Rīti and Guna in the Agni-purāna in the IHQ

Another point to be noted in the  $Agnipur\bar{a}na$  is that its definitions of the Rītis are taken from the Sr Pra (17th chapter) The four Rītis of this chapter of the Sr Pra are accepted and they are defined on the basis of the same features of Samīsa, Upacāra, Yoga, etc Vide my article on Rīti and Guna in the  $Agnipur\bar{a}na$  above referred to

#### The Vittis

Both from the point of view of history and that of dramatic art, I have critically examined and explained the concept of Vrtti in a long paper entitled the Vrttis published in the  $IOR^1$  Madras In the third instalment of that paper, I noticed the peculiarities in Bhoja's treatment of Vrtti in the section called 'Number of Vittis' I shall briefly survey the same here.

<sup>1</sup> JOR Madras, Vol VI pp 346-370 and Vol VII pp. 33-52 and 91-112,

Bhoja describes the Vittis as Anubhāvas born of the Buddhi Buddhyārambhānubhāvas—in chapter xxvii of the Ši Pia He defines Vitti as mode or manner of activity—Cestā-visesa-vinyāsa-krama—and this agrees with Abhinava's definition of it as Vyāpāra and Ānanda's as Vyavahāra In chapter xxvii of the Ši Pia, Bhoja describes only the four Vittis given by Bhaiata, and there is nothing special, no difference, to be noted in Bhoja's descriptions of each of these Vittis—There is some important difference in Bhoja's description of the Añgas of the Bhāiatī vitti, which I have dealt with in a separate section below called Vittyangas

If Kaišikī means grace and delicateness, and Vitti means the temper and atmosphere of the situation, the Kaišikī vitti covers all such graceful activities and cannot be strictly called Anubhāva. Abhimava explains Āra bhatī as Kāya-vittī, re., Ceslā par excellence. Bhāratī as Vāg-vyāpāra, and Sāttvatī as Mano-vyāpāra. Bhoja also says that the Vittis are 'Vāmmanah-kāya-vyāpāra' (chap xii). If Bhāratī is Vāg-vyāpāra, it must be Vāgārambha-anubhāva; if Ārabhatī is Kāya-vyāpāra, it must be Šatīrātambha-anubhāva; and Sāttvatī alone can be Buddhyārambha-anubhāva, because it is said to be Mano-vyāpāra. What about Kaišikī then? It refers to no physiological or psychological department of our activity, of body, speech or mind. It refers to the graceful mode in all activities. How can this be called a Buddhyārambha-anubhāva? But such critical scrutiny, we cannot make even in Abhinava's text, how can Bhoja stand it?

As it is, Kaišikī is applied to a part of the physical activity of the limbs which exhibit grace and delicateness, ślaksnatā and Saukumarya

As in this chapter xxvi of the Sr Pra, in chapter v of his S K  $\bar{\Lambda}$  (p. 643) also, Bhoja is satisfied with the old four Vittis but in chapter xi of the Sr Pra which corresponds to the above-noted part of the fifth chapter of the Sr  $\bar{\Lambda}$ . Bhoja gives the Vittis as five in number. In this chapter in this chapter xi of the Sr Pra dealing with Prabandha-angas, most things move in groups of 'Five' and can Vitti alone be, in this company, one short? So Bhoja additional Vitti of his, the Vimistä-vitti, which is not a really new or additional Vitti but is only the jumble of all the other four. Bhoja describes this fifth additional Vitti thus on p. 459 in chap xii of his Sr Pra (Vol. II).

" यत्रारभव्यादिगुणास्समस्ताः

मिश्रत्वमाश्रित्य मिश्र प्रथन्ते । मिश्रेति ता वृत्तिमुज्ञन्ति धीराः साधारणीमर्थचतुष्टयस्य ॥

मुखादिसन्त्रियु [च] व्याप्रियमाणानां (नाय) कोपनायकादीना मनोवाकायकर्मीनवन्त्रना. **एच** कृतयो भवन्ति—भारती, आरभटी, कैशिकी, सास्वती, विमिन्ना चेति । ' p 459

" मोऽय पञ्चप्रकारोऽपि चेष्टाविशेपविन्यासकमो वृत्तिरित्याख्यायते । " p 459

What is the scope of this Vrtti, whether such a Vitti is necessary, what has Bharata's text to say on this matter, how Singabhūpāla notes this Miśrāvrtti of Bhoja and refutes it with the authority of Bharata's text -these ques-

tions I have dealt with in the paper on the Vrttis above-mentioned (Pp 102-3, Vol VII, JOR)

Other writers besides Singabhūpāla have noticed this fifth Vrtti of Bhoja Earlier than Singabhūpāla, Sāradātanaya, who often shows his acquaintance with the Sr Pra, says that there are others who do not accept the Arthavrtti of Udbhata and give in its place a fifth Vitti called Miśrā

भारती सात्वती चैव कैशिक्यारभटीति च। औद्भटाः पत्रमीमर्थवृत्ति च प्रतिजानते॥ अर्थवृत्तेरभावातु (मि)श्लां तां पत्रमी परे।

The information in the first two lines is derived by Śāradātanaya from the Daśariipaka How the view of these two writers, namely, Dhanañjaya and Śāradātanaya, that Udhata recognised a fifth Vrtti called Artha-vitti is wrong and what exactly is the position taken up by Udbhata, I have elaborately shown in the section on Udbhata in my paper in the JOR, VI, on the writers quoted in the Abhinava-bhārali and in the paper on the Vrttis mentioned above. In the third line quoted above, Śāradātanaya refers to Bhoja's fifth Vrtti called the Miśrā

In the two published papers of mine above referred to, I had made a mistake which Mr K S RAMASWAMY SASTRY of the Baroda Oriental Institute, editor of the Bhāvaprakāŝa in the Gaekwad Series, was kind enough to correct It was proved by me in the section on the writer named Sakalīgarbha in the article on Writers quoted in the Abinava-bhāratī, that this writer on diamaturgy held five Vrttis, and added the fifth Vrtti of his which he called Ālma-samvilli The text of the Bhā, Pra on the Vittis on p 12 reads "विध्यान्तां पञ्चमी परे" and this view came just after the statement of Udbhata's view and contradicting Udbhata's view. In the Abhinava-bhāratī, the view of Sakalīgaibha appeais after that of Udbhata, contradicting Udbhata's. at the suggestion of Professor Mm. S KUPPUSWAMY SASTRIYAR, I took Saradatanaya as referring to Sakalīgarbha's view after that of Udbhata and the word 'Viśrānti' in the text was taken as a synonym meaning the same 'Atmasamvitti' of Sakalīgarba Mr K S RAMASWAMY SASTRY drew my attention to his Eirata list at the end of his edition of the Bha Pra where the correct text of the third line is given; Viśrānta must be read as 'Miśrām tām' 'भित्रा तां प्रमी पुरे " It is unfortunate that I should have missed the correct reading in the Errata and should have consequently seen in a plain reference to Bhoja's view a reference to Sakalīgarbha's view and should have corrected 'Vīśrāntā' in the text into 'Viśrānti', to enable me to equate it with Ātma-samvitti It is all very smooth sailing now. It must be accepted that the Daśarūpaka and the Bhā Pra misunderstood Udbhata's real view of Vrttis and that there was a Sakalīgarbha, who held another view of five Vrttis, but whom neither the D Rnor the Bha Pra, refers to It is clear that in the third line of the passage extracted above, Śāradātanava refers to Bhoja's fifth Vrtti called Miśrā and this is perfectly natural, well acquainted as Sāradātanaya is, with Bhoja's Śṛ Prā

The third kind of treatment of Vitti by Bhoja, which is however the first and earliest in order in his two works, is the treatment of Vitti as a Sabdālamkāra along with Language, the Form of Verse or Prose or the Mixed Campū, Rīti etc. Vitti treated of in the Sabdālamkāra section is not the Vitti described in the Rasa section as Anubhāva, with particular reference to Drama Vitti is here applied to the text of the Drama as well as to the pure, read Kāvya. This aspect of Vitti also I have studied in the paper on Vittis above referred to in the section named 'The History of Vitti in Kāvya' at the end of the paper. (Pp. 104-112, JOR. Vol. VII.)

When we speak of the written words, we are at once in the realm of one of the four Vrttis namely, the Bhāratī-Vitti. And if, within its realm, we want to distinguish the graceful and the forceful styles or modes, we must not have Kaisikī and Ārabhatī Vittis but two Rītis like. Vaidaibhī and Gaudī. The whole set of Vittis brought from Nātya into Kāvya is incongruous. Ānanda says in Uddyota III that Vittis are two fold of Artha and Sabda. the Artha-vittis being Kaišikī etc., of Bharata and the Sabda vittis being Upanāgarikā, Parusā and Komalā. The latter are called by the other name of Rīti also and Mammata equates the Sabda vittis with the Rītis (K Pra IX). But Bhoja does not think of these difficulties and quietly makes up his needed number of 21 Sabdālainkāras by things like Vitti. The following points are to be noted here.

1 Bhoja increases the number of Vittis as Sabdālanikāras to sia, adding two of his usual jumbles—Madhyama-Kaiśikī and Madhyama Šrabhatī. This really is fine scientific treatment! The same concept is once sixfold, at another place it is fivefold, and in a third place it is only fourfold! Why should there be this difference? Does Bhoja think that Vitti in these three places, Vitti as Šabdālanikāra, as Anubhāva, and as a general Anga of the Prabandha, should differ? Vitti is primarily Anubhāva. All Alanikāras are Anubhāva, in the yappear in the speech of the mood-filled character, in the Vācikābhinaya, in the Vāgarambha-anubhāva, and they are intended to convey more quickly and more powerfully the mood. It is again as Anubhāva that Vitti becomes a Prabandha-aṅga. There is no need for Bhoja to treat of Vittis three times

at three different places, and there is no justification for varying its number in each case on a diminishing scale from six to four

- 2. If there must be a Karśiki which is not thoroughly Karśiki but is somewhat Karśiki Madhyama Karśiki, and if there must be a Madhyama-Ārabhati also like this, why not a Madhyama-Bhārati and a Madhyama-Sāttvati? The only reason for not having two more is that all the Sabdālarhkāras of Bhoja are subdivided symmetrically into SIX kinds only; and, therefore, Bhoja needed only two more and not four more Madhyama-Vrttis.
- 3. All these Sabda-alamkāras called Vrttı are defined as Artha-sandarbhas. This is a contradiction. How can Artha-vaicitrya be productive of Sabda-alamkāra? It would have been something if Bhoja had made the Vrttis, Artha-alamkāras. That is what Bhoja's great Ācārya, Dandin does. Dandin counts the Vittis and their Angas as Alamkāras, along with Sandhyangas and Laksanas towards the end of chapter II of his Kāvyādarśa and chapter II deals with Arthālamkāras.

There is a lot of loose thinking and haphazaid heaping of things in Bhoja's work.

#### Another concept of Vitti

In the same Śabdālamkāra section Bhoja speaks of two other related concepts of Vitti coming under Anuprāsa I have spoken of these also in the closing part of my paper on Vittis (See Pp 109-110, JOR, Vol. VII) Bhoja criticises the old Vittis of Udbhata and others, Paruṣā, Komalā and others (which Bhoja increases to twelve!) as unnecessary and as having been included in Guṇas and Vittis. In their place Bhoja gives twelve other varieties of Anuprāsa called Vittis, named after twelve countries. SKA, Pp 201-207 See my Vitti paper above referred to See also the Alamkāra section in this thesis.

### The Vyttyangas

Bhoja speaks of sixteen Vittyangas, four for each of the four main Vittis, leaving out the Vimiśrā

Of Vrttyangas in general, I have spoken in a special section in my paper on Vrttis. (Pp 44-45 JOR, Vol VII) There is difference in Bhoja's treatment of the Angas of the Bhāratī vrtti Bharata mentions four Angas of the Bhāratī vrtti Prarocanā, Āmukha, Vīthī and Prahasana (XXII 30-35, Kasi Edn) A critical examination of the Bhāratī vrtti and its two Angas of Vīthī and Prahasana especially, was made by me in the first part of the Vitti-paper (Pp 363-370 Vol VI JOR) Of the four Angas of the Bhāratī vitti given by Bharata, Bhoja takes only one, namely, Āmukha as constituting the whole Bhāratī vitti and devides it into four Angas, in the 12th chapter of the Śr Pra Bhoja differs even there also from Bharata Bharata gives Āmukha as of five Angas (XXII, 30-35)—Udghātyaka, Kathodghāta, Prayogātisaya, Pravrttaka and Avagalita Bhoja omits the third and has no other reason for this omission except to make uniform enumeration of four Angas for each of the four Vrttis. This kind of equation of the

Bhāratī vitti with the Āmukha is not justitiable and contradicts Bhoja's earlier definition of Bhāratī vitti as the name for all vocal activity in general (Vāg vitti ; p. 459 Vol. H. Sr.(Pra.)). The Dasarāpaka, like Bhoja, gives the same four Angas of Bharata for the Bharatī vitti but, for Āmukha, it adopts an independent attitude like the Sr.(Pra.). It gives only three Angas for the Āmukha Singabhūpīla follows the Dasrupaka. The Angas of the other Vittis are the same and are of the same number as given by Bharata Pp. 478-480. Vol. H, Sr.(Pra.)

The fifth chapter of the  $S.K.\bar{A}$  has a different story to tell. Here also, there is no difference between Bhora and Bharata on the other three Vittis and then Angas. It is on the Angas of the Bharati vitti here that Bhora differs not only from Bharata but also from himself. On pp. 643-6 of S.A..I., thap V, Bhoja gives four Angas of bharati following almost the text of Prarocana, Vithi, Prastavana (Amukha of Bharata) and Bharata Prahasana But Bhora does not understand what Bharata means by regarding Vithi and Prahasana as two varieties of the Bharati vitti. The two refer to the two types of Rūpakas of those two names and not to parts of the Prologue Later writers have made both the Vithi and Prahasana as part of the Prologue by restricting Bhāratī to Prastāvanā. All this is wrong and the true signi ficance of this has been explained by me in the first part of my paper on the Vittis What Bhoja has done is that he has further misunderstood by putting a completely mistaken meaning into Vithi Vithi and Prahasana, Bharata and Dhanañjaya clearly say, are two types of Drama. Like many other writers, Bhoja also takes Prahasana as a small comic speech in the Prologue, but he is all alone when he takes the Vīthī with thriteen well known Angas, as having five Angas. And what are these Angas? Here Bhora makes a great mistake; he confuses between the Bharata's Amukha and the Vithi and attributes to the Vithi the five Angas pertaining to Amukha. In this particular place Bhoja seems to have understood norther Prastayana nor Vithi

" उद्धात्यकादीनामङगाना प्रजांन वाषीः उद्धात्यकः, प्रशोदातः, प्रशोगातिष्रयः, प्रवर्तेकः, अवगळितमिति । "

Of the five Angas given above, Udghītyaka and Avandita are two Vithyangas, also introduced in the Prastīvanā, and it is because these happen to be Vithyangas also that the Daśmīpaka omits them and gives the remaining three as Āmukha-Angas. These two have misled Bhoja to identity Āmukha and Vithī and give the other three, namely Kathodghīta, Prayogātisaya and Pravartaka, also as Vithyangas. Greater confusion has not been made on any other subject of the Nātyašāsta. The causes for such confusion regarding the Bhāratī vitti have been explained by me in the first part of the Vitti-papet.

Chapter seventeen of the Sr Pra – the Anubhāva chapter has a description of the Vittis and their given Angas. The description of the Angas of the Bhāratī here agrees more with that in the fifth chapter of the S K  $\bar{A}$  than with that in the same work in the 12th chapter. It'rs strange how, on the same topic, Bhoja has different views at different places. The

iour Angas of the Bhāratī are given according to Bharata, Bhoja calling Amukha by the name Piastāvanā—, Prarocanā, Prastāvanā, Vīthī and Piahasana But when he comes to the Vīthī, he seems to have realised the mistake he had committed in the  $S \ K \ A$  v. where he forgot that Vīthī was the Vīthī of thirteen Angas When, however, he sets about to correct, he makes a mess of the whole thing. He gives the Vīthī as that with the thirteen Angas but the thirteen Angas are said to be Udghātyaka, Avagalita, Kathodghāta, Piayogāti-saya and Pravrttaka, with an etc?

उद्धात्यकादीनामङ्गानां प्रवृत्तिः वीथी। तानि उद्धात्यकः, कथोद्धातः, प्रयोगातिशयः, प्रवृत्तकः, अवगलितमित्यादीनि त्रयोदग्।'' P. 216 Vol. III

Of these, only the first two are Vithyangas; the other three are Amukha-Angas as given by Bharata Firstly it is bad to combine the two together, secondly, it is not explainable how Bhoja made bold to say that these Angas come to thirteen in number. The Vithi, by itself, has thirteen Angas and when the Kathodghāta, Prayogātsaya, and Pravittaka are added, the number of Angas comes to sixteen Lastly, it is cowardly for Bhoja to have begun to illustrate but to have left out illustrating all except the Udghātyaka For a detailed illustration of the Angas would prove the real total number of the Angas to be sixteen and its contradiction with the accepted Vithi of thirteen Angas will become patent. Therefore Bhoja fights shy and ends thus

" एवं कथोद्धातादयोऽपि दशरूपकादेः उदाहार्यम्।" P 216 Vol III. On the three other Vittis and their Angas, chapter xvii of the Śr Pra also has nothing to differ from Bharata

There is yet a fourth treatment of Vrttı and the Vrttyangas in the Sr. Pra. and it is in the four chapters devoted to the four Purusārtha-Srngāras of Dhaima, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa (Chapters xviii-xxi, Vol III. Sr. Pra) Bhoja lays out a scheme here that each of these four Srngāras is characterised by particular kinds of men, women, habits, dress, atmosphere and style of speech That is, Bhoja gives each its appropriate Nāyaka, Nāyikā, Pravrtit, Vitti and Rīti. Of these also I have spoken in the Vrtti-paper (Pp. 51-52, JOR, Vol VII). In explaining this scheme of the four Puruṣārthas = four Nāyakas = four Vrttis etc, Bhoja resorts to a good deal of verbal ingenuity. It is all very clever but is most unreal. The section teems with apt examples for extreme far-fetchedness

#### The Pravrttis

The Pravittis and their relation to the Vrttis, I have dealt with in a separate section in my Vrtti-paper which has been mentioned here frequently (Pp. 49-51. *JOR*, Vol VII) Bhoja treats of the Pravittis twice, once in chapter xii in the midst of topics of Dramaturgy and again in the midst of Anubhāvas which he deals with in chapter xvii. In the latter case Bhoja gives only four Pravittis because he wants their number to agree with that of the four Vrttis and the four Rītis, all the three of which he clubs together and gives as Buddhyārambha-anubhāvas. But in the 12th chapter most items are five in number and to be in harmony with them, he gives the

Pravittis also as five But Pravittis are five here only in chameration (Uddeśa), in Lakṣana and Udāharana, however, Bhoja torgets that he has increased the number of Pravittis to five and consequently gives only the old four varieties of it.

"—पन सन्ध्यः पन ( ग्रनथः **पञ्च प्रश्ननयः**) चर्नावभावि प्रयुत्तयः ( प्रयुत्तिहेनवः ) इत्येका चनवपष्टिः।" p. 450. St. Pra Vol II, Chap XII

''वैषविन्यासकमः प्रवृत्तिः, सापि चतुर्वा-पौरस्था, उत्भागता, अदिकारा, आकस्या च ।'' p 459 Vol 11 St Pta Ch XH

If we accept that Bhoja recognises only four Pravittis, we cannot get the mentioned number of 64 items, we get only off. Bhoja could have casily invented the fifth Pravitti with a new geographical name and it is not known why Bhoja contradicts himself by first enumerating live Pravittis and then speaking of only four Pravittis.

The four Pravittis given by Bhoja are the same as found in Bharata, N S XIV. But Bhoja goes wrong in the naming of one of the Prayittis Bhoja's four Pravittis are Paurastyā, Udhraniāgadhī, Daksmatya and Avantyā Though he promises to describe them in detail latterly in chapter vii. Bhota fails to do so in both the 12th and the 17th chapter. He does not take pains to give the countries coming under each of these tour. Bharata does not have a Pravitti called Paurastyā - His four Pravittis are Pańcali, Udhramāgadhī, Dāksinātyā and Āvantī It is in the place of Bharata's Pāñcālī that Bhoja gives his Paurastyā Now Paurastyā does not mean Pāñcālī but means 'the eastern' and the 'eastern' Pravitti is the Udhra-magadhi Bharata clearly enumerates the provinces coming under these four divisions The Dākṣmātyā comprises all the southern countries in general; the Udhramāgadhī, all the eastern, the Āvantī, all the western and the Pañcah, all the north-north-western. All the illustrations found in chapter 17 of the Śr Pra, for these Pravittis are those given by Rāja-ckhara in his Kanyaminiamsā, I 3 pp 8-9 And in this source, of Bhoja, namely, Rajasekhara, we do not find the Paurastyā but see in its place the Pañcāla madhyamā (KM. P 8) 'Păñcăla-madhyamă' is another and more elaborate name of the same Pāncālī Pravitti, for, under it come the provinces of the Madhya-desa also Bharata's text itself contains the other name of Puñcala madhyama in two Ślokas. Kūśī Edn XIV, 48 & 49 Kāvya-mālā Edn XIII 36 7 38 Therefore Bhoja follows neither the basic and remoter authority of Bharata nor the secondary and nearer authority of Rājašekhara when he speaks of the Paurastyā Pravrtti Less would have been the mistake if Bhoja had given instead of his Paurastyā, the name Pāscātya meaning 'the western'. Paurastyā and Udhra-māgadhī are identical. When Bhoja quotes Rājašekhara's verse describing the dress of the ladies of Mahodaya as illustration for his Paurastyā-Pravrtti, he does not seem to know what he is doing

The concepts of Vrtti, Pravrtti and Riti are very intimately related. The one involves the other. But, for the sake of classification and analytical and theoretical study, Rājašekhara says, it is laid down that physical action is